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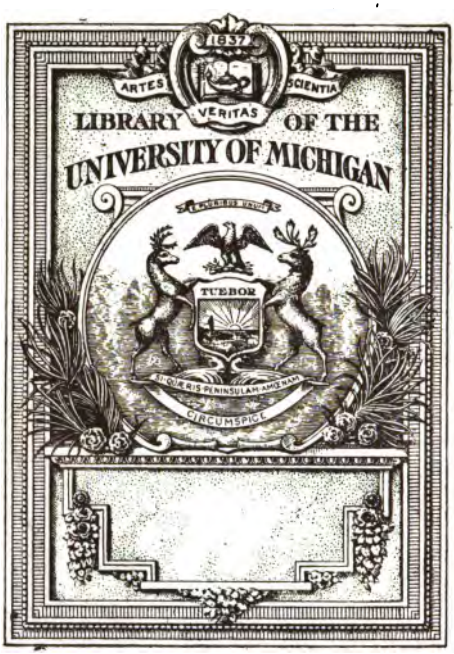
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THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

REVIEW AND MAGAZINE,

OR,

Monthly Political and Literary Censor

FROM

SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER (INCLUSIVE,)

—1805—

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

AN AMPLE REVIEW OF FOREIGN LITERATURE.

"Be it known to all who are under the dominion of *heretics* that they are *set free* from every tie of *fidelity* and *duty* to them; all *oaths* or *solemn agreements* to the contrary *notwithstanding*."
DECRET. GREG. lib. 5. tit. 7.

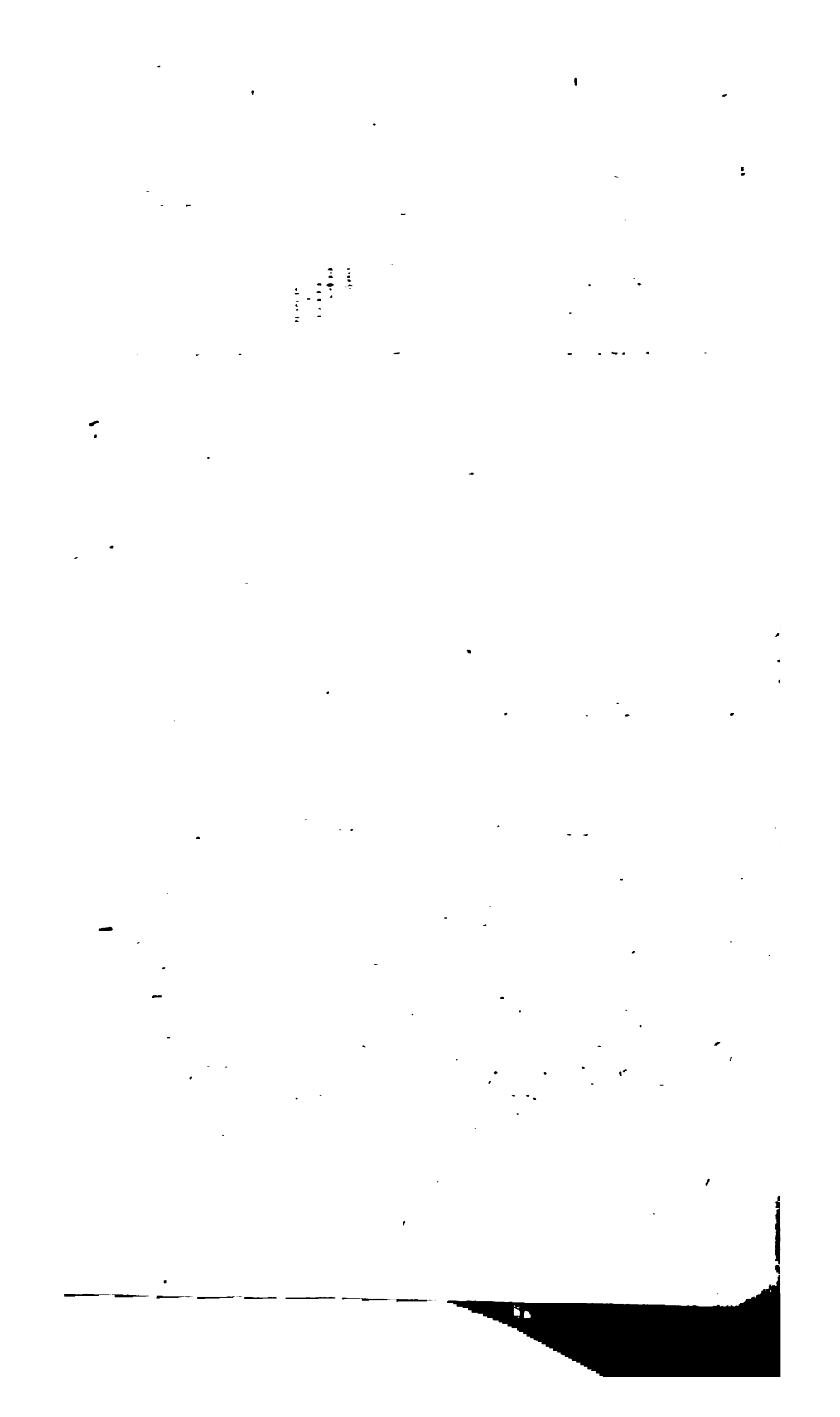
VOL. XXII.

LONDON:

Printed, and published for the Proprietors, by J HALES, at the Anti-Jacobin Press, No. 22, Old Bofwell-court, Strand,

AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOMS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND; AND ALSO BY SERJEANT, NEW YORK.

1806.



TO

ALEXANDER THE FIRST,

EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS,

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

AS A

TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM

FOR THE

GLORIOUS EXAMPLE WHICH HE HAS SET

TO ALL THE

SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE,

AND FOR

THE MAGNANIMOUS EFFORTS WHICH HE HAS DISPLAYED

IN DEFENCE OF THEIR

RIGHTS AND INDEPENDENCE.

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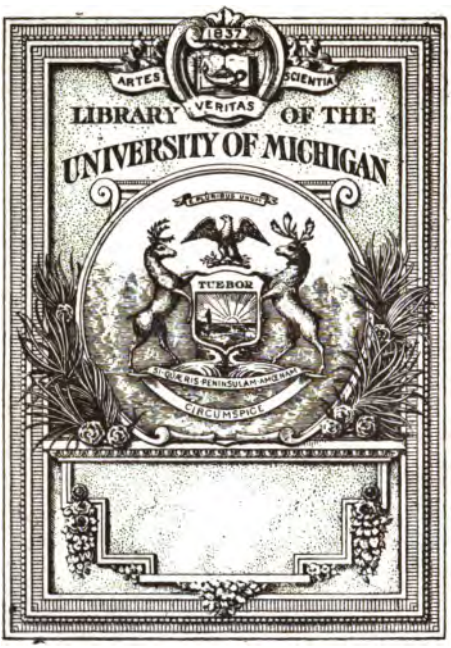
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THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

Review and Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For SEPTEMBER, 1805.

Is demum profectò vitam æquè lance penſitabit, qui ſemper fragilitatis humanæ memor fuerit.—PLIN.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

Strictures upon an Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland, by Francis Plowden, Eſq. or a Juſtification of the Conduct of the Engliſh Government in that Country, from the Reign of Henry II. to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. London. Rivingtons. 8vo. Pp. 233. 7s. 6d. 1804.

BEFORE we proceed to review this very excellent work, it will be neceſſary to make a few preliminary obſervations on the ſtate of Ireland, and to point out to the reader the nature and origin of the work which is the ſubject of its animadverſions, and the motives of its author. For nearly two centuries and a half, the Iriſh Roman Catholics have endeavoured to ſeparate their native country from England, and to baniſh or extirpate ſuch of the Engliſh as had ſettled in it, except during the ſhort period that they laboured under penal reſtrictions. As Spain was the moſt powerful ſtate in Europe, in the ſixteenth century, and bore the moſt invenomed hoſtility to England, they ſolicited her aſſiſtance to accompliſh theſe purpoſes, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, they introduced five Spaniſh armies into Ireland, which reduced it to a moſt woeful ſtate of deſolation. Ever ſince France has become formidable to Europe, under the auſpices of Richlieu, Mazarine and Colbert, they have ſought her alliance and protection to make their native country independent of England; and at no period have they manifeſted ſo much zeal to do ſo, as ſince, by the repeal of the penal laws, they have been admitted

mitted to a full enjoyment of civil liberty, and to a conſiderable ſhare of political power. The White Boys, a Popiſh banditti, who continued to deſolate the South of Ireland, for nearly thirty years, were at firſt embodied and organized, during the ſeven years war, to favour a deſcent of the French, which was meditated under Conflans. As ſoon as the French republicans formed a deſign of ſubverting the Britiſh empire, they looked to the aſſiſtance of their ſteady and faithful allies, the Iriſh Roman Catholics, and accordingly, the rebellious conduct of another Popiſh banditti, called the Defenders, was formidable, not only in many counties of Ireland, but in its metropolis, ſo early as the year 1792. They levied money on their body at large, for the purpoſe of buying warlike implements and ammunition, they plundered the Proteſtants of their arms, and frequently murdered ſuch of them as made any reſiſtance. By the report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, made and publiſhed upon oath, early in the year 1793, it appears, "That their meaſures were connected and conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and a degree of regularity and ſyſtem not uſual in people in ſuch mean condition, and as if directed by men of a ſuperior rank. Sums of money to a conſiderable amount have been levied, and ſtill continue to be levied, upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by ſubſcriptions, and collections at their chapels, and elſewhere, ſome of which have been made, and ſtill continue to be made, under the authority of a printed circular letter, which has been ſent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think it our duty to inſert." It appears that this letter was ſigned by the ſecretary of the Catholic committee; and we cannot be ſurpriſed that the movements of this banditti ſhould be conducted with regularity and ſyſtem, when it evidently appears by this report, and ſubſequent events, unequivocally proved, that they were under the guidance and direction of the Catholic committee, a repreſentative body, conſiſting of the moſt opulent and reſpectable members of the Iriſh Roman Catholics. It is thus ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of the Lords, "the reſult of their inquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity of this kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to aſſemble when they pleaſe, without any legal authority; and that the exiſtence of a ſelf-created repreſentative body, of any deſcription of the King's ſubjects, taking upon itſelf the government of them, and levying taxes or ſubſcriptions, to be applied at the diſcretion of ſuch repreſentative body, or of perſons deputed by them, is incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity." It is ſtated in the ſaid report that this banditti "aſſembled moſtly in the night, and forced into the houſes of Proteſtants, and took from them their arms," and that they are "all, as far as the ſaid committee could diſcover, of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion." It appears alſo by the ſaid report, that "ſtands of arms and gun-powder to a very large amount, much above the common conſumption, have been ſent within theſe few months to Belfaſt and Newry, and orders given for a much greater

greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations." By the ſaid report it appears, that the diſturbances, occaſioned by this banditti, appeared moſtly in the counties of Louth, Meath, Monaghan, and Cavan, where they were ſo alarming in the year 1789, that General Euſtace was ſent there, with a body of troops to ſuppreſs them. Thus it is evident that a Popiſh rebellion, formed by the Defenders, had exiſted three or four years previous to the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, which did not take place till the ſummer of 1791, when it was firſt inſtituted by Theobald W. Tone, agent of the Catholic committee, who was diſcovered ſo early as the month of February 1794, to be concerned in a negociation with the French for invading Ireland. By a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council, of the ſecond of December, 1792, it appears, that an inſurrection of this banditti was dreaded in the metropolis; and by two, of the thirteenth of February, and eleventh of March, 1793, it is evident that "in the counties of Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Cavan and Dublin, and in the county of the town of Drogheda, they aſſembled in large bodies, with arms, adminiſtered illegal oaths of combination, ſent threatening letters, plundered houſes of arms," and after burned both houſes and out-offices, whenever they met with any reſiſtance. The 33 of Geo. III. cap. 2, was enacted, the beginning of that year, to prevent the importation and removal of gun-powder. As they were in actual rebellion in 1793 in moſt parts of Ireland, and had the boldneſs on many occaſions to attack the King's troops, Lord Weſtmoreland declared in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt "the ſpirit of diſcontent which prevailed among the lower orders of the people, at the beginning of this ſeſſion, has ſince burſt into acts of riot and inſurrection, ſo that I have been under the painful neceſſity of employing his Majeſty's forces, whoſe ſteadineſs and good conduct have on all occaſions been manifeſted." During the whole of that year this banditti were ſo furious and deſperate, that in many parts of Ireland they wantonly attacked the King's troops, on the high road, when on their march, and had ſevere conflicts with them. And the Proteſtants were obliged for their ſafety to take refuge in Dublin, or in their reſpective country towns. It is thus ſtated in the ſecond committee of the Houſe of Lords, publiſhed in 1797. "It has further appeared to your committee, that the leaders and directors of theſe aſſociations (meaning the united Iriſhmen) are now, and have been for ſome time paſt, anxiouſly engaged, in uniting with them a claſs of men, who had formerly diſturbed the peace of this country, by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of *defenders*, and your committee have reaſon to apprehend that in a certain degree they have ſucceeded." It is thus ſet forth in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of Commons, formed and delivered upon oath, in the year 1798, "It is obſervable, that the counties in which defenderiſm had prevailed, eaſily became converts to

the new doctrines;* and in the ſummer of 1797, the uſual concomitants of treaſon, namely, the plundering houſes of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of thoſe who did not join their party, begun to appear in the midland countries." It is well known, that the united efforts of theſe two treaſonable bodies were attended with the moſt terrific and deſtructive effects, till the rebellion of 1798, particularly in the year 1793. It is ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of the Houſe of Commons, in 1797, that the traitors concerned in theſe rebellious proceedings, "held forth Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, as the oſtenſible objects of their union; but their real purpoſes were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland, and to ſubvert the preſent conſtitution." Of the fund which was raiſed by ſubſcription at the Roman Catholic chapels, it appears that a conſiderable portion was appropriated to the purpoſe of employing perſons to write in favour of Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; and it is proved, that the Catholic committee, by a ſtatement of their accounts, publiſhed at their deſire, in Dublin, the 25th of April 1793, by Hugh Fitzpatrick, their printer and bookſeller, had diſburſed the following ſums; to Theobald Wolfe Tone, 1500*l.* Simon Butler, 500*l.* William Todd Jones, 1000*l.* Richard Burke, a retaining fee of fifty guineas, and 2000 guineas as a reward for his ſervices. Theſe perſons were the moſt conſpicuous advocates of the Catholic claims, except Mr. F. Plowden, who from the various and ſingular reſources which he has often tried to raiſe money, may adopt as his motto, that ſaying of Emperor Veſpaſian to his ſon, Titus:

> "Lucri bonus eſt odor, ex re
> Qualibet." JUVENAL.

If the exertions of heretical champions in the cauſe of popery were ſo well recompenſed in Ireland, he imagined that his labours in the holy vineyard would entitle him to more than ordinary rewards, as he had diſplayed the moſt ardent zeal in it on former occaſions; beſides, he conſidered that his education alone would ſtrongly recommend him to the Catholic committee, as he had been bred a Jeſuit at St. Omer's, where he might be ſuppoſed to have acquired that kind of knowledge which renders the diſciples of Ignatius well qualified for polemics and caſuiſtical diſquiſition. Mr. Plowden's former publications had little or no circulation in England. Ireland, which had been many years in a ſtate of rebellious fermentation, he regarded as a crucible; and, as a good alchymiſt, he was led to hope, that in it, he ſhould convert his baſe materials into pure gold. Accordingly, he acknowledges that he went twice to Ireland previous to his grand miſſion in 1801. Though he ſeems by all his writings to have a large ſhare of Popiſh bigotry, as he is *far from being rich*, it is not to

* Of the united Iriſhmen, founded on French principles.

be

be ſuppoſed that he would take three expenſive journies to Ireland, actuated ſolely by a pious zeal to propagate his religion. Mr. Plowden has informed us, that he received 300*l.* from the Engliſh miniſter; but he has not told us, whether any, or what ſums of money were collected for him in the King's Bench and Fleet Priſons. He candidly declares in his poſtliminious preface, as he calls it, that he obtained this boon of 300*l.* to write *a fair, impartial, and authentic* hiſtory of Ireland; but as it is much the reverſe, and as it is founded in the groſſeſt perverſions of hiſtoric truth, as its main object evidently is, to condemn the religious, moral, and political principles of Proteſtants, and to exalt thoſe of his own communion; as it is a groſs libel on the government of both iſlands, and defames moſt of its members, who have juſtly obtained celebrity for their wiſdom, integrity and abilities, in promoting the intereſts of the empire, we may fairly conclude, that he was as well rewarded as his fellow labourers. As inſtead of ſerving he has injured the cauſe of his employers, by his dulneſs and intemperate zeal, it is ſaid that they mean to reclaim the money which they gave him. But he will probably follow the example of the Jeſuits miſſionaries in China, who under ſanctimonious pretences borrowed ſums of money from the people; and on being required to repay them, they offered them notes or drafts payable in the next world, by a remiſſion of their ſins.

The Catholic committee made a conſtant practice of employing perſons both in England and in Ireland to libel the government, and the Proteſtants of the latter, by falſely aſſerting that they exerciſed ſingular tyranny over the Papiſts, whom they repreſented as in a downright ſtate of ſlavery. Mr. Plowden has done this, not only in his Hiſtorical Review of Ireland, which is the object of this excellent writer's ſtrictures, but in other works, and in reviews and newſpapers. As he and his fellow labourers have uttered the groſſeſt falſehoods and calumnies of that juſtly revered and reſpected nobleman, the Earl of Camden, by imputing the dreadful rebellion of 1798, to wanton and unneceſſary ſeverities exerciſed during his adminiſtration, and even under his direct ſanction, it is right to remind the reader, that his Lordſhip did not arrive in Ireland till the 31ſt of March 1795; and we have already ſhewn that one rebellion had been formed ſome years previous to his arrival by the defenders, and another by a ſet of republicans called the united Iriſhmen, in 1791, who made the former ſubſervient to their deſigns. It is obſervable alſo, that the treaſonable conſpiracy which had long exiſted in the metropolis, and had ſo early as the year 1792, raiſed the moſt alarming apprehenſions in the government for its ſafety, burſt forth with ſo much fury on the day of his landing, that ſome of the leading members of the ſtate were attacked in the public ſtreets, by a numerous body of the defenders, who groſsly aſſaulted and wounded ſome of them,* as they were returning to their reſpective homes from the

* The ſame treaſonable ſpirit, conſtantly exiſting in the metropolis, produced the inſurrection on the 23d of July, 1803, when Lord Kilwarden and many others were murdered.

privy council. The abuſe of Mr. Plowden is ſo general, that what is ſaid of Charon in Dante, may properly be applied to him—*his cenſure is praiſe.*

> " Quinci non paſſa mai anima buona;
> E però ſe Charon di te ſi lagna,
> Ben puoi ſaper mai, che' l ſuo dir ſuona."
>
> *La divina Commedia Canto III.*

From the envenomed rancour which Mr. Plowden has manifeſted, without reſerve, againſt the Proteſtant ſtate and its members, in his preſent humble condition, we may conceive what he would do againſt both, if his fellow believers attained that aſcendancy to which they have been aſpiring ſome years, and if he were poſſeſſed of power and influence.

> " To what on quail and pheaſant would he ſwell,
> Who even on tripe and carrion could rebel."*

For ſome time after the publication of his Hiſtorical Review, it was univerſally believed that the Attorney General would have moved for an information againſt the author of ſo groſs a libel; but public contempt, mingled with indignation, has been a ſufficient puniſhment for him, as he is univerſally pointed at by the finger of ſcorn. The lion feeds not on carcaſes.

We truſt our readers will accept the following apology for having detained their attention ſo long by theſe prefatory obſervations. From the ſtrenuous exertions of the Roman Catholics, for many years paſt, to impoſe on the Britiſh public in reſpect to Ireland, particularly as to their religion Britons have been kept in downright ignorance of its real ſtate. Can we otherwiſe account for the following very alarming incident. Some diſtinguiſhed perſonages, whoſe anceſtors acquired immortal glory by the wiſdom and firmneſs which they diſplayed in accompliſhing the revolution, by which the empire was reſcued from Popery and ſlavery, have been recently ſanguine advocates for eſtabliſhing the former, in the moſt unqualified manner. What a contraſt to the conduct of their anceſtors! Majorum gloria poſteris quaſi lumen eſt, neque bona eorum, neque mala in occulto patitur. Salluſt. bellum Jugur.

We hope and believe that this has ariſen, rather from error than from a dereliction of principle; however, it is very alarming, and ſhould awaken the attention of the Britiſh people to their true intereſt. We conſider it as our duty, therefore, to give them the fulleſt information on this ſubject; and nothing that we have ever read is ſo well calculated to attain that end as this work, which is a moſt excellent critical diſſertation on the hiſtory of Ireland. Its author has

* The word rebel is uſed figuratively by the poets, and we certainly do not mean to inſinuate that Mr. P. is a rebel.

diſplayed

diſplayed great depth of reſearch, and accuracy of diſcrimination in marking the moſt material epochs and incidents in the annals of Ireland, which merit the attention of the curious; and this volume muſt be peculiarly intereſting to ſtateſmen, as it points out, and diſcuſſes, the cauſes which have retarded its civilization. In addition to his judicious remarks, we ſhall ſubjoin ſome of our own obſervations.

Theſe ſtrictures are divided into three parts, and appropriated to each, there is a copious appendix containing proofs and documents to illuſtrate the text. It is to be lamented, that this intereſting volume is without an index. It has the merit of being very cheap, for it is in a ſmall type; and if it were printed in pica print, would make a volume of 500 pages. We ſhall proceed to give the exordium, which will beſt explain its author's deſign.

"Mr. Plowden's ponderous publication is ſo evidently written to ſerve the intereſts of a party, ſo calculated to miſlead the people of England, and to give them erroneous ideas of the various Engliſh adminiſtrations, which during ſix centuries have governed Ireland, and of the cauſes of the conſtant diviſions and diſtractions of that kingdom, that to ſuffer it to remain without notice or animadverſion, were in ſome meaſure to ſanction its miſtatements, and to give implied authority to a work, replete with hiſtorical miſrepreſentations, crowded with undeſerved panegyrics upon one ſect of individuals, and with the moſt unfounded calumnies againſt the living and the dead of another.

"Mr. Plowden has thought proper to dignify his book, with the title of 'an Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland;' while it is in fact nothing more than an intemperate and highly impolitic party-pamphlet, differing only in bulk and price from thoſe caſual publications, which attract notice for a ſhort time, and then ſink into eternal oblivion.

"Arduous indeed are the labours, and difficult is the taſk, of a faithful and impartial hiſtorian! The writer who undertakes to give an hiſtory of any particular kingdom, ought previouſly to examine with a cool and deliberate reſearch all the former annaliſts and hiſtorians of different parties, as well as the publications of the day. He ought to poſſeſs a diſcriminating mind, eager in its inquiry after truth. He ſhould be candid, cautious, and temperate. It is his duty to inveſtigate facts minutely, to hazard conjectures with diffidence, and to receive the recriminations of heated parties with diſtruſt. He ſhould be accurate in his ſtatements, candid in his narration of events, and ſomewhat impartial in his reaſonings upon them. But, above all, he ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be guided by prejudice, and influenced by the zeal of religious bigotry. Such is the faint outline of the duty, ſuch a few of the indiſpenſable qualifications, of an hiſtorian.

"What claim, therefore, can that writer have even to the character of an accurate compiler, much leſs of a faithful hiſtorian, who, in his account of the early tranſactions of Iriſh hiſtory, quotes, and almoſt ſolely relies upon, a few obſcure writers of one party; and who, in order to eſtabliſh their authenticity, makes the novel and ridiculous attempt, to diſcredit all thoſe former hiſtorians of Ireland, whoſe works are in the moſt repute, and whoſe accounts of the tranſactions of the times, have been always moſt relied upon?

"What opinion are we to form of the prudence of this gentleman, who has thought proper to repreſent the conduct of the Engliſh Governments to that country, as one uniform and continued ſyſtem of oppreſſion and cruelty; who loads with unqualified cenſure and abuſe every adminiſtration which has ever governed Ireland; and who deſcribes all the former Lords, Juſtices, and Viceroys (with the exception only of the Marquis Cornwallis) as knaves or fools, tyrants or hypocrites?

"What ſhall we think of the candour of him, who criminates as unjuſtifiable, wanton, and cruel, thoſe meaſures, which one party in Ireland was obliged to adopt for its ſafety, whilſt he palliates, if not juſtifies, the inſurrections and atrocities of the other party, and even goes ſuch lengths as to ſtyle the moſt horrid of their rebellions, a conſcientious adherence to their allegiance, and an unanſwerable proof of their loyalty!

"What pretentions can that man have to moderation or diſcretion, who vilifies almoſt indiſcriminately the characters of ſo many illuſtrious men of former times, and who caſts the moſt unfounded aſperſions upon ſome of the moſt reſpectable and exalted individuals of the preſent? What claim can the author have to our confidence, who, through the whole courſe of his early hiſtory, ſo ſtudiouſly conceals, and boldly denies, the ſavage exceſſes of the rebellious natives of Ireland, that he may pathetically deſcribe and lament their ſufferings; at the ſame time that he depicts in ſuch falſe colours the neceſſary exertions of power, the indiſpenſable meaſures of ſelf-preſervation?

"What reliance can we place upon the accuracy of the hiſtorian, who, in his account of a recent and memorable event, gives the exaggerated accuſations and ſtatements of ſubjects in rebellion againſt the ſtate, as correct, whilſt he confidently denies the truth of official documents, and the accuracy of parliamentary reports? And, laſtly, can we without a ſmile demand, what pretenſions Mr. Plowden can have to impartiality, who, throughout every line of his work, evidently appears the advocate and apologiſt of the Catholic, and the enemy and accuſer of the Proteſtant party in Ireland; who has not only magnified the ſeverities and exceſſes committed by the loyaliſts and their anceſtors during violent and atrocious rebellions, (exceſſes perhaps inſeparable from all civil wars) but has charged the preſent generation with enormities of which they are incapable, and the foul imputation of which they repel with ſcorn: enormities which were committed by the inſurgents, and which are unexampled in the hiſtory of any countries, except 'Catholic Ireland,' and Republican France?

"Though Mr. Plowden therefore may be eſteemed (as no doubt he is) by one claſs of individuals, a very daring and zealous partizan; I truſt he will never be conſidered by the public in either country, as a faithful or impartial hiſtorian of Ireland.

"Very general is the ignorance which even at this day prevails in England, of the true ſtate of that country. Ireland is ſcarcely known but by its factions and rebellions. Active have been the exertions, and not altogether unſucceſsful the induſtry, of the rebel party, their abettors, and palliators, to deceive the people of England, by repreſenting as unneceſſary and unjuſt, thoſe meaſures which the machinations of treaſon rendered indiſpenſable, in order thus to fix the ſtigma of provocation upon the Government and the Proteſtant gentry of Ireland.

"The Britiſh nation, ignorant of the ſpirit of bigotry, the hoſtile prejudices, and the political treachery of the lower, and unfortunately not alone of the lower, orders of Iriſh Catholics, perplexed and alarmed by the conſtant

conſtant diſcontents and diſturbances in Ireland, and unacquainted with the peculiar difficulties with which the Iriſh governments have always to ſtruggle, are but too apt in conſequence to be perſuaded, that the uniform reſiſtance to the laws, and the rebellions of that country, are produced by mal-adminiſtration, or provoked by the oppreſſion of the higher orders of ſociety. Hence it is, that various communications, written by the diſaffected party in Ireland, and containing the moſt glaring falſehoods, have received a ready inſertion in the periodical, and particularly in the provincial prints in England. Theſe publications, though deſpiſed in one country, as the ebullitions of diſappointed treaſon, have been received in the other as truths, and have greatly influenced public opinion in Great Britain; which was indeed the very object for which they were fabricated and publiſhed.

"Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion of 1798 at length, in ſome meaſure, opened the eyes of the Britiſh nation. His minute detail of the enormities committed *before*, as well as during its progreſs, fortified as it is by ſuch an irreſiſtible body of evidence upon oath, and authenticated by the teſtimony of thoſe officers and gentlemen who were eye-witneſſes of many of the horrid tranſactions, has at laſt given the people of England more juſt conceptions of the deſigns and conduct of the Iriſh rebels; and the vain, but malicious efforts, which have been made by the diſaffected party to diſcredit Sir Richard Muſgrave's work, have more fully eſtabliſhed its authenticity in the opinion of the more eſtimable part of the Iriſh community.

"The loyaliſts of Ireland, as generous as they are brave, upon the peace with France ſheathed their ſwords; and, though they could not forget, had forgiven the injuries which they had received from their Catholic brethren; and harmony and confidence were, in a great meaſure, reſtored in that unfortunate country. At ſuch an unpropitious moment, another Catholic champion imprudently ſtands forth, and throws down the gauntlet of religious and political controverſy.

"In my Strictures upon his publication, which is conſidered by a great part of the Iriſh as a libel upon the loyalty of Ireland, I ſhall avoid caſting any perſonal reflections upon the writer, however authorized I might feel myſelf, by his example, to purſue a different line of conduct. His object in publiſhing ſuch a work, at ſuch a time, is beſt known to himſelf. Whatever may have been the motives, I feel it my duty to endeavour to counteract the miſchief that may ariſe from the publication, ſhould its ſtatements remain uncontradicted. I do not therefore attack Mr. Plowden, but his book, which he has confidently ſubmitted to the public, with his name and *his portrait* affixed to it. He has ſent it into the world, "with all its imperfections on its head;" and before the tribunal of public opinion I ſhall very freely and boldly arraign it.

"The work is dedicated to the Prince of Wales. This dedication concludes without any of the uſual ceremonies of reſpect to ſo exalted a perſonage. The writer plainly intimates to his Royal Highneſs, that to his reign, Ireland, i. e. the Catholic part of it, eagerly looks forward for the removal of thoſe political reſtraints which only affect a very few of the upper claſs of that perſuaſion.

"The Introductory Chapter of this work, the writer profeſſes to be a review of the ſtate of Ireland previous to its invaſion or conqueſt in the reign of Henry II. and he declares his object to be, "to draw the attention

tion of his reader to ſuch prominent events as have, in their time, order, and proportion, remotely and proximately led to an incorporate union of Great Britain with Ireland; which is the primary object of this publication." For this purpoſe, *no doubt*, it was, that ſo early as in his fifth page, he draws the attention of his reader to the letter of Colonel Littlehales, relative to Sir Richard Muſgrave's dedication to the Marquis Cornwallis, of his highly eſteemed and accurate hiſtory of the rebellion of 1798; wherein the Colonel expreſſes his Excellency's "wiſh, that in any future edition, the permiſſion to dedicate it to him may be omitted;" "becauſe the nature and contents of the work tend ſo ſtrongly to revive the dreadful animoſities which have ſo long diſtracted that country, and which it is the duty of every good ſubject to compoſe.

"Now, as Sir Richard Muſgrave's work does not contain any account of the early hiſtory of Ireland, but is ſolely confined to tracing the origin and progreſs of a late ſavage rebellion, it appears to my comprehenſion a little *out of order*, to attempt to diſcredit it *in limine*: if the object be to injure its reputation with thoſe who are beſt acquainted with *modern* Iriſh hiſtory, I apprehend it will be very unſucceſsful; or, if this letter has been noticed in this part of the work through *inadvertence*, it is only one proof, among many others in this compoſition, of the total want of proper claſſification and chronological arrangement."

In page 12, the author laments that Mr. Plowden's character of the old native Iriſh, extracted by him from Sir John Davis and Dr. Leland, is but too accurate, and ſtill exiſts in all its force, viz. "ardent reſentments, deſperate and vindictive outrages (ſtill) abound in their annals, the miniſters of their religion are accounted more than human,* private injuries are avenged by force, and inſolent ambitious chieftains ſtill recur to arms." In a note he here obſerves, that "that hero, father Murphy, at the battle of Arklow (1798) where he was the general, perſuaded his troops that he was invulnerable, and could catch the heretic bullets, as they flew, in his hand. Under this impreſſion, they fought deſperately until he was killed, when they all fled." He might have added many other ſacerdotal leaders, to the liſt of rebel generals, who had the ſame influence over the Popiſh multitude. In pages 13, 14, and 15, he animadverts on Mr. Plowden's remark on "the family pride which is retained by the Iriſh, even in extreme indigence," and "that no nation in fact now upon the face of the globe, can boaſt of ſuch certain and remote antiquity: none can trace inſtances of ſuch early civilization: none poſſeſs ſuch irrefragable proofs of their origin, lineage, and duration of government." In ſupport of this, our author obſerves, that Mr. Plowden adopts thoſe abſurd and groundleſs fictions, that Ireland was peopled by a colony of Carthaginians above 3000 years ago, and that the Iriſh enjoyed the higheſt degree of refinement and civilization under the Mileſian monarchy. All theſe ridiculous tales,

* In truth all the misfortunes of Ireland ariſe from the diſaffection of the Popiſh prieſts, and their unbounded influence over the multitude.

fabricated

fabricated in an age of ignorance, and unſupported by any authentic records, have been rejected by Spencer, Ware, Stillingfleet, Ledwich and every rational antiquary; and indeed it would require more than Popiſh credulity to entertain them for a moment. However, Mr. Plowden raiſes a great ſuperſtructure on theſe monkiſh inventions, the falſity of which we ſhall prove afterwards, in our obſervations on the Iriſh hiſtorians, who have maintained them, and which we flatter ourſelves will be highly acceptable to our readers. Mr. Plowden ſays, that the Iriſh have a conſtant deſire of recovering the forfeited eſtates, and his manner of deſcribing it, and the origin to which he imputes it, are ably refuted and ridiculed by our author. We give the whole of this paſſage which he has extracted from the Hiſtorical Review.

" This general ſpecies of *gregarian* reſumption, grafted upon the collective claims of ſepts or clans, to certain diſtricts, will, upon cloſe inſpection and impartial inveſtigation, be found to refer to the old tenures of Tanniſtry or Gavelkind, and by no means to the laws of England, which have for centuries regulated the deſcent of lands in Ireland, otherwiſe the reſumption would be confined to the individuals, upon whom the law would in the ſuppoſed caſes of reſumption caſt the inheritance, either by primogeniture, or by ſome other mode or deſcent. Now the *only cry* for reſumption is ever ſuppoſed to ariſe from that caſt of the natives, who have retained that national ſpirit, with the deluſive claims of royalty and domain, which could alone be realized by the redintegration of the old Brehon inſtitution."

On reading theſe periods, which are perfectly unintelligible, we could not help exclaiming with the Latin poet:

" Bœotum in craſſo jurares aere natum."

In the 20th volume of our review on Mr. P.'s ponderous work, we explained the nature of thoſe Brehon inſtitutions, Tanniſtry and Gavelkind, which muſt have kept the Iriſh in the utmoſt ſtate of barbariſm, as they did not deſignate any regular ſucceſſion to property. By the former, the Tanniſt, or chieftain, was appointed by election to enjoy the property of the deceaſed, but it finally ended in bloodſhed, and was determined by force; and by the latter, a diſtrict poſſeſſed by a numerous ſept, underwent a new diviſion whenever any individual died. Mr. Carte, therefore, a moſt judicious writer, in his hiſtory of the houſe of Ormond, obſerves, that none of the Iriſh can properly lay claim to any particular portion of landed property. Mr. Plowden firſt tells us, that *this general ſpecies of gregarian reſumption* refers to the old tenures of Tanniſtry and Gavelkind; thus confounding them, though they are perfectly diſtinct in their nature and effects. The gregarian reſumption is the collective claims of ſepts or clans to certain diſtricts, which he allows ſtill to exiſt; and yet he afterwards aſſerts, that " now the *only* cry for reſumption is ever ſuppoſed to ariſe from that caſt of the natives, who have retained that national ſpirit with the deluſive claims of royalty

* This barbarous word is unknown in our language, perhaps Mr. P. found it in the St. Omer's vocabulary. Can he mean agrarian?

and

and domain, which would alone be realized by the redintegration of the old Brehon inſtitutions." Our author obſerves on this abſurd, inconſiſtent, and incomprehenſible paſſage, " that an Engliſh lawyer ſhould be ſo ignorant of the ſtate of that country, of which he profeſſes to give an hiſtorical review, as to compoſe and publiſh ſo ridiculous a paragraph, muſt excite among his brethren of the Iriſh bar other emotions beſide thoſe of ſurpriſe." After many ingenious ſtrictures on this nonſenſical paſſage, he ſays, " as to the principles of the Brehon inſtitutions,* and of Tanniſtry and Gavelkind, of which not only the maſs of the Iriſh people, but very many of the learned profeſſions, know as little as they do of the doctrines of Confucius." In ſhort the only poſſible interpretation which this gregarian or gregarious reſumption can admit of in this; the Popiſh multitude are conſtantly inſpired by their prieſts, from their infancy, with a ſanguinary hatred, founded in fanaticiſm, againſt Proteſtants and Engliſhmen, whom they indiſcriminately call Saſonagh; they have a deſire therefore to riot in their blood, and to plunder their property; and ſhould they ever ſucceed, they will cut each others throats in the *gregarian* ſcramble which muſt enſue. In page 18, our author, treats with merited contempt the aſſertion which Mr. Plowden makes that " the faith which was preached by St. Patrick to, and received by the Iriſh, was that which is now denominated the Roman Catholic faith." P. 19. and that a long ſtring of monarchs, had ſacredly preſerved the Catholic faith, in the purity which they had received it from St. Patrick. P. 32. In a former volume of our review, we fully refuted this falſe and groundleſs aſſertion. Our author obſerves " that Mr. P. ſeems to entertain with reſpect the popular opinion, that to the prayers of St. Patrick it was owing, that vipers, toads, ſnakes, &c. which formerly abounded there, took their departure from the land of Saints, in whoſe climate (he properly remarks) I conceive they never could have exiſted, on account of the great moiſture." From the many ſpecimens of the Popiſh bigotry, which Mr. P. has already given in his works, we cannot be ſurpriſed at this inſtance of his credulity. There are many parts of the world free from ſerpents, without the aid of St. Patrick. It unfortunately happens for this ſuperſtitious, monkiſh tale, that Solinus, who wrote 300 years before the age aſcribed to St. Patrick, ſhould ſay of Ireland.—Illic nullus ſerpens. Polyhiſt. cap. 22. p. 42. Ed. Salmas. It was great inattention and unkindneſs in St. George of England, St. Andrew of Scotland, and St. Dennis of France, not to have freed their reſpective countries of venomous creatures.

In page 19, Mr. Plowden is convicted of the following groſs inconſiſtency. He ſtates in various parts of his hiſtorical review, that his

* The reader will find an excellent account of theſe barbarous laws in the antiquities of Ireland, by that learned antiquary Doctor Ledwich.

main

main object was to conciliate the Iriſh to the Union, and to attach them to the Britiſh nation; and the following paragraphs muſt produce a contrary effect. He ſpeaks "of the long infelicity of Ireland, ſince it has become dependent on, or connected with this country." (P. 16.) "When we conſider," he ſays, "that ſince Ireland has become connected with, or rather ſubject to, England, it has ceaſed to perform the part of a nation, on the political theatre of the univerſe, [world] we bring our minds with difficulty to believe the accounts of her leading eminence on that theatre, before ſuch connections or ſubjections took place." (P. 20.) "This ſtate of pre-eminence, which Ireland ſo long enjoyed amidſt the nations of Europe, ſhews to what a degree of conſequence ſhe is capable of riſing, when her native energies and powers are not cramped by internal diviſions, or damped by foreign power, oppreſſion, and rigour." This judicious writer remarks on thoſe obſervations of Mr. Plowden, "How ſuch topics of inveſtigation can conſolidate the connection of the two countries, or conciliate the Iriſh political theoriſts to the union, the object of Mr. Plowden's publication, is beyond my capacity to diſcover. To my plain judgement it appears, that if any inference is drawn from theſe paragraphs, it may be one calculated to excite ideas of ſeparation; and that the conſequences might be "to ſtimulate that people to emulate their priſtine glory." P. 22. It appears to us, that by thoſe irritating topics, in reminding the Iriſh of the degradation to which they have been reduced by their connection with England, Mr. Plowden means to comply with the wiſhes of the Catholic Committee, whoſe object has ever been ſeparation; but in no inſtance do we find him inclined to fulfil his engagement with the miniſter of England, from whom he ſolicited and obtained £300. Our author makes the following apology, for not entering into a diſcuſſion of the early and fabulous part of Iriſh annals, of which Mr. P. with his uſual credulity, gives a copious relation. "It were endleſs as well as diſguſting, to follow this work through its detail of the early petty broils of a barbarous province; the incidents of which compiled from a ſelection of the Iriſh monkiſh annaliſts, (a claſs of writers little qualified to view the ſubject with an impartial eye) are therein recorded with a moſt fatiguing minuteneſs." Our author in pages 20 and 21, with great ability vindicates the Engliſh coloniſts, who invaded England in Henry the ſecond's reign, from charges of cruelty and barbarity towards the natives, with which Mr. Plowden never fails to reproach them. He juſtly obſerves, "Wanton barbarity has never been, at any period, the characteriſtic feature of the Engliſh nation; and that a gentleman poſſeſſing the proud and generous feelings of our countrymen, ſhould give credit to the falſehoods of bigotted Iriſh annaliſts againſt our anceſtors, is as aſtoniſhing as it is prepoſterous." He ſhews that Coigne and Livery,* a ſpecies of execution, under

* Doctor Ledwich gives a ſatisfactory account of this and all the other Iriſh exactions,

whoſe

whoſe ſanction the chieftains plundered their vaſſals in an unlimited manner, exiſted among the Iriſh long before the Engliſh arrived in Ireland, though Mr. P. with his uſual acrimony againſt the latter, aſcribes the invention and the practice of it excluſively to them. But we cannot be ſurprized, that this diſciple of Ignatius ſhould ſhew a ſtrong predilection for the inhabitants of the iſland of Saints, and a deep rooted antipathy towards a nation of heretics. Our author makes ſome excellent obſervations in his 22d and 23d pages, on the events in Ireland, during the reign of Henry VII. which Mr. P. has not touched upon. He offers many judicious remarks on the reign of Henry VIII. from his 23d to his 26th pages, beginning thus:—"I follow this work (the Hiſtorical Review) to the reign of Henry VIII. whoſe government in Ireland it repreſents as one continued ſyſtem of inſult and tyranny." With great ability our author vindicates the Engliſh government, and he obſerves that Mr. P. after enumerating ſome very wiſe laws enacted by the Iriſh Parliament, tending materially to the improvement of Ireland, in the relation of which he copies Leland's Hiſtory verbatim, makes this remark.

"Such" obſerves Mr. P. in the next paragraph, "were the laws which *this corrupt and ſervile parliament* paſſed to gratify the *reſentment, luſt, avarice and ambition* of Henry. Ingenuity could not have deviſed a collection of laws more emphatically calculated to render the Engliſh power *contemptible and odious* to the Iriſh nation." Our author remarks on this groſs inſtance of popiſh acrimony.—"Gracious heaven! of what materials does this writer ſuppoſe the heads of his readers to be made, when he enumerates theſe laws, ſo wiſe, ſo ſalutary, and ſo clement, as inſtances of the rigour and impolicy of Henry the VIII.'s government in Ireland?" In no inſtance has Mr. P. ſhewn ſuch groſs inconſiſtency as in the following; he beſtows many encomiums on the veracity of Sir John Davis, in his Hiſtorical Relations of Ireland*, and yet that excellent writer tells us that Henry VIII had ſo much conciliated the Iriſh by his mild and beneficent government, "that many of their chief Lords upon this deputy's (Lord Leonard Grey) return to Dublin, made their ſubmiſſions to the crown of England, namely the O'Neales, and O'Reilley's, of Ulſter; M'Morraugh, O'Birne, and O'Carral, of Leinſter; and the Bourkes of Connaught; Diſcovery of the True Cauſes why Ireland, &c. p. 164; and in p. 165 of the ſame work, he ſays, "in theſe indentures of ſubmiſſion, *all* the Iriſh Lords do acknowledge King Henry VIII. to be their Sovereign Lord and King, and deſire to be accepted of him as ſubjects. They confeſs the King's ſupremacy in all cauſes, and do utterly renounce the Pope's juriſ-

* Mr. Plowden ſays in the 106th. page of his Hiſtorical Review, "There is no queſtion but that Sir John Davis has written with more truth and impartiality than any of his cotemporary authors."

diction

diction, which I conceive to be worth nothing, becauſe, *when the Iriſh had once reſolved to obey the King, they made no ſcruple to renounce the Pope.* And this was not only done by the mere Iriſh, but the chief of the degenerate Engliſh families did form the ſame." Previous to this, Sir John Davis ſays, in p. 164, that the following acts paſſed, "the act which declared King Henry VIII. to be ſupreme head of the church: the act prohibiting appeals to the church of Rome: the act for firſt fruits, and the 20th part to be paid to the King; and laſtly, the act that did utterly aboliſh the uſurped authority of the Pope. By an act he ſuppreſſed ſundry abbeys and religious houſes." After this what opinion muſt the reader have of the conſiſtency and veracity of Mr. Plowden, when he gravely tells us, in a note on the 106th page of the firſt volume of his dull and ponderous work, that "Sir John Davis, through his Hiſtorical Relations, avoids any mention of religion, well knowing how ſore the Iriſh were upon the ſubject, and what violent effects it produced in the convulſed politics of that kingdom." There cannot be a doubt, but that the reformation would have been completely eſtabliſhed at this time, as the people cordially received, and quietly acquieſced in it, but that thoſe incendiaries and firebrands, the Popiſh prieſts, headed and encouraged by their titular primate Cromer, ſolicited and obtained a bull of a moſt treaſonable and inflammatory tendency. Our author who makes many excellent obſervations on this reign, particularly on the progreſs of the reformation, remarks that "the reformation did not make the ſame rapid ſtrides in Ireland as in England I admit, and at the ſame time deplore. Had it done ſo theſe convulſions which have agitated, and thoſe horrors which have ſo long diſgraced it had never happened. For though the early hoſtility of the Iriſh to the Engliſh and their deſcendants was, until the reign of Henry VIII. ſolely on account of their invaſion; yet at that period religious bigotry mixed in the quarrel, in which it has moſt obſtinately kept its ground."

He thus accounts for the ſlow progreſs of the reformation in Ireland. "The ſtupid ignorance of the natives, the blind zeal and furious bigotry of the Catholic clergy, threw formidable obſtacles in its way; that it notwithſtanding gained ground, is evident from the alarms which its progreſs gave to the See of Rome; which ſent over a private commiſſion to Cromer the primate (its great opponent), and his aſſociates, enjoining them to perſeverance boldly in ſupport of the papal authority, and denouncing the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical penalties againſt the converts." He then obſerves, that theſe efforts were not ineffectual, they prevailed upon the northern chieftain O'Neal, to become the champion for the defence of the Holy Church. He accordingly collected an immenſe army, which after committing dreadful ravages, was defeated at the battle of Bellahoe, by the Lieutenant, Lord Leonard Grey, whoſe principal force conſiſted of the loyal

loyal citizens of Dublin* and Drogheda, who had embarraſſed the reformation."

Our author quotes the following paſſage from Leland's hiſtory, to prove the good effects of the mildneſs of the government during this reign, contrary to the acrimonious ſtrictures of Mr. Plowden. "An unuſual degree of peace ſeemed to have ſpread through the iſland; nor could the practices of Francis I. when Henry had declared war, and was preparing to invade this kingdom, ſeduce the Iriſh to a revolt."

He thus begins his remarks on the next reign. "With all the benefits of Queen Mary's *wiſer policy*, in obliging her ſubjects to relapſe into the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome, this circumſtance did not, as Mr. Plowden aſſerts, 'give a temporary reſpite to the troubled ſtate of Ireland, as far at leaſt as it depended on England.'† For this Queen at the acceſſion to the throne, found that kingdom tranquil. During her ſhort and violent reign, it became the ſcene of inteſtine diſtractions; for a detail of which, as well as of the practices of the Catholic clergy, I refer my readers to Leland's hiſtory, from whom Mr. Plowden has carefully ſelected (and as I before obſerved) copied verbatim *every page*, which that candid writer devotes to a detail of the errors of the Engliſh government; whilſt he omits *all thoſe*, which flatly diſprove the poſitions, which he endeavours to eſtabliſh in his Hiſtorical Review. He refutes the charge which Mr. Plowden makes againſt the Engliſh government, of diſcountenancing, as he repreſents, all connection between the ſettlers and the natives, by prohibiting intermarriages between them; for he obſerves, "had he been at the pains of reading the ſtatute, againſt marrying with the Iriſh," he would have diſcovered, that it was not ſo extenſive in its operations, as he ſeems to imagine; for this ſtatute only forbade alliances with thoſe Iriſh who were rebels, who neither acknowledged the authority of government, or obeyed its laws."

In a note on page 27, our author remarks, "I muſt not forget to mention, that Mary's Catholic parliament (which, according to Mr. P. wonderfully tranquillized Ireland) enacted, in the fourth year of the reign of this "immaculate princeſs," the ſtatute "for the puniſhment of hereſies." Had this Queen lived a little longer, the citizens of Dublin, as well as thoſe of London, might have had the bonfires lighted up in their Smithfield." In Appendix IX. to the firſt part, he ſhews an attempt made by Mary, to carry into practice

* The Proteſtant corporation and citizens of Dublin have ever been noted for their loyalty; and had the ſalutary warning, which they gave the Engliſh cabinet in 1793, been attended to, the ſubſequent calamities of Ireland would have been prevented.

† This Popiſh bigot, who may be called the *common accuſer*, never miſſes an opportunity of traducing the Engliſh nation.

in

in Ireland, the ſame ſyſtem of perſecution which took place in England: but it was providentially defeated.

This very excellent writer thus cloſes his firſt part of his Strictures on Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review, "I have already ſhewn what little reliance is to be placed upon its hiſtorical accuracy, and how unfounded are its accuſations againſt the conduct of the Engliſh government, from the reign of Henry II. to the reformation." He tells us that the ſecond part of his Strictures ſhall commence with Mr. Plowden's account of Elizabeth's reign, and ſhall end with the reign of George II. and that the third part ſhall compriſe that part of his work from the before-mentioned period to the union.

We intended to cloſe this article with ſome intereſting obſervations, on the hiſtorians of Ireland, on whom Mr. P. chiefly reſts the authenticity of his aſſertions, particularly as to its early and fabulous ſtate, but as it exceeds our circumſcribed limits, we muſt poſtpone it for the preſent; and we ſhall therefore prefix it to our review of the ſecond part of this excellent work.

European Commerce, ſhewing new and ſecure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe: detailing the produce, Manufactures and Commerce of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany; as well as the Trade of the Rivers Elbe, Weſer, and Ems; with a general View of the Trade, Navigation, Produce, and Manufactures of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and its unexplored and improveable Reſources, and interior Wealth. Illuſtrated with a Canal and River Map of Europe. By J. Jepſon Oddy, Member of the Ruſſia and Turkey or Levant Companies. 4to. Pp. 664. Richardſons. 1805.

IN this commercial as well as literary age, it was to be expected that a great deal ſhould be written about commerce. The preſs has accordingly teemed with books and pamphlets of this kind. Speculative men have analyſed the general nature of commerce, and ſhewn its connection and influence on manners, knowledge, and the condition of nations. Voyagers and travellers are now, above all things attentive to the ſtate of commerce, or the new channels of commerce opened to the adventurer, in the countries to which they reſort. Commerce is a general ſubject of curious and intereſting lucubration.

While many books on commerce are addreſſed to ſpeculative men, to ſcholars, philoſophers, and ſtateſmen, others take merchants and manufacturers, as it were by the hand, ſaying "this is the way; walk ye in it," ſuch a practical and uſeful book is Mr. Oddy's. It is not, however, without a degree of entertainment to general ſcholars or readers. The hiſtory of the progreſs of commerce, with that of cultivation, to the ſhores of the Baltic and Scandinavia is very amuſing. Nothing is wanting to render it as intereſting and agreeable

as Dr. Robertſon's book relating to the European commerce with India, but the charms of his arrangement, ſtyle, and manner. But it is as a book of utility and reference that Mr. Oddy's is offered to the public; and, in this way, it is undoubtedly highly worthy of their acceptation. For while it unfolds new and ſecure channels of trade, it enters into the details neceſſary to the carrying of it on.

This publication is, withal well timed. Commerce being forced out of its uſual channels, it is no ſmall ſervice done to traders, to communicate information relative to thoſe new and circuitous routes of carrying on buſineſs with the Continent of Europe, which it has become neceſſary to adopt "the commerce of Britain (he obſerves) muſt either decline, or new channels and modes of carrying it on be ſought after, encouraged and adopted: for where ſhall we find a ſufficient market for our Eaſt and Weſt India produce, and our home manufactures, when ſhut out from the Continent of Europe?—There is no information yet publiſhed relative to our commercial intercourſe with the Continent, through the medium of the northern channels, ſufficiently detailed and comprehenſive for the uſe of the Britiſh merchant. Perſonal obſervation, with experience both at home and abroad, in a life of active occupation, having given Mr. Oddy peculiar advantages, he has been enabled to point out many things hitherto little known; and which will be highly uſeful to the landed proprietors, merchants, manufacturers, ſhip-owners, and under-writers of Great Britain. While Great Britain is engaged in a conteſt with an implacable foe, who aims at the annihilation of her political exiſtence, it muſt afford the higheſt ſatisfaction to every friend to his country to know, that even if the Continent remain in its preſent ſituation, there are new, wide, and ſecure channels, by which her trade may be carried on, through the North of Europe and Germany, to Switzerland, Auſtria, Italy, and even to Turkey; to which laſt country a new, expeditious, and cheap route is pointed out, and ſome intereſting details given. Under the preſent circumſtances it becomes of importance to ſhew that the trade with the northern powers is more beneficial to them than to Great Britain. Neither the French trade nor any other could compenſate to them for the loſs of the Britiſh commerce; while the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland would find in its own unimproved, unexplored, various, and vaſt reſources, means of uniting individual gain and proſperity with public ſecurity and greatneſs. To illuſtrate theſe important points, to ſhew how trade in general, and to the north of Europe in particular, may be combined and extended to the benefit of all parties; and at the ſame time how the diſadvantage that would accrue from the loſs or interruption of that trade might be made up to the united kingdom, and the opportunities it would afford of introducing and extending various branches of manufactures, is one of the main deſigns of the work now offered to the public. It appears to Mr. Oddy, particularly important to prove, that though our trade to the interior of the Continent *by* the north of Europe, be very

very beneficial, yet our trade *to* the northern nations themſelves is far from being ſo. The northern powers, in our commercial intercourſe treat us as if we were dependent upon them; when, in fact, theirs are the only branches of trade, the balance of which is conſiderably againſt us. To ſet this matter in its proper light is among the particular objects of the preſent publication. Such is the deſign of Mr. Oddy's book on European commerce. Even to enumerate the contents, which occupy ſix pages cloſe print, cannot be expected of us. Suffice it to ſay, in general, that his deſign is executed with laborious diligence, much accuracy, and with views both comprehenſive and minute. The numerous tables of merchandize, duties, ſhipping, &c. muſt certainly be uſeful. Even if there were neither time nor inclination to read the whole of the narratives and deſcriptions, it contains a variety of objects which the index will point out, here and there, notwithſtanding the deficiency in the ſtyle, not a little entertainment, as well as mercantile information. This deficiency does not appear from the extracts we have made from the preface, on the compoſition of which the author has taken ſome pains, perhaps aſſiſtance. All that is neceſſary to be obſerved, is, that it is not written in his uſual ſtyle. —ſtyle may be thought of little importance in ſuch books—and ſo indeed it is. But every book ſhould be written, at leaſt with grammatical preciſion and a tolerable degree of logical arrangement, and natural tranſition, from one thing, or one ſentiment or idea, to another. Mr. Oddy, however, in the arrangement of his materials, is not deficient. The following is extracted from chapter I. the moſt entertaining to readers in general in the whole work, which is divided into ſeven books, each containing, we may ſay in the mercantile ſtyle, on an average, about eight chapters. This chapter relates to the introduction of trade into the north of Germany and the ſhores of the Baltic, and the origin, progreſs, and fate of the famous Hanſeatic league.

"The firſt cities that flouriſhed in the Mediteranean were the inventors of navigation, and roſe to wealth without a rival. Thoſe that were afterwards founded and flouriſhed, either roſe under the protection of ſome powerful people, or they became powerful by ſlow degrees, and then became commercial. But we have ſeen commerce riſe in the North, in independent and unprotected cities, at the time when pirates over-run the ſeas, and the land was in the poſſeſſion of princes, who neither underſtood nor valued commerce. In the midſt of oppoſition, oppreſſion, and an accumulation of difficulties, we have ſeen a commercial power riſe up, that began by deſtroying the pirates at ſea, and finiſhed by turning the attention of princes from romantic ſchemes of conqueſt to the more ſolid and fair views of acquiring wealth by means of induſtry.

"The ſpot on which this wonderful effect was produced was the ſame one to which the ambition of France has again baniſhed commerce on the Continent; but now, circumſtances are infinitely more favourable. Let us take a comparative view of circumſtances, before we proceed farther in our hiſtorical detail.

"When the cities in the North of Germany firſt began to flouriſh, commerce conſiſted entirely in ſuch articles of produce as are only found in par-

ticular places; the principal of which were minerals, and the productions of Asia, jewels and aromatics. This was only introducing into the North the same species of traffic that had from the earliest records of history flourished on the borders of the Mediteranean sea in Syria, and Egypt; but, in a northern climate the wants of men are different. Indolence and ease are not prevailing propensities, and their slender influence over the human frame was completely overcome by the cravings of a keen appetite, and the necessity of defence against the cold of the atmosphere.

"Manufactures and fishing were, therefore, studiously and eagerly followed after, but not as in Egypt, and the luxurious nations of the East and of the South. They neither sought for the splendid in cloathing, nor the delicious in food. Herrings are caught in greater quantities than any other species of fish; but they are periodical, and, unless a means of preserving them had been discovered, mankind could never have derived much advantage from their great abundance. The cities of Flanders were the first to excel in the manufacture of cloth, and in the catching and curing of fish, though we have seen that; in the latter, the Danes also excelled.

"The towns which at first begun to acquire riches, merely by the transport and traffic of produce from the East and South now began to extend it to materials for manufactures, for manufactured goods, and for commerce of another sort.

"Grain and the common necessaries of life, make scarcely an article of commerce in a rude state of society, where there are few or no manufactures; for, as there is nothing to give in exchange, each nation is obliged to procure those necessaries for itself; but, when a number of people crowd together in towns, in consequence of commercial wealth, they are obliged to apply to other parts for the common articles, which poorer nations provide for themselves; and it is this which gives the last degree of extension to commerce.

"The Northern towns before the period that I have last mentioned, had extended their commerce to every article then known; and, at that time, the Italian cities, and those on the Baltic sea, engrossed the whole commerce of Europe.

"The discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope and of America, with the facility which the discovery of the magnetic needle had given to the navigation of the ocean, produced a great change, and it was of an unfavourable nature for these towns. In the first place, the Italian cities, which had till then possessed exclusively the commerce with Asia, lost that lucrative trade, which fell into the hands of the Portuguese; who, nevertheless, still found it necessary to have their depôts, for the North of Europe, in the same cities as the Venetians and Genoese had formerly done; but this was not of any long duration; for the Dutch, soon getting a footing in India, drew that commerce to themselves, and they had no occasion for depôts at Bruges, Antwerp, or any other place in the North.

"While the Flemish were manufacturers, the commerce was divided, as it were, amongst the Hans Towns; but when Holland itself, the most mercantile people in the world, got possession of those original sources, they kept the trade arising from them entirely to themselves.

"The fall of the Hans Towns began in their becoming warlike instead of commercial, and preferring political importance to wealth obtained by their original modes. The rise of Holland accelerated their decline; and the general attention which other nations began to pay to manufactures and

and commence by distributing them more equally among people, in different parts of Europe destroyed that superiority which the Northern nations had so long enjoyed."

The following observations seem to be addressed to our East India company, "the fall of the Hans Towns began in their becoming warlike instead of commercial, and preferring political importance to wealth obtained by their original modes." P. 27.

Our author thinks three things necessary to render the property—we suppose he means in general, the prosperity of Great Britain, permanent.

"1. To diminish the poor-rates.

"2. To grow corn at home sufficient for ourselves.

"3. To encourage fisheries, growing of timber, flax, and hemp, so as to have naval stores, without depending on powers which may very likely some day be our enemies, P. 409."

All these objects he clearly shews are fully within the reach of a wise and political œconomy—on the point of growing flax and hemp at home, instead of continuing and extending our trade to the Baltic, particularly to Russia, we hesitate. What he says on the other particulars, poor-rates, corn, fisheries, and timber, is beyond all doubt, worthy of most serious consideration.

On the subject of fisheries he justly observes that "all the attempts hitherto made to aid and increase our fisheries, have been made upon a wrong principle. To encourage poor men to work, furnish them with the necessary implements; though boats and nets are not very expensive, they are far too much so for the fishermen who use them to purchase. In all trades where expensive tools are necessary, such as mills or other machinery, it becomes the business of opulent men to furnish them to the poor labourer or journeyman; so ought boats, nets, and other requisites to be furnished the poor fishermen." P. 523-4. This is very judicious: bounties to a large extent have been for the encouragement of the fisheries allowed by government; and for the same end large sums have been subscribed to a joint stock by private societies. Men, however, have learnt to fish for the BOUNTIES rather than FISHES: and the money subscribed by societies is for the most part perverted into mere jobs for the emolument of individuals: there are crack-brained projectors who write books to shew, that the best way to encourage the fisheries is, to begin with building magnificent towns. They tell you what great things are done on the barren shores of Liguria, by the existence of such a town as Genoa, which furnishes a market for flounders, anchovies, &c.—No! no! let the egg be deposited first, the pullet cannot be made, but it may be raised from the egg.

We are very glad to meet with a stricture which has often occurred to ourselves, on Dr. Smith's Wealth of Nations.

"We have no wish, says Mr. Oddy, here to enter into an argument with Mr Adam Smith's principle about commerce in every way finding its level;

in the great and general principle we do agree; but there are ſtill ſome particular conſiderations; as for inſtance, it may find its level at a very late period; previous to which, much evil may ariſe; or it may find its level by producing ſome very bad effect; for Mr. Smith does not tell us, that in every caſe it will find its level, without doing miſchief. He only tells us that it will find its level." P. 488.

On the whole, this book, we ſhould ſuppoſe, muſt be very acceptable to merchants, particularly thoſe trading or intending to trade to the Baltic, or North of Germany; and not leſs to the Britiſh Legiſlature, to whom it conveys much uſeful information. And we may be permitted to add that ſuch efforts for the general weal of the nation, eſpecially when made not without great expence, ſhould not only be attended to but encouraged and rewarded.

A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, *and* 1800. *Exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners, and a particular Account of the American Syſtem of Agriculture, with its recent Improvements.* By Richard Parkinſon, late of Orange-hill, near Baltimore (Author of the "Experienced Farmer," &c.) 2 vol. 8vo. Pp. 736. 15s. Harding and Murray. 1805.

WHOEVER reads *Tours and Travels* for the purpoſe of *amuſement* only, and can derive no ſatisfaction from information which is neither conveyed in poliſhed language, nor marked by frequent ſallies of wit and humour, will experience conſiderable diſappointment in the peruſal of theſe volumes. For they have no ſuch fictitious advantages to recommend them; they do not faſcinate the eye by meretricious embelliſhments, by any peculiar elegance of print, or by the dazzling ſplendour of hot-preſſed paper, nor are they calculated to charm the ear by a claſſical accuracy of ſtyle, or by a regular ſucceſſion of highly-finiſhed periods. In truth, Mr. Parkinſon is a plain man, and therefore dreſſes his thoughts, in plain, and even homely, language. But to make amends for this egregious violation of thoſe rules which the *faſhionable* touriſts of the day ſeem to have preſcribed to themſelves, our author communicates to his readers a variety of important facts, and a multiplicity of uſeful obſervations, the reſult of perſonal experince, which will enable them to form a more juſt eſtimate of the ſtate of ſociety and manners in the United States of America than can be collected from any other publication which it has been our fortune to meet with. The picture, indeed, which he draws of the inhabitants and of the country, is not a *flattering* likeneſs, but as he aſſures us it is a *true* one, (and we have no reaſon to doubt his word) the ſerious contemplation of it can ſcarcely fail to be productive of ſome benefit. In one point of view, indeed, we cannot but conſider this publication as eminently uſeful; it affords as complete an antidote to the rage for emigration with which too many of our unfortunate countrymen, of the lower and middle claſſes of ſociety, have been long infected, as could poſſibly be adminiſtered,

miniſtered. Here is no vain *declamation* on the ſubject, but plain, ſtrong, unanſwerable *facts*, which ſpeak home to every man's boſom, and which the meaneſt capacity may underſtand, appreciate, and apply.

Mr. Parkinſon was a practical farmer, and undertook the voyage to America, chiefly for the purpoſe of renting a farm of twelve hundred acres, at twenty-two ſhillings per acre, on General Waſhington's eſtate, at Mount Vernon, which had been offered to him, in England, by Sir John Sinclair. He alſo intended to print a new edition of his "Experienced Farmer" in America, and, to complete his advantageous ſpeculations, he took over with him ſome horſes and cattle. In his *introduction*, we have the following brief ſummary of his proceedings.

"The ſpeculation of the books anſwered very well; as alſo did the horſes, cattle, and hogs, beyond my expectation: had it not been for the great loſs in my horſes in going over, the whole of my venture would have proved very profitable. But the wonderful diſappointment I met with in the barrenneſs of the land, was beyond any deſcription. Would General Waſhington have given me the twelve hundred acres, I would not have accepted it, to have been confined to live in that country; and to convince the General of the cauſe of my determination, I was compelled to treat him with a great deal of frankneſs. The General who had correſponded with Mr. Arthur Young and others on the ſubject of Engliſh farming and ſoils, and had been not a little flattered by different gentlemen from England, ſeemed at firſt to be not well pleaſed with my converſation; but I gave him ſome ſtrong proofs of his miſtakes, by making a compariſon between the lands in America and thoſe of England, in two reſpects.

"Firſt, in the article of ſheep. He ſuppoſed himſelf to have fine ſheep, and a great quantity of them. At the time of my viewing his five farms, which conſiſted of about three thouſand acres cultivated, he had one hundred ſheep, and thoſe in very poor condition. This was in the month of November. To ſhow him his miſtake in the value and quality of his land, I compared this with the farm my father occupied, which was leſs than ſix hundred acres. He clipped eleven hundred ſheep, though ſome of his land was poor and at two ſhillings and ſix pence per acre—the higheſt was at twenty ſhillings; the average weight of the wool was ten pounds per fleece, and the carcaſes weighed from eighty to one hundred and twenty pounds each: while in the General's hundred ſheep on three thouſand acres, the wool would not weigh on an average more than three pounds and a half the fleece, and the carcaſes forty-eight pounds each.—Secondly, The proportion of the produce in grain was ſimilar. The General's crops were from two to three buſhels of wheat per acre; and my father's farm, although poor clay ſoil, gave from twenty to thirty buſhels.

"During this converſation, Colonel Lear, aide-de-camp to the General, was preſent. When the General left the room, the Colonel told me he had himſelf been in England, and had ſeen Mr. Arthur Young (who had been frequently named by the General in our converſation); and that Mr. Young, having learnt that he was in a mercantile line, and was poſſeſſed of much land, had ſaid he thought he was a great fool to be a merchant and yet have ſo much land; the Colonel replied, that if Mr. Young had the

ſame land to cultivate, it would make a great fool of *him*. The Colonel did me the honour to ſay I was the only man he ever knew to treat General Waſhington with frankneſs.

" The General's cattle at that time were all in poor condition: except his mules (bred from American mares), which were very fine, and the Spaniſh aſs ſent to him as a preſent by the king of Spain. I felt myſelf much vexed at an expreſſion uſed at dinner by Mrs. Waſhington. When the General and the company at table were talking about the fine horſes and cattle I had brought from England, Mrs. Waſhington ſaid, 'I am afraid, Mr. Parkinſon, you have brought your fine horſes and cattle to a bad market; I am of opinion that our horſes and cattle are good enough for our land.' I thought that if every old woman in the country knew this, my ſpeculation would anſwer very ill: as I perfectly agreed with Mrs. Waſhington in ſentiment; and wondered much, from the poverty of the land, to ſee the cattle ſo good as they were.

" It may be ſaid, 'But the author has not been in Kentucky, or among the back woods.'—No: I have not. I ſoon found thoſe countries to be much worſe than the parts nearer the cities; for as money was my object, and I found it very ſcarce even in the cities, I concluded it would be much ſcarcer there. Of this I wanted no ſtronger proof than that the inhabitants being a ſenſible, ſharp, enterpriſing people, as any in the world, if any thing valuable was to be had in that country they would be glad to ſecure it for themſelves. If a man wants wit, he may go to America; but if he wants money and comfort, he ſhould ſtay at home.

We muſt here remark, en paſſant, that the ſpecies of *wit* which the author met with in America was not ſuch as would tempt an Engliſhman to croſs the Atlantic in ſearch of it. We ſhall now extract from the ſame part of the book, ſome of Mr. Parkinſon's preliminary obſervations on *emigration*.

" The great advantages held out by the different authors, and men travelling from America with commiſſion to ſell land, have deluded perſons of all denominations, with an idea of becoming land-owners and independent. They have, however, been moſt lamentably diſappointed; particularly the farmers, and all thoſe that have purchaſed land: for, notwithſtanding the low price at which the American lands are ſold, the poverty of the ſoil is ſuch, as to make it not to pay for labour; therefore, the greater part have brought themſelves and their families to total ruin.

" The only conſolation they enjoy is, that all around them are in the ſame ſituation; and that, were they to return to their native country in that reduced ſtate, they would not only be the ſcoff of their former acquaintance, but feel themſelves uncomfortable by not having it in their power to enjoy ſuch eaſe as they had been brought up to. But the working-men that have emigrated have it not in their power to get back; for, if they have not money to pay their paſſage, the captains of ſhips will not bring them from America on the terms on which they are taken, becauſe there is no one ready to pay their paſſage on this ſide.—To explain this. On their firſt arrival in America, there are men ready to buy them as ſlaves for a certain time; and as theſe people will want clothing, not having the means to purchaſe it during their ſtated time of ſervitude, they are compelled to get the money of their maſters, and that keeps them in the ſame ſtate the greateſt part of their life.

Next

Next comes his account of the *liberty and equality* which prevail in this regenerated country.

" Now, with regard to the liberty and equality expected by ſome who emigrate from theſe kingdoms to America, they will find that not very pleaſant. There is no Engliſhman who does not think himſelf above the negro; but when he comes there he will have to eat, drink, and ſleep, with the negro ſlaves.—Hence it is that ſtories are told of the ſervants in America wanting to eat and drink in the dining-room with their maſters. As the maſter cannot keep three tables, the white ſervant thinks himſelf (from the boaſt of the American liberty and equality) more on an *equality* with the maſter than with the negro; and as the negro is under no greater ſubordination than to acknowledge the man he works for as maſter, the white man (if he be not a ſlave), to cauſe a diſtinction, will not call him *Maſter*: therefore among the white men in America, they are all *Mr.* and *Sir*; ſo that in converſation you cannot diſcover which is the maſter or which is the man. It is the ſame with the white women; they are all *Madam* and *Miſs*. If you call at the door of any man, and aſk the ſervant if his maſter is at home, he will ſay, 'Maſter! I have no maſter: do you want Mr. Such-a-one?' that is the man he ſerves:—and if you want a man that is a white ſervant, the maſter calls him in the ſame manner.

" Now this fits ſo uneaſy on an Engliſh ſervant that, by being called *Mr.* and *Sir*, he ſoon becomes the greateſt puppy imaginable, and much unpleaſanter even than the negro. Then, as all men imitate their betters in pride and conſequence, when the negroes meet together they are all *Mr.* and *Madam* among themſelves.—It is the ſame with reſpect to the manner of wearing their hair; almoſt every one, child or man, has his hair tied. The negro the ſame; but, as the hair of the negro is ſhort, it is cuſtomary to hang lead to it during the week that it may have length enough to tie on the Sunday."

This is *high life below ſtairs* with a vengeance! But a word or two on the *inducements* holden out to Britons to quit their native land for this inhoſpitable country.

" In the different publications which I have ſeen, ſome of theſe unpleaſantries are forgotten. But the fact is, that the men that publiſh thoſe favourable accounts of America are frequently emigrants from this country, who are hired by Americans to contract with captains of ſhips to bring over ſuch as are unable to pay their paſſage, that they may buy them when they arrive, in America;—which is an abſolute ſlave-trade, and much worſe than the puniſhment for convicts.—The ſame ſort of men in that country, when they are in the higheſt diſtreſs there, buy or take up lands in the back countries, to pay the money at ſome future time; and then either come here themſelves, or hire what may fairly be termed their counſellors to plead for them;—theſe agents to be paid out of the money raiſed out of the emigrants' pockets, as neither the man who is the pretended land-owner nor his agent have any money to ſupport themſelves. This is a mere ſpeculation all the way through; and the men that ſay ſo much in favour of the land, know no more of land than a horſe—nor perhaps ſo much, as they do not eat graſs: which is the only excuſe they have to make for their conduct. A great many of them, I can prove, have never been within five or eight hundred miles of the place where the land lies..

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" It is preciſely the ſame with emigrants in ſimilar circumſtances from other countries: who are in the ſame manner purchaſed and treated as ſlaves. I will mention a particulrr inſtance. A Dutchman who had loſt all his property, which was conſiderable and was reduced to great diſtreſs, by the war with France, met with a captain of an American ſhip, who offered him and his two ſons a free paſſage into America; but at the end of the voyage the captain offered them all for ſale to pay for the paſſage. They were bought by Meſſrs. Ricketts, whom I have before mentioned; who paid the captain ready money for them, and the three emigrants had to repay thoſe gentlemen by labour for a certain number of years. The father, finding himſelf ſo wonderfully diſappointed in the great expectations held out to him by the captain, proved very obſtinate and would not work; and was therefore (as was uſual) whipped with the cow-hide, in the ſame way as the negroes. The old man, nevertheleſs, in ſpite of this great puniſhment, ſtill perſiſting in his obſtinacy, the gentlemen choſe to give him his liberty, and kept the two boys to work out the ſum. Now I only blame the captains of ſhips for holding out ſuch favourable proſpects to the emigrants as a perſuaſion, which they know at the ſame time to be falſe; —for it cannot be ſuppoſed thoſe captains can give them paſſage and proviſions without repayment in ſome way or other; but the fact is that they do this by way of profit, and on the other ſide the water they get the ſame ſum as from paſſengers to this. As to the gentlemen who bought theſe three men, I can ſay, from my own knowledge, that better characters cannot exiſt: the blame in this caſe lay on the old Dutchman; who, when he had brought himſelf into ſuch a ſituation, ought with temper to have done his beſt, and the gentlemen would have treated him with kindneſs.

" Perhaps, from my obſervations, it may be here ſaid, that I have been diſappointed and am a prejudiced man. No: I am not. I never had half the condeſcenſion ſhown me in the ſame time in England by gentlemen of ſuperior rank to myſelf, as I have had in America; and ſolemnly affirm it was painful to me to leave ſo reſpectable acquaintance: but farming being my ſole object in life, I found the climate and ſoil there to be of ſuch a nature as to put it out of the power of man to enrich the land without ſuch an enormous expence as (if he had no other means than what the produce of the land would afford) muſt ruin any one.

" To ſhow this is true, I will give an example in the ſpeculations of the well-known Meſſrs. Morris, Nicholſon, and Greenleaf.—Mr. Morris had ſo much credit as a banker during the American war, that his notes were current when thoſe of the United Staes would not be taken either in their country or abroad. When the war was over, Mr. Morris, not knowing what to do with his money, ſpeculated largely in lands, and took theſe other two gentlemen as partners. They are broke, have all been in goal, and Mr. Morris muſt die there.

So much for the profits of agricultural ſpeculations in America! It may not, however, be inexpedient to ſhew to what ſuch ſpeculators are reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the danger of ſtarving; and at the ſame time to exhibit another ſpecimen or two of republican liberty and equality.

" It may be neceſſary to forewarn the reader, that there are ſome very trivial things introduced in this work; particularly where I mention myſelf

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as doing manual labour, and even my wife and family. I hope this will be excuſed; as none but thoſe who have been in America would ſuppoſe but there are people to be had for either love or money to do the dirty work; but I have been obliged to clean my own boots and ſhoes when I have had four ſervants in the houſe; and myſelf, wife, and family, have riſen in the morning to milk the cows when our ſervants were in bed. I ſhould term ſuch very bad management in England; but the idea of liberty and equality there deſtroys all the rights of the maſter, and every man does as he likes. Even taking fruit out of your garden, or orchard, is not looked upon as a theft; nor riding your horſe a few miles without leave, if he be only brought back to you again, and particularly if the man that rode him would ſay he knew you did not want him:—it is very unpopular to look upon theſe things as a crime; and your only way is to ſay he is welcome, or have his anger and the whole country about you.

"If a white ſervant is ſent on an errand to a neighbour's houſe, he will go in with his hat on, and perhaps ſit down with as much freedom as though he was in his own or maſter's houſe. It is very common if you ſtep out of your houſe into the garden, to find a man of any deſcription (black or white) when you come in, to have lighted his pipe and ſitting down in a chair, ſmoking, without apology, with as much compoſure as though he was a lodger in the houſe: and any man that obſtructs theſe liberties is looked upon as a bad ſubject, and an enemy to the rights of man, and infringer of the rights which they and their fathers have fought for.

"It is not uncommon to take hay or corn out of your fields, for the waggoner's horſes or himſelf to eat; viz. roaſting ears of Indian corn. I was in company the other evening where a lady was ſpeaking highly of the apples grown in America: ſhe mentioned a captain of a ſhip to have given them to her. I took the liberty of aſking her what they coſt? She, ſaid, 'Oh! the captain took them out of an orchard: they coſt nothing.' By this method he would take the beſt; and you, as the proprietor, have the worſt fruit to uſe yourſelf: and the whole of the beſt is taken from you by ſimilar interlopers.

"If I had gone into America and travelled through the country by way of a tour only, I ſhould not have had an opportunity of publiſhing in ſo deſcriptive a manner; for in my own travels (I can ſay without vanity) I met with every thing pleaſant the country could afford: but, in the occupation of a farm, my life was chequered, by meeting with ſuch circumſtances as the above; and I hope it may be of great utility to my young family, and that, from a recollection of the inſults their mother and themſelves received, they will ever know the value of this country."

We heartily concur with Mr. P. in this truly paternal *hope*, and we farther truſt that his example may prove a warning to his countrymen in general. He is by no means indiſcriminate in his cenſures, he acknowledges many obligations received; and admits, what, indeed, no unprejudiced man could deny, that the United States contain numbers of virtuous and valuable men, who would do honour to any clime or country.

We had marked various paſſages in the volumes before us, on intereſting topics, with the intention of laying them before our readers, but on referring to them, we find them ſo numerous as to preclude the poſſibility of carrying our intention into effect, without greatly

greatly tranſgreſſing thoſe limits which we are compelled to preſcribe to ourſelves, we muſt therefore refer our readers to the book itſelf, which, we can aſſure them, will afford ample information on ſuch ſubjects as it profeſſes to embrace. We ſhall only extract the author's obſervations on the general produce of the land, and on the manufactures of the country.

"The produce of wheat I thought from one to ten buſhels per acre the average; but Mr. Jefferſon ſays not: in Virginia three buſhels and half; Maryland the ſame. I am perſuaded that from twelve to fifteen buſhels is the higheſt: and I do not think, that, during the time I was in America, I ſaw fifty acres that had from twelve to fifteen buſhels per acre. I have been told of from twenty to thirty, nay as high as a hundred: but I never ſaw any ſuch. I rode ſome miles to look at one of the American hundred-buſhel crops, mentioned to me by what in America is termed a man of veracity. I did not expect it to be a hundred buſhels: but I did expect it to be ſomething extraordinary. The ears, the gentlman told me, were more than one foot long. But when I got to the place, the wheat was harveſted. I went into the barn, and got on the mow; yet did not find an ear above two inches and a half long: I am of opinion that there might be ten or twelve buſhels per acre. It had ſtood very thick on the ground: for I went to ſee the ſtubble. This wheat had grown on land highly manured; about four acres, within half a mile of a city.

"The produce of barley, in the Northern States, from the beſt information, is, in good crops, from twelve to twenty buſhels per acre, and much better in quality than in the South. The weight is from forty to forty-five pounds per buſhel, and a rare ſample fifty pounds; but that ſeldom happens. Long-Iſland produces the beſt. New-England produces a great deal of barley, but cannot produce wheat, even for the uſe of the inhabitants, who procure their flour from Virginia. The wheat in the Northern States takes the ruſt or ſcab the ſame as our mildew. The quantity of ſeed ſown is from three to four pecks per acre of barley. In Virginia the barley is much lighter than in the North, and would not at all be uſed for malting in England; nor would it be good to ſell for any uſe whatever. The quantity on an acre is from ſix to twelve buſhels, as the farmers' accounts are given.

"The produce of oats is very ſmall indeed; generally from three to ſix buſhels per acre: the quantity ſown from three to four pecks per acre.

"The produce of rye is from four to eight buſhels per acre: the weight I do not know, but imagine it to be the ſame as in England, as it has an equally good appearance. Rye is reaped with the ſickle: barley and oats cradled."

An Engliſh farmer will form a juſt eſtimate of this produce without any aſſiſtance from us. There is a curious account of the ſituation of thoſe perſons who have emigrated to the *back ſettlements*, where they appear to be placed preciſely in that ſituation in which *Wild-gooſe* convinced his truſty follower *Tugwell*, that all men would be placed if an equal diviſion of land and property were to take place; that is, that every man muſt be his own taylor, ſhoemaker, &c. &c. Beſides, Mr. P. aſſerts, that the taxes are there very heavy, not only on land and on ſtamps, but on *every article of wearing apparel*. On the ſubject of American independence the following are the ſentiments of Mr. P.

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"The independency of America may, in all probability, be one of the greateſt misfortunes that ever befel it. The future ſucceſs of America muſt ariſe from trade, rather than from the fertility of the ſoil, and will require a conſiderable navy to defend it. Where is that force to be found but in England? If ſo, the Americans' dependence is on the mother country, ſince they are unable to raiſe a navy equal to their trade, and a very great number of their merchant ſhips are employed as carriers to Great-Britain: therefore England builds the houſes in the cities, paves the ſtreets, &c.: and the greater part of what are termed American veſſels belong to merchants in England; ſo that, ſhould there be peace, the American ſhips would not be wanted, and then there would be a great ſtagnation of trade. Every thing in towns is taxed very high; which is an abſolute impoſt on Britiſh manufactures ſold in America. The land is already taxed higher than it is capable of paying. I have heard ſeveral reſpectable men ſay, that they do not make ſufficient profit on their land to pay the taxes. The negro tax is likewiſe very heavy upon landed property; and, as theſe accumulated burthens encreaſe daily, cultivation cannot, except by extenſion, furniſh the means of payment. Then, look to the aggrandiſement of their government;—the preſident's ſalary of 25,000 dollars per year; the various repreſentatives in aſſembly, congreſs, or ſenate, each man ſix dollars per day.—There are many public buildings to erect in the new city: congreſs-hall and the preſident's houſe, both magnificent ſtructures; the navy, war, and treaſury-offices; and various others, which the Americans pay yearly tribute to. And, although it is ſaid there is no tax to pay, it is a miſtake: for there is a ſtamp-duty on all bonds and notes, &c. But if not in the hat, there is a tax on it; the hat that is bought at Liverpool at five ſhillings and ſixpence, is ſold at Baltimore for thirty-ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, which is twenty-five ſhillings ſterling; and every thing elſe in proportion. Cloth (as may be ſeen in p. 381) that can be purchaſed for fifteen ſhillings per yard at Liverpool, is ſold at Baltimore at forty-five ſhillings, which equals thirty ſhillings ſterling: the making a coat, at Baltimore, coſts twenty-one ſhillings, equal to fourteen ſhillings ſterling; and at Liverpool ſeven ſhillings: ſurely, theſe are ſevere taxations! The Americans affirm they can make their own cloth, and carry on manufactories of different kinds, I aſſert they cannot, they have neither men, money or materials for ſuch purpoſes. Should they quarrel with England, and have a fleet to raiſe, whence is the money to come? Britiſh goods pay the taxes at preſent, or a very great proportion; but they will not raiſe a navy: and, although it is ſuppoſed that ſhip-building is cheap in America, the building of ſhips of war is not; for live oak is both ſcarce and coſtly.—Then the ſailors, from liberty and equality, are paid, the ſame as merchantmen, from twenty to twenty-three dollars a month, and are to be hired at every port; the expence is very high—equal to eighty-one pounds and ſix pence per year for each ſailor. I can prove, from my own knowledge, that there is nothing wanted or uſed in America that the Engliſh manufacture, but they will ſend there cheaper than the Americans can make it, even to a gun flint. The Americans boaſt of their combination with other maritime nations to form a reſpectable naval force: but foreign powers have buſineſs enough of their own to mind. Beſides, what have thoſe allies to ſell that America wants to buy; or, on the contrary, what has the latter to ſell that thoſe powers ſtand in need of? Little or nothing: therefore, they have little or no intereſt in the aſſociation: conſequently, the Americans have not much to expect from them.

Mr.

"Mr. Cooper before mentioned, in his publication pointing out the many advantages to emigrants, thought to make himself of importance, and acquire the eſteem of the Americans, by his falſities. No; they know better: every old woman can inform you that the land in America is poor. Then the reader may judge of Mr. Cooper's conduct. He repreſented it, on paper, eaſy for others to grow rich; but he has miſſed the mark himſelf, has been much diſtreſſed and confined in goal! No man of any reſpectability will now ſpeak to him: for, although the Americans play ſome diſhoneſt tricks themſelves, they avoid dealing with thoſe who are known to do ſo, the ſame as in all other places."

So it ſeems that the hopeful reformer Mr. Cooper went to America in ſearch of liberty, and found it in a *goal*. May all *ſuch* reformers meet with *equal* ſucceſs in their laudable efforts for the recovery of *freedom*.

We ſhall cloſe our account of this uſeful work with an extract containing the ſentiments of another writer, which we had not ſeen before, which are entitled to attention, and which corroborate thoſe of Mr. Parkinſon.

"During the time my work was in the preſs, a gentleman of Canada publiſhed, in one of the London papers, an account of a tour he had taken of three months in the United States of America. His ideas appearing to corroborate my ſentiments reſpecting that country, a friend ſent me the article to read. To ſhew that other men ſee America with the ſame eyes as myſelf, I ſhall therefore take the liberty to draw a few extracts from what he wrote:—He ſays, 'It was the firſt time he viſited this pretended land of liberty and liberality; he knew it only from the deſcription which he had read, and of courſe was much prejudiced in its favour. Being accuſtomed to civil behaviour, even from the lower claſs of people amongſt his own countrymen, in Canada, the firſt remark that ſtruck him in the United States, was the uncommon brutality or rudeneſs he experienced in converſing with its citizens, from the governors and magiſtrates, down to the loweſt mechanics and petty farmers: except in the large towns, even the fair ſex ſeemed to want that ſoftneſs of temper, delicacy of expreſſions, and gentleneſs of behaviour, which, in pleaſing, commands reſpect, and excites admiration. Every where he obſerved ſelfiſhneſs and avarice the predominant paſſions of the one ſex, and want of education and hypocriſy the faults of the other; the men only calculating how to accumulate, and the women only ſtudying, not how to pleaſe, but how to rule, to be applauded as political oracles, or reverenced as religious ſaints. The political as well as the religious fanaticiſm prevails in all the provinces of the United States, where ſects and parties are equally tolerant; there being hardly an example of a federaliſt or an anti-federaliſt, of a preſbyterian or of a church of England man, viſiting, much leſs permitting their families to intermarry.—They are as much at variance as Bonaparte and Louis XVIII.; more ſo than Pius VII. and the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The preſent preſident, Jefferſon, does not by his conduct evince or inſpire more liberal ſentiments. He declares as openly his partiality for France now, when it is enſlaved by Napoleon the Firſt, as he did ten years ago, when Robeſpierre the Firſt was her tyrant. All his ſervants are Frenchmen, and his moſt familiar aſſociates and friends are of the ſame nation. He prides himſelf, however, upon the appellation of a friend of univerſal liberty; of religious

religious toleration, and of philanthropy. Moſt of the perſons appointed to offices by him, are as great Gallo-men as himſelf, and do every thing in their power to humiliate, to haraſs, and to perſecute their oppreſſors. They are ſo much the more obſtinate in their vengeance, as, with few exceptions, they are generally very ignorant, confounding their own narrow and ſelfiſh notions with the rights of their offices and the laws of their country. To travel, therefore, in a republic governed by ſuch chiefs, and inhabited by ſuch a people, cannot but be diſagreeable to a foreigner of a benevolent diſpoſition, of an independent fortune, and of generous principles. When this muſt be the caſe, what have not thoſe unfortunate emigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland, to ſuffer, who land in the American republic as indebted vagabonds, and whoſe *firſt* acts in this land of liberty are to ſell their perſons to pay their paſſages; to preſent themſelves before upſtart, and of courſe inſolent, magiſtrates; to ſubmit to fetters, and a transfer to oppreſſive maſters, who often treat them worſe than their beaſts of burden, and to whom the negroes on our Weſt India plantations are comparatively ſpeaking free men? The numerous examples of miſery and deſpair which he has witneſſed among the emigrant Britiſh ſubjects, pierce his very heart. He ſays, he has ſeen, on landing, huſbands and wives diſpoſed to different proprietors, and their children to others. Their prayers and lamentations to remain together availed nothing. They ſeparate, not ſeldom, never to meet again, or if to meet, to bewail their ſhame or folly, their diſhonour or ruin. He ſays, he heard many ſhocking anecdotes hardly credible in civiliſed Europe, where the liberty and happineſs of the American citizens are ſo often the topics of the praiſe of the diſcontented, of the envy of the diſaffected, and of the deſire of the miſled. He ſays, he has heard of families of individuals, who ſixteen years ago ſold their liberty for five years, and who continue ſtill, and probably will for life, in bondage, their cruel maſters taking advantage to keep them in debt, either by giving them trifling ſums to ſupport ſickneſs, want, or extravagance. He ſays, he has heard of others, who, in deſpair, for ſuch or worſe treatment, and not ſeeing an end of their ſufferings, have committed the moſt terrible ſuicides, deſtroying at the ſame time themſelves, their wives, and children. Others have run away, been take, been flogged, and worked in chains during the day, and are ſhut up in chains during the night, as the moſt culpable of criminals. Famine, beſides, often forces them to commit petty theſts, and when diſcovered, to avoid publicity and diſhonour, or to eſcape puniſhment, ſubſcribe new bonds of ſlavery, and, for the value of a dollar, condemn themſelves to hard labour for years. They are univerſally deſpiſed as outcaſts of ſociety, having renounced the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects without obtaining the rights of American citizens. A Britiſh miniſter cannot liſten to their complaints and relieve their miſery, regarded by the American laws as the conſequence of their *voluntary* renunciation of their freedom.'

" This gentleman's obſervations are certainly founded on facts; generally ſpeaking, as a body of people, the Americans are bad; though, like all other communities, there are individually ſome very good men amongſt them: however, they allow their countrymen degenerate daily,—probably ſince General Waſhington reſigned the preſidentſhip;—and the conduct of their preſent preſident may, from example, be their excuſe for growing worſe.

When a people are ſo degenerate as to *chuſe* for their governor an Atheiſt and a Jacobin, they certainly deſerve every calamity which can befal them.

Küttner's

Küttner's *Travels through Denmark and Sweden.*

(Concluded from Vol. XXI. P. 167.)

OUR author was only a week in Copenhagen before he had ſeen every thing which the city contained worthy of notice. Few of the royal manſions between Copenhagen and Elſineur are worthy the trouble of examining. Charlottenſound, which lies enveloped in a wood of birch trees, is now inhabited by a private family; Sophienburg, another royal palace, ſtands on an eminence, cloſe to the ſea, and commands a charming view of the Sound: at the time M. Küttner travelled it had not become the ſcite of Britiſh bravery; but the dreadful battle of Copenhagen can be beſt deſcribed by the pen of an Engliſhman, and the taſk has performed by Mr. Carr. Sweden runs northerly in ſuch a manner that the ſpectator at Sophienburg imagines that it is joined to Iceland, as it does not appear open. It is ſuppoſed that 10,000 veſſels on an average annually paſs through the Sound, and in the ſummer months abou 100 ſail are ſaid to paſs every 24 hours. As their voyage depends in a great degree upon the wind, a prodigious number of them may be ſeen at a time, which affords a moſt intereſting ſpectacle.

Hirſch-holem is a palace of more than ordinary importance. It is a quarter of an hour's ride from Sophienburg, and was the regular reſidence of the court in the time of the ill-fated Queen Matilda. Since that period it has been deſerted by the royal family, and now bears a melancholy appearance of neglect and decay. The inſide, however, is ſtill in tolerable condition. His remarks on this edifice muſt excite a lively intereſt in every Britiſh boſom.

"The man who ſhewed us the palace, was one of Matilda's domeſtics: he ſpoke of his miſtreſs with tenderneſs and emotion; and ſeemed to take particular pleaſure in the recollection of her. He told us, that a maſquerade was given at the palace in town, at which the queen was preſent. When it was over, ſhe was taken into cuſtody by General Von Köllerbanner, forced into a carriage, and driven to Cronberg. Her domeſtics were ſent after her; and this man, who paſſed the remainder of the winter at that place, afterwards accompanied her to Stade on the Elbe, where ſhe was received by great numbers of the Hanoverian nobility. I looked round, but in vain, to diſcover ſome traces of this princeſs. Not a portrait of any kind was to be ſeen in the whole palace; nor yet in the apartments of the Crown-prince. It is natural to ſuppoſe that there is none in the King's palace; they now endeavour entirely to forget this black buſineſs; and, among thoſe who are at all connected with the court, it is never mentioned. The murder of Struenſee and Brand is regarded with horror, and the unfortunate fate of the amiable queen is univerſally lamented. The Crown-prince has pretty plainly expreſſed his ſentiments on this ſubject. As ſoon as he was confirmed, that is, when he had attained the age of 17, and was placed, in ſome meaſure, at the head of the government, the Queen Dowager was obliged to leave Copenhagen, and retire to Frederickſburg, were

were ſhe died in the year 1796. The prince likewiſe ſhewed, in the ſequel, a decided averſion to all thoſe who had taken part againſt his mother

"On our return, we ſoon arrived at the Park, which is nothing more than an extenſive foreſt, of about 50 ſquare miles, containing ſcanty paſturage, ſeparated from the wood, and a great number of deer. In an open part of it is ſituated a ſmall edifice, belonging to the King, called the Hermitage. It was formerly uſed as a hunting-ſeat, where the Sovereign ſometimes paſſed a night or two; but is not ſpacious enough to admit the whole court. The building is in a wretched condition, and all around it naked and deſerted.

"We then entered a thicker part of the wood, and there I beheld a ſpectacle, which, alone, would have repaid me for the day's excurſion. From the 24th of June till the 2d of July, a portion of this foreſt is the theatre of every kind of diverſion; it is frequented, daily, by immenſe multitudes; and particularly on Sundays, many thouſands of people there aſſemble. You ſee a great number of booths, adapted to company of all deſcriptions. In theſe you find eating, drinking, dancing, and a variety of ſpectacles. Theſe diverſions, it is true, have no intereſt for a perſon of refined ſenſibility and ſuperior taſte: they are calculated only for the multitude; and many, merely for the loweſt claſs of the people and the country-folks, from the adjacent parts. You, however, meet with perſons of education among the crowd, who rejoice, becauſe ſo many of their fellow-creatures are delighted; and divert themſelves with the ridiculous ſhews. I obſerved many a handſome equipage, and ſmart livery. To a ſtranger this ſcene is particularly intereſting, were it only for the opportunity it affords of ſeeing the various dreſſes of the people in the different parts of the iſland.

The obſervatory of Copenhagen is an edifice which always attracts the attention of travellers in Denmark: it is under the direction of M. Bügge, or Bygge, the profeſſor of aſtronomy, an account of whoſe journey to Paris, in 1800, will be found in our ninth volume. M. Küttner was conducted by him through the obſervatory, and he thinks it the largeſt edifice of the kind he ever ſaw.

It is a tower, 120 feet high, and 70 in a diameter; and was erected by King Chriſtian IV. for the ſcholars of Tycho Brahe. It is circular; and the interior forms a perfect cylinder; between this and the principal wall runs a ſtair-caſe, by which you may aſcend; for it forms an angle of five degrees and a half with the horizon; and is conſequently, extremely convenient. This winding ſtair-caſe ceaſes before you reach the top of the tower, and makes room for four apartments, which belong to the Obſervatory. Round the top is a baluſtrade, within which is the Obſervatory, properly ſo called. It is far from large, but has a tolerable collection of inſtruments; which, though not handſome, are ſaid to be very uſeful; and poſſeſs the peculiar merit of having, with few exceptions, been made at Copenhagen. The quadrant is ſix feet in length. A teleſcope, by Schrader, of Kiel, who is ſtill living, is 12 feet long, and of the ſame conſtruction as Herſchel's. There is, likewiſe an aſtronomical circle of four feet radius, which is entirely divided into 90 and 96 degrees ſo

that the ſmalleſt error in an obſervation is detected. The teleſcopes enable the ſpectators to diſtinguiſh the windows in the houſes at Landſcrona, 23 miles diſtant.

In the Tower of the Obſervatory are ſeveral ancient manuſcripts, particularly ſome by Olaus Magnus, and Snorro Sturleſon, the celebrated Icelandic hiſtorians; but our traveller is evidently unacquainted either with the writings or their authors, ſince he confeſſes that he could not read three words of the former, while he perverts the orthography of the writers' names.

Speaking of ſome ancient books in the royal library, he ſays that the firſt book printed in Denmark, was in the year 1496. We believe this to be a miſtake, for we know that at the time of the reformation printing was very general in Iceland, Biſhop Giſſur having for ſome time before eſtabliſhed no leſs than three Printing Offices, in different diſtricts, where he printed tranſlations of the Bible and New Teſtament, about the year 1530, with types of his own caſting. Hence if the art of printing prevailed in a Daniſh colony as early as the year above-mentioned, there is no doubt that it muſt have been long before known in the capital of the mother-country. This is a circumſtance of ſome importance to thoſe who take delight in tracing the progreſs of the arts in different countries, at periods when civilization had arrived to no very elevated pitch.

According to profeſſor Nyerup, the number of volumes in the royal library is 250,000. At the time of our author's viſit, it had received an increaſe of 100,000 by the addition of the Suhmian collection. The revenue for its ſupport is 3000 Daniſh dollars per annum, and with this is purchaſed moſt new publications, particularly the ſplended editions which appear in London and Paris.

The fine arts meet but little encouragement in Denmark. A celebrated painter named Juel, who reſided twenty years ago at Geneva, now lives at Copenhagen, and is employed, much againſt his will, entirely in the line of portraits. He complained that he ſeldom or ever received an order for a hiſtorical piece, though he never got leſs than 80 dollars for a portrait! What a lamentable proof does this ſimple anecdote afford of the general and diſguſting increaſe of vanity. But, alas! Denmark is not the only kingdom in which the ſublime art of painting, for which the ancients were ſo much diſtinguiſhed, has been ſuffered to ſink into contempt. The ardent and ingenious youth of the preſent day, ambitious of the fame of a Claude, a Guido, or a Teniers, muſt ſee with indignation the neglect of their exertions, while the property which our forefathers devoted to their encouragement, is now diſburſed in the moſt frivolous and immoral diſſipation.

While ſpeaking of the ſtate of the arts in Denmark, our author mentions an extraordinary edifice, called the Marble Church.

"This church," ſays he, "is not merely covered with marble, like the Italian buildings, but is entirely of that kind of ſtone, procured from Norway,

Norway, and of a greyiſh white colour. If I were to ſay that this ſtructure is a prodigious undertaking, I ſhould convey a very imperfect idea; becauſe every perſon has a particular ſtandard of compariſon. Being ſtruck, whenever I paſſed, with the huge maſſes of marble, which are partly ſtanding and partly lie ſcattered on the ground, I once meaſured one of the principal columns, and found it to be 27 feet in circumference; and, of courſe, almoſt nine in diameter. As theſe columns are of the Corinthian order, they muſt be, with their pedeſtals, at leaſt 90 feet in height. What could induce the Danes to undertake ſo gigantic a work! The conſequence was, that the building was never half completed, for want, it is ſaid, of a proper foundation; but I am inclined to believe, for want of money. The plan is an imitation of the Pantheon, but with conſiderable alterations. Theſe principally conſiſt in deviating widely from the beautiful ſimplicity of the original. They are now beginning to work upon it, on a new plan, by which the edifice will be made much ſmaller than was originally propoſed."

The lying-in hoſpital at Copenhagen, is in ſome reſpects an excellent inſtitution, and is conſidered to be one of the beſt ſchools of the obſtetric art. Upwards of 1000 females annually obtain relief from it, and the pupils who come from a great diſtance, have an opportunity of ſeeing every caſe that can poſſibly occur. The regulations of this hoſpital, however, will give riſe to many important reflections in the mind of the moraliſt. We will ſuffer the author to deſcribe them.

"This inſtitution is properly a kind of foundling-hoſpital, in which mothers may not only place their children, but where they may alſo be delivered. All pregnant women, of whatever condition, religion, or country, are admitted, without being aſked any queſtions; they are even allowed to come in maſks, and to retain them during their reſidence there. This building formerly had, in an aperture in the wall, a machine ſimilar to thoſe I have ſeen at Milan, and in other foundling-hoſpitals, in which a perſon may place the child, turn the machine inwards, then ring the bell, and go away. This has, however, been removed; and the king has ordered every female who preſents herſelf to be admitted, only with certain limitations as to time. Married women frequently apply for admittance; and, at their departure, are even at liberty to leave their children behind them. Women of rank and property frequently avail themſelves of this general licence, becauſe they here find better attendance, and ſuperior conveniences, to what they could poſſibly enjoy in their own houſes; and for which, they of courſe, pay. The beſt accommodation for ladies of this deſcription coſt fifteen dollars per week. There are other apartments for twelve, and others again as low as eight, dollars.

"The lodgings of the unmarried are ſeparate from thoſe of the married women. In this regulation, I thought I diſcovered that a diſtinction was made between the children of love and the offſprings of the married-bed, which, in an inſtitution of this nature, appeared rather improper. I was, however, informed, that this regulation was introduced, leſt the ſingle ladies, by living among thoſe who were married, might meet with ſome of their acquaintance, and thus be diſcovered. The apartments for twelve and fifteen dollars are handſome, and, in general, ſpacious and convenient. At my deſire, I was ſhewn ſeveral rooms, for the reception of thoſe who are

gratuitouſly admitted into this inſtitution; and found them all clean, commodious, and comfortable.

"Lectures on midwifery are regularly held at this place, both for male and female practitioners, but at different hours; and here all the midwives in the Daniſh dominions ought, by right, to have ſtudied their profeſſion."

From the moſt accurate accounts M. Küttner could obtain, the number of inhabitants at Copenhagen exceeds 80,000. At the enumeration in 1794, it amounted to 86,133, but this ſtatement was made a ſhort time previouſly to the great fire. All the inhabitants underſtand the German language, which was brought into uſe by the late King. The dreſs of the people in general differs in no remarkable degree from that of the inhabitants of any other European capital.

Our ingenious author is ſo very minute in his inveſtigations, that to follow him through all his remarks would be an endleſs taſk. His deſcriptions, however, are ſo ſimple and unaffected that they leave an impreſſion upon the mind, ſimilar to an actual obſervance of the objects which he has examined. His account of Fredericſburg, a diſtinguiſhed edifice, is well worth attention.

He deſcribes it as the fineſt and moſt complete monument of the taſte and magnificence of former periods, being erected by Chriſtian IV. who reigned between the years 1588 and 1610. Though the apartments may have been ſomewhat modernized, yet the principal parts, particularly the church, and the ſplendid hall of the knights, have remained the ſame as they were at the time of their conſtruction. In general, edifices built about two centuries ago, have either fallen to decay, or have undergone ſo many alterations, in a more modern taſte, that very little of the original ſtyle is left. This, on the contrary, is in complete preſervation, and conveys a high idea of the magnificence and Gothic pomp of thoſe times. It conſiſts of three principal parts; of which the chief ſtructure, containing the royal apartments, poſſeſſes ſo much Gothic beauty, and is of ſuch magnitude, that he is of opinion even the moſt zealous admirer of Grecian architecture cannot behold it without pleaſure.

The ceiling of the church and the hall of the knights are replete with ſculpture, carved, and in-laid work, repreſenting hiſtorical facts the altar is of ivory and ebony with figures emboſſed in ſilver.

After examining the caſtle of Cronburg at Elſineur, M. Küttner croſſed the Sound to Helſingburg, the paſſage of which is generally made in 35 minutes. With reſpect to travelling in Sweden, we derive the following information.

In Sweden there are no poſtillions; and the peaſants who furniſh the horſes, are not uſed to drive a large carriage. Every pair of horſes is generally accompanied by a peaſant, who ſuffers the ſtranger to do with them exactly as he pleaſes. He gives himſelf no farther concern, excepting to look for a ſpot about the carriage where he may fix himſelf, and thus be carried along; or at fartheſt, he rides one of the foremoſt horſes, but not without great reluctance. At Helſingburg the

the traveller is, therefore, obliged to provide himself with a driver for the whole journey; and he likewise, as far as his knowledge extends, serves for an interpreter.

There are also, neither post-masters nor post horses; but the government has adopted such regulations, that any person may travel extra-post, in every direction. The whole southern part of the kingdom, that is, the portion south of Upsal, is intersected by innumerable roads; and all are so well supplied with horses, that one proceeds without impediment, by observing the necessary precautions. The country is divided into stations, to each of which is attached a certain number of horses, which the peasants inhabiting the district are obliged to furnish. At every station a person is appointed, who is called *Hallkarl*, and is either a peasant, or the master of a public-house, whose business it is to bespeak and collect the horses that are required. But, as the peasants who furnish them frequently live at the distance of four or five miles from the station, the traveller would make but little progress if he had to wait at each till the horses were assembled. He therefore writes, every evening, a billet, on which he mentions the stages he intends to go the following day; at the same time, stating at what hour he expects to arrive. This billet is sent from stage to stage by extra-post, that is, by peasants who are called messengers, and who receive nothing for their trouble, but are merely paid for their horses, at the rate of post-horses. In this manner the billet is conveyed to the different *Hallkarls*, each of whom forwards it by a fresh messenger, and provides the horses for his stage against the appointed hour.

The Swedes speak English and French remarkably well. From the investigations of our author, during a short stay at Gottenburgh, we learn that the East India commerce in Sweden is continually decreasing on account of the preponderance of the English in that traffic.

Amongst the new works of Trolhatta, since the time of Mr. Coxe's travels, is a grand canal, which was undertaken by one individual alone. He raised a subscription to carry it into execution which amounted to 115,000l. and when M. Küttner was present it was nearly finished, and it was calculated that the whole expence would not exceed 45,000l. The author of this speculation is Mr. Chalmers, of Gottenburg, a director of the East India Company at that place.

Our readers will be astonished to learn that there is not a single bookseller's shop in the whole kingdom of Sweden, all literary works being ordered from Hamburgh and Copenhagen.

M. Küttner is of opinion that some of the highest mountains in Norway are upwards of 2,200 feet above the sea; but this is less than they have been described to be by former travellers. It is remarkable, considering the latitude of Norway, that the climate is so mild as to admit of peaches and other delicate fruit arriving at

maturity in the open air. Indeed the beauty of the country to the extent of 200 miles, but particularly between Chriſtiana and the Swediſh frontiers is ſo attractive as to entitle Norway to the appellation of the Switzerland of the North.

"I could not," ſays our traveller, "forbear remarking the great number of rivers in this diſtrict. In the 70 miles which we travelled yeſterday, we croſſed five rivers, the ſmalleſt of which is equal to the Mulda or Necker, at their mouths; they are, indeed, not very deep, and on account of their numerous falls they are not navigable. The Glomme, in general, appears to be as broad as the Elbe at Dreſden, but in ſome places, it is far broader. In the part where we firſt croſſed it, and where the rocks on each ſide ſomewhat contract the channel, its breadth is computed to be 400 paces.—Only two of theſe rivers are provided with wooden bridges; over all the others we were obliged to paſs in boats, or rather rafts, being nothing more than a number of timbers faſtened together, between which the water appeared as ſoon as the coach was placed upon the machine. The firſt of theſe rafts which I ſaw, filled me with ſuch apprehenſion, that I looked round for a boat. I found one, but there was no perſon to row, as all hands were employed with the wherry. I therefore determined to row myſelf, and my companion offered to aſſiſt me. I was juſt puſhing off from the ſhore, when our coachman, leaving the horſes and carriage, jumped into our boat. This was a fortunate circumſtance, for I ſoon diſcovered, that we were inadequate to the enterprize, and when we reached the middle of the river, the current was ſo impetuous that we were hurried rapidly along, and it required my utmoſt exertions, together with all the ſtrength and experience of our coachman, to arrive at the oppoſite ſhore, though conſiderably below the place were we intended. Had it not been for the aſſiſtance of our coachman, we ſhould have been carried away by the rapidity of the torrent, till ſome fall would have precipitated us among the rocks, and terminated our exertions together with our lives."

In his way to Stockholm our author gives ſome pleaſing details of the intereſting provinces of Weſtmorland, Norige, and Sodermannland, which are the more acceptable, as Mr. Coxe has been very brief in his deſcriptions of thoſe diſtricts, probably in conſequence of his attention being almoſt entirely directed to the mines. Judging from M. Küttner's accounts, this country muſt certainly bear a great reſemblance to Switzerland, excepting in point of edible accommodation; for at Präſtbol not a morſel of ſugar was to be procured, and there were only four eggs in the whole village. Reſpecting the coſtume and appearance of the people in this part of Sweden, we have the following particulars.

"In Wermeland the peaſantry have a national dreſs, which has a very pleaſing appearance. The coat, which is long, and has ſeveral folds behind, is of a dark brown, approaching to black. The cuffs, and likewiſe the collar, are of a violet or purple colour. The men ſeem to me to be more active and lively than on the other ſide of Sweden; they likewiſe have a better figure, and are handſomer upon the whole. I was particularly ſtruck with the beauty of the females. They were not only well-grown and had a good a complexion, but likewiſe much more delicate features than you obſerve

obſerve in the country-people, or any of the labouring countries. What heightens their beauty in an extraordin gives their whole figure a cleanly appearance, is the nation a white handkerchief, which they throw over their head i as to protect themſelves from the ſun, covering part of their in large folds behind. The females of the lower claſſes a their heads in the ſame manner, but with a larger handk elegance, than the Swediſh women. It ſhould be obſer ſpeaking only of the country-people, and of the lower claſſ for the higher orders every where dreſs the ſame as perſ rank in the other countries of Europe.

" Though I thought the females of Wermeland particul cannot ſay they were excluſively ſo; for, in all the pro Wermeland and Stockholm, I met with a great number of ch that I conſider this middle part of Sweden as the land of be Helſinburg, Norway, and the ſouthern ſhores of the lake women were the reverſe; ſo that I wondered how travel the beauty of the ſex in Sweden.

" This middle diſtrict it is that may be regarded as the Here, twice as many inhabitants live upon one ſquare m Helſingburg and Gottenburg. It produces grain in al wheat not excepted; and likewiſe ſome fruits. The inhab clothed and better lodged; in a word, they are in every re fortable than thoſe on the other ſide of the kingdom. Th where buſy with the rye-harveſt, which was partly over."

That Britiſh manufactures have a preponderancy on is a fact, for which we have great reaſon to be proud had an opportunity of aſcertaining that fact, at a towr ſtuna, celebrated for its manufactures of hardware. duced to a workman in ſteel, whoſe houſe was ful finiſhed articles, but he admitted that he could not ma them, as every perſon preferred the light poliſh and thoſe from England.

The people of moſt of the towns of Sweden poſſeſs ſpirit of freedom and independence, a circumſtance of ance to the cauſe for which that ſpirit is now about to exertion. Our author was aſſured that on the aſſaſſin tavus III. the indignation of the inhabitants of the mentioned was ſo great, that they propoſed to march Stockholm, to avenge his death. For a conſiderable t event, a nobleman could not make his appearance in t out being inſulted, and a perſon whoſe name cauſed hi taken for one connected with the aſſaſſin, narrowly e life!

The capital of Sweden afforded a wide field for th mind of our traveller, and his obſervations on it are ſa pleaſing: through theſe we muſt decline attending regret to ſay that they place in a ſtriking view, the deg a country which is almoſt deſtitute of that grand *pr*

—money. A Briton will here have another ample ground for exultation, by contraſting the immenſe wealth of this favoured iſland with the extreme poverty of the Northern countries. At Stockholm there is an obſervatory in a moſt admirable ſituation, but it is deſtitute of inſtruments, as it neither poſſeſſes any funds, nor has any allowance from the government. And the whole contents of the public Muſeum were collected by the private liberality of the martyred Guſtavus III.

At the preſent time, when we have formed ſuch important and intimate alliances with the Northern powers, every circumſtance which tends to illuſtrate the character of thoſe potentates is peculiarly intereſting. On the barren iſland of Drotningholm, is the moſt magnificent palace which the king of Sweden poſſeſſes. The country between it and Stockholm is wild, romantic, and thinly peopled, while the iſland itſelf being nothing but a bare rock, affords no aid to vegetation, and the few firs and other hardy trees which grow upon it, always appear to be parched up by the drought. That ſuch a ſpot ſhould be fixed on for the conſtruction of a royal reſidence is ſingular, but the ſumptuouſneſs of its interior cannot fail to ſtrike a traveller with aſtoniſhment.

"I expected," ſays our author, "to ſee in Drotningholm the moſt ſplendid palace in Sweden, but not to find there the elegance, the taſte, and luxury and the magnificence of Verſailles. At an immenſe expence the late King collected here furniture, tapeſtry, gold, ſilver, porcelain, bronzes, ſtatues, pictures, clocks, jewels, and decorations of every kind from the moſt elegant and ſuperb manufactories of Europe. Such is the air of gaiety which at the ſame time prevails, and ſuch the impoſing appearance of the whole, that I never ſaw the country-reſidence of any ſovereign, the interior of which deſerves to be compared with Drotningholm. The ſame taſte, cleanlineſs, and neatneſs, which are ſo conſpicuous in the principal ſtructure, are likewiſe diſplayed in the inferior buildings, which are very numerous, and have the appearance of being prepared for ſome grand feſtival. In a word, every thing announces the reſidence of a King, and, though on a very reduced ſcale, reminds me of the ſplendour of the court of Verſailles, when I viſited it in the years 1787 and 1788."

The following character of the king of Sweden, poſſeſſes much intereſt. We do not think that auſtere and unqualified reſerve is a proof of an amiable diſpoſition; but if the following particulars be correct, we will augur that the young Swediſh monarch is a man of ſtrong intellects, and likely to prove a worthy co-adjutor in the views of the upright and ſpirited autocrat with whom he appeares to have engaged himſelf.

"The King, who has a good figure and an open countenance, is uncommonly grave, for a perſon of his age; it is even ſaid, that he has never been ſeen to laugh. I once had an opportunity of obſerving him for about a quarter of an hour, during which time he ſat beſide the Queen, without moving or uttering a word. I have been informed by perſons intimately acquainted with the court, that he entertains a very high idea of his dignity, and that he is extremely ſolicitous to avoid every thing derogatory to his rank. Though his youth invites to familiarity, yet he knows

knows how to keep every one at a proper diſtance by a
and gravity. Even the intimate friends of his early life,
mer playfellow ſometimes forget the ſovereign, are ſaid to l
a ſevere reprimand, whenever they have permitted themſe
infringement of that reverence which is due to their Princ
his dignity may probably be the reaſon why he is always
the ſplendour and formality of a court; whereas many
the preſent day are not very fond of the one, and gladly d
other.

" The reſerved diſpoſition of the King was manifeſted i
during the regency. He concealed his ſentiments relative
ings of the Regent; but when he had aſſumed the gove
ſoon ſhewed the reſolution he had adopted. He has r
of the meaſures of the Duke of Sudermania, in order to p
his father, and the nation appears to be ſatisfied with his
ther, I conceive, becauſe it is contrary to that of the Reg
other account. The young Monarch is ſaid to dread nott
the idea that any perſon poſſeſſes or ſeeks to obtain an inf
The very ſuſpicion is ſufficient to terrify him, and to induc
off all intercourſe with the individual.

" The principal object of his attention appears to be the
he certainly found in a wretched ſituation. His father was
and engaged in many undertakings, far beyond the ability
poor as Sweden. His many journies, the purchaſes he m
houſe, the immenſe ſums expended on Drotningholm and
conſtruction of high-roads, and laſtly the injudicious and e
tunate war with Ruſſia, exhauſted the exchequer, and invol
in debt. The duke of Sudermania appears to have been u
of reſtoring the deranged finances.

" For ſeveral years the expences both of the royal famil
vernment in general have been on the increaſe, and yet t
are not in a condition to pay more taxes, for the country a
be entirely exhauſted. They have not been able for a conſi
open any new channels of trade, and have even loſt ſome
merly poſſeſſed,"

M. Küttner expreſſes his conviction, in defiance of
former travellers and hiſtorical writers, that the popul
holm exceeds that of Copenhagen. From the nature
Stockholm is ſo very extenſive, that it is generally
upwards of twenty miles in circumference. Including
reported to contain about 92,000 inhabitants.

The Swediſh language bears a great affinity to the
more ſo than the German, and in the theatres the ſoft
nunciation renders this ſimilarity ſo ſtriking as to att
of a foreigner who underſtands any thing of the E
The following is an inſtance in point. An actreſ
" *Gif mig eder arm, min bror*," exactly like the words
would be tranſlated, i. e. " *Give me your arm, my br*

The Swedes have a ſtrange peculiarity, in keeping
which any perſon of note has been killed. Mr. Coxe

dreſs of Charles XII. preſerved in the Fredericſhof, and M. Küttner ſaw every article even to the ſhirt, which Guſtavus wore when he was murdered by Ankerſtrom.

A gentleman of our author's acquaintance, who accompanied him to Haga informed him, on entering a particular room, that the conſpirators intended to aſſaſſinate the king in that ſpot a conſiderable time before he was killed.

The great iron mines and furnaces at Oeſterby are from various circumſtances worthy of attention; and M. Küttner travelled upwards of twenty miles for the purpoſe of inſpecting them. He arrived at Oeſterby by proceeding along the beautiful lake of Dannemora, remarkable for its numerous and fertile iſlands.

"Mrs. Peil, the proprietor of the whole, received us," ſays he, "with the politeneſs of a woman of quality, ſhewed us the furnaces herſelf, and then conducted us through her extenſive domain. She lives here in the rural grandeur of a princeſs, has a noble and ſpacious houſe, ſtables with ſixty horſes, twelve carriages of different kinds, gardens, hot-houſes and pleaſure-grounds. Every thing bears the appearance of taſte and ſplendour, which are generally the conſequences of great opulence. The iron mines here are what eſtates and lands are to the great and the wealthy in other countries. They are ſuperintended by the nobility, to whom they principally belong.

"Of the extent of the works at this place you may form ſome conception, if I repeat what Mrs. Peil told me. She fixed the number of her labourers with their families at eight hundred. Theſe do not live in detached huts or in villages, but reſide in houſes, all of which belong to this lady. They are built in regular rows, and each houſe contains two families. Each of theſe double houſes ſtands at a certain diſtance from the two next, but ſo as to form a ſtreet, each ſide of which is lined with trees, forming an alley in the middle. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the peculiarly pleaſing appearance of theſe rural ſtreets, which are ſituated at ſome diſtance from the manſion of the proprietor. The houſes are all of ſuch a claſs, that they would not be a diſcredit to a town, and extraordinary cleanlineſs prevails throughout. Some of the buildings belonging to the works were covered with iron-plates, and part of the manſion with copper; a luxury which I have frequently obſerved in Sweden, and in which the inhabitants indulged probably in thoſe times when that metal was proportionably of little value. I muſt ſtill obſerve, that Mrs. Peil told me, that her labourers were the deſcendants of the Huguenots, or as ſhe denominated them Walloons, that is, French Proteſtants, who ſettled here upwards of a century ago. Twenty or thirty years ſince they underſtood a little French, but they now poſſeſs no knowledge of that language, and Swediſh is their mother tongue.

"Dannemora is the moſt celebrated iron mine in Sweden.—This, as well as that at Fahlun, is totally different from any I have ſeen in other countries. Inſtead of having a deſcent ſimilar to thoſe of the mines of Germany and other parts, the aperture of the principal ſhaft at Dannemora is about as large as the moſt extenſive market place of any German city, and affords the very intereſting ſpectacle of a great number of people at work in the different parts in open day-light; ſo that the ſpectator at the top may overlook at once all the various operations of the labourers.

"This

"This mine was commenced in the year 1527. The ore yields from seventy to seventy-five per cent. and some even from eighty to ninety. The total number of shafts is ninety-seven; but only twenty-three are now in use. The mine yields annually 150,000 skipponds (about 18,000 tons of iron, which is the best, and consequently the dearest, in Sweden. The greatest part of it is exported to England. The number of horses employed in the works is 144. The labourers in the pits amount to 487, but the total number of persons of both sexes, employed at this place is 1579. There are no furnaces near the mine, but the different proprietors, most of whom reside in the neighbourhood, convey the ore to their estates, where it is melted and hammered: after which, it is transported a considerable way by land, and then by water through Geffle to Stockholm, &c. As the places where the ore is drawn up, appeared extremely dangerous, I enquired whether accidents did not frequently occur, and was informed, that in the course of a year three lives were lost on an average, but that during the present, five persons had already perished."

The grand water-fall of the Dalelf, one of the largest rivers in Sweden, near Elfecarleby is supposed to be equal in sublimity to any on the Continent of Europe. None in our traveller's opinion would bear so great a resemblance to that of the Rhine, near Schaffhausen.

"Comparisons, he observes, are generally unjust, for there are scarcely two things in nature which resemble each other in all their parts. Many prefer the Swedish fall; others consider that of the Rhine as more picturesque, and others again give a decided preference to the latter. I shall therefore content myself with saying, that the fall of the Rhine is not dishonoured by a comparison with the Swedish. The Dalelf, which signifies the river of Dalecarlia, has not by far so much water, but it covers a greater space, and produces a grand effect; being divided by an insulated rock, it forms two falls by the side of each other. A little lower down there is a third, which is smaller. All the three may be seen at once from several points; but the two larger are so near, that both of them may be brought into one view. The rocks are, as usual, of granite and overgrown with fir, pine or larch trees. The violence with which the water precipitates itself from rock to rock is inconceivable; and the figures of the rocks are such, that the water between them forms an object highly picturesque. The current below the cataracts is continually interrupted by rocks, till it receives the tribute of the third fall. The river then becomes deeper, is compressed into a narrower channel, and again forms a kind of fall by the impetuosity with which it rushes between the surrounding rocks.

"At this spot a wooden bridge, between three and four hundred feet in length, has been erected over the river. I was informed that the architect is a peasant, who can neither read, write, nor draw. At the first sight, this bridge presents nothing very striking; but when you reflect that the pillars which support it stand in the midst of an impetuous torrent, and that the water breaks against each of them with the utmost violence, you are at a loss which to admire the most, the bold design of the architect, or his caprice in selecting this spot for a bridge, while the river is perfectly placid a little lower down but there, indeed, a bridge would be less convenient."

The

The upper mines at Fahlun in Dalecarlia form one of the principal ſtaple commodities of Sweden, though it appears from our author's inveſtigations that they are nearly exhauſted. His deſcription of them is very intereſting.

"We paſſed five hours in viewing the mines of this place. The copper-mine is probably the moſt ancient in Europe: the exact period when it was commenced is not known: but the earlieſt grants relative to it are of the 14th century. Here truly reigns the abomination of deſolation. What accumulated mountains of ſtone, on which for ages, not a ſingle blade of graſs will appear! In what eternal ſmoke the whole country is enveloped! what a noiſe from nearly two hundred engines and their apparatus! This picture of deſolation begins as you leave Fahlun, on the ſouthweſt, and extends without interruption to a great diſtance around. The ſtones extracted for centuries from the mines are piled up into ſo many barren mountains, that ſtrangers are obliged to have a guide, leſt they ſhould loſe their way in the multitude of roads which run like ſtreets between them.

"The principal opening of this mine, like that at Dannemora, is of very great extent, but none of the labourers are here expoſed to view. You would ſcarcely credit that I have been to the depth of 160 fathoms, without deſcending a ſingle ladder. The deſcent to the bottom of the great open pit, is by means of wooden ſtairs. Here you proceed a ſhort diſtance on level ground till you arrive at a houſe which ſtands contigious to the rock, and is properly the entrance of the mine. The guide is provided with ſeveral bundles of plinters which he lights one after the other. You now continue to deſcend by wooden ſteps, which are, indeed, neither very well made, nor kept in good repair. The horſes, however, are conducted by the ſame way into the mine, and where a horſe can go, it cannot be very difficult for a man to walk. The paſſages form a labyinth of ſtreets, which are mo-ly hewn out of the rock, though they are here and there conſtructed of wood and ſome few are formed of brick. Between twenty and thirty horſes are employed in the mine, and theſe animals ſee the light of day only once a year, namely at Chriſtmas, when the ſubterraneous labours are ſuſpended for a time. We came to many ſhafts, which, though perpendicular, yet coudu&ted to the outſide of the mine; it is through theſe ſhafts, and not by the way we went, that the ore is conveyed.

"Though we deſcended to a conſiderable depth, yet the copper is entirely exhauſted in all the paſſages which we traverſed; and with the exception of one or two, the ore is found only in the loweſt ſhafts. The part of the mountain containing the ore, was originally of the figure of an inverted cone. the nearer the works approach the end of the cone, the narrower of courſe the region impregnated with the metal becomes, and the lower they muſt be ſunk. In conſequence, the expences increaſe every year; and many imagine, that in leſs than twenty years, the mine muſt be relinquiſhed, probably before the ore is entirely exhauſted, becauſe the profits will be too inconſiderable to defray the charge of working. It is remarkable, that no traces of this metal have been diſcovered in any other part of the country.—In the year 1650, when the produce of this mine was at the higheſt, it yielded about 2500 tons; but at preſent, the annual produce falls ſhort of 500 tons.

"All

" All the ore extracted at Fahlun is melted in about 7(which 60 are situated in the town, and the others in the n The ore contains on an average, no more tha two per cen ber of miners is 800, but I could not learn that of the labou at the furnaces. The whole concern is divided into 2500 sl pretors of which are dispersed through the kingdom, but 1 reside at Fahlun. The latter have their own furnaces, 1 agree for the smelting of their share of the ore at a stipulate King receives one eighth of the produce.

" At this place there is likewise a vitriol-manufactory, whe and blue vitriol are made. I also saw here, what I had never fore, a great quantity of old iron of every kind, which is s vitriol water. The acid gradually dissolves and consumes tl iron, till it at length disappears, and the whole mass is c copper.

" The population of Fahlun is said to amount to 6000 per place is situated in the latitude of 60° 40'. As the furnaces night and day, the town is enveloped in continual smoke, wl a considerable distance on every side. Every thing is destroy the copper with which the two churches are covered, is obl newed every thirty or forty years, in consequence of operation."

We shall pass over many particulars into which our at Carlscrona; such as the state of the navy, the docks, tion, manufactures, &c. as they have all been amply and investigated by our intelligent countryman Mr. Coxe; such a mass of pleasing matter as the industry of Küttner ed, it is difficult to peruse many pages or even paragrap finding both remarks and anecdotes with which the m reader cannot be displeased. The precautions taken to s senals and docks of Sweden, from the inspection of foreig commonly rigid:—no traveller being allowed to enter t special permission from the king. M. Küttner, while at applied to the English minister, through whose influenc to obtain that permission, but the latter said so much on lity of a refusal, that he resolved not to incur the risk.

It will be of interest to learn that Swedish Pomerania, lately formed such an important topic of political conver sessed in 1796, including the island of Rugen, a p 109,066 persons: the soil is much better than that of provinces in the same latitude, and the villages make a f spectable appearance than those of Sweden in general.

Many interesting articles of information occur during journey through Silesia, to Vienna, and afterwards into t states, but from the length to which we have already e review of the work, we can now do nothing more than ref to the book itself, which in many points of view will b worthy of attentive perusal. The whole of Küttner's t the close manner of printing, and the advantageous thoug

able paucity of margin, appears to form only about one fifth part of the volume of Voyages and Travels in which we have already ſtated it to be contained. The tranſlation is, on the whole, well performed, and is free from thoſe German idioms which diſgrace the majority of the modern works that are rendered into Engliſh. It nevertheleſs poſſeſſes a tameneſs of ſtyle which often approximates to inſipidity; but this ſhould perhaps be attributed to the ſerious and uniform manner in which the author has compoſed his journal.

African Memoranda: relative to an Attempt to eſtabliſh a Britiſh Settlement on the Iſland of Bulama, on the Weſtern Coaſt of Africa, in the Year 1792. *With a brief Notice of the Neighbouring Tribes, Soil, Productions, &c. and ſome Obſervations on the Facility of coloniſing that Part of Africa, with a View to Cultivation; and the Introduction of Letters and Religion to its Inhabitants: but more particularly as the Means of gradually aboliſhing African Slavery.* By Capt. Philip Beaver, of his Majeſty's Royal Navy. Pp. 500. 4to. C. and R. Baldwin. 1805.

THIS attempt to eſtabliſh a colony on an iſland on the coaſt of Africa, to be cultivated by free negroes hired by the ſettlers, was undertaken, in the year 1792, by a company of gentlemen and merchants, for the laudable purpoſe of trying to effect a gradual abolition of the ſlave trade, by finding employment for the natives of Africa in their own country; and we cannot enough commend the juſt mean that appears in the ſentiments of Capt. Beaver, between his decided reprobation of the principles of the ſlave trade, and his diſapprobation of the inconſiderate enthuſiaſm of thoſe who, by aboliſhing it at once, would probably inflict much greater evils on the unhappy objects of it, than even thoſe which they now undergo.

The work conſiſts of three parts, and an appendix. The firſt part gives a detail of the proceedings of the Bulama Society in England, previouſly to the ſailing of the expedition; and an account of what happened during the voyage, and after the arrival on the coaſt of Africa, till the project was abandoned by the larger part of the coloniſts. The ſecond is, a journal kept by Capt. Beaver, during his ſtay on the iſland; and he was one of the laſt ſettlers who quitted it: and the third part contains general obſervations on the preceding parts, deſcription of the country, its inhabitants, ſoil, produce, animals, and climate, and a recapitulation of the principal cauſes of the failure of the undertaking. The appendix is a collection of documents relative to the ſociety.

As the whole of theſe Memoranda record a ſeries of confuſion, inſubordination, and diſappointment, during which a very large majority abandoned the enterprize, and the few who remained, except Capt. Beaver (who was often too ill to exert himſelf), and two or three more, fell a ſacrifice to the climate; we are induced, though it

is

is nearly at the concluſion of the work, to lay before our readers the reaſons the author gave for the failure of the expedition, to a general meeting of the ſubſcribers, held at the Manſion Houſe by the Lord Mayor, June 25, 1794.

The principal cauſes of the failure are here reduced to three:—1. The carrying out men of the moſt infamous character and abandoned habits. 2. The arriving on the coaſt of Africa, at the moſt improper ſeaſon of the year. 3. The omitting to carry out the frame and materials of a houſe or houſes, ſufficient to ſecure the whole of the colony, immediately on their arrival, from the rains and from the ſun.—To theſe, in an earlier part of the work, is added, 4. The ſailing without a charter.

As inſubordination muſt be fatal to every undertaking, in which more than one perſon are concerned, from the eſtabliſhment of a powerful empire to that of a convivial club, we muſt conſider the laſt, though greatly influenced by the firſt, as the radical cauſe of the total failure of the projected ſettlement. We will therefore turn back now to the beginning of theſe Memoranda, to ſhew how this happened, and then make ſome obſervations on the obvious conſequences, in which it will appear, that as much is to be imputed to the erroneous political principle of many of the proprietors, as to the want of moral principle among many of the ſettlers.

Early in the proceſs of the undertaking, and ſome time before the ſailing of the expedition, the form of a conſtitution was drawn up and ſigned by every perſon who intended to become a ſettler; but when this form was laid before his Majeſty's Miniſters, it appeared ſo obnoxious to them, that the ſailing of the ſhips was prohibited, till this conſtitution was diſavowed, and then permiſſion was granted in the following official letter:—

"*Whitehall, 6th April* 1792.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Dundas to acquaint you that, under the circumſtances ſtated in your memorial to him, dated the 31ſt of March laſt, and your having diſclaimed and ſet aſide a certain printed memorandum of agreement, and conſtitution of government, for a colony about to be eſtabliſhed on or near the iſland of Bulam, in Africa, as engroſſed and ſigned on the 9th day of March 1792; he has no further objection to the departure of the ſhips deſtined for the ſervices ſtated in your memorial above-mentioned.

"I am, Gentlemen,

To the Truſtees for the Bulam Aſſociation.

"Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

"JOHN KING."

The colony was thus left without any code of law that could be legally enforced; but, unfortunate as this circumſtance might be, we think they were better without *any* form of conſtitution, than *ſuch a* one as the committee had planned, which was done at a time when the Gallo-mania was at its height, and had affected many perſons whoſe principles and whoſe underſtanding ſhould have operated as prophylactics

phylactics againſt it: for this form the author offers the following apology:—

"It muſt be remembered, that this conſtitution, which will probably now be viewed with an evil eye, was drawn up at the latter end of the year 1791, and before the revolutionary monſter had begun to devour every thing that could claim kindred with virtue. Though the crimes of the next ten years make one ſhudder at every thing which tends to give power to a democratic rabble, yet, I believe, if this conſtitution had been printed three years ſooner, or if a late revolution had not taken place, it would not have been found fault with."

To the latter part of this paragraph, we give our decided diſſent. We think, under no times nor circumſtances a conſtitution could be approved for a colony, which is ſo very oppoſite to that of the mother country; and in the code of an infant colony, to make reſiſtance to Government, and the means of trying and puniſhing the chief governor, by thoſe he governed, a fundamental law, ſhews how little the wild frenzy of democracy can be reſtrained by the common rules of prudence.

We will lay before our readers ſome extracts from this code:

"ARTICLE I. All male ſettlers, having attained the age of twenty-one years, not being indented ſervants or domeſtic receiving wages, or mendicants, ſhall have a vote in the election of the legiſlative council, which election ſhall be determined by a majority of ſuch votes.

"ART. II. The legiſlative council ſhall conſiſt of thirteen members, who ſhall have authority to make municipal or bye-laws, not contravening this conſtitution, or the fundamental laws of England, which we hereby adopt as the baſis of our juriſprudence; and ſuch bye-laws, we hereby bind ourſelves to obey as implicitly as the common law of England.

"ART. VII. In caſes of the miſconduct of any member of the council, a general aſſembly of the people ſhall be convened, before which the allegations againſt him ſhall be ſtated; and, if there be found by them ſufficient cauſe, he ſhall be expelled, and declared ineligible for a certain term, or for ever, according to the degree of his offence."

The following ſhort declaration in the code not only lays the foundation of anarchy, but abſolutely breathes the ſpirit of independence on the mother country into the frame of this embryo colony—

"*As the ſovereignty reſides in the people, all their magiſtrates, whether legiſlative or executive, are reſponſible to them for their adminiſtration.*"

One ſhould think that the appeal ought rather to have been made to the Government at home, than the *ſovereign people* of the colony. What could Captain Beaver expect, but inſubordination and mutiny, from people who eſteemed ſuch a declaration as a ſelf-evident propoſition. Let him paſte ſuch a paper on the main-maſt of his ſhip, and ſee how excellent the diſcipline of his crew will be.

Though it is evident the ſcheme was undertaken raſhly, and conducted on erroneous principles, we give full credit to Capt. Beaver for

for his zeal and perſeverance in his part of the exe
The author makes the following apology, in the pr
ſtyle and mode of narration:

"I have therefore told my ſtory in the manner and in the l
I ſhould have uſed if telling it to a few friends in a room;
uſed any art in its ſtructure, or labour in its poliſh. I have
of my way to ſeek a word, or round a period, with a view to
if I had, I know I ſhould have failed; but I have remaine
expreſs myſelf in the plain, open, and candid manner of a
firſt perſon is uſed inſtead of the third, becauſe, unaccuſtom
was moſt convenient to me; and will not, I hope, be dee
donable fault, conſidering how much I am, of neceſſity,
own ſtory.

On this apology, we may remark with truth, that w
a ſtory told with more modeſty; and the ſtyle would
writer much more trained in the arts of compoſition
Beaver, from his active ſituation in life, can be ſuppoſed

A Northern Summer, or Travels round the Baltic, thro
Sweden, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and part of Germany, in t
By John Carr, Eſq. Author of the Stranger in Franc
Pp. 480. 2l. 12s. 6d. Phillips. 1805.

IN a former volume we noticed Mr. Carr's "Strange
with a mixture of praiſe and cenſure, nothing exte
ſetting down "aught in malice;" and we ſhall review
production in the ſame *ſpirit*, though certainly with mo
ourſelves, inaſmuch as our commendations will be l
with diſapprobation; for we have accompanied him, in
Tour with conſiderable ſatisfaction, and have, generally
an active, intelligent, and agreeable travelling compan
in his ſearch for mental food, Mr. Carr paſſes thro
without making an attempt at leaſt to gratify his appet
arrival at Harwich, while waiting for a wind, he ſtro
the church-yard, which ſtroll produced the following ref
the accompanying verſes, which cannot but inſpir a fa
of the author's heart, while they exhibit no unfavoura
of his talents.

"The Church yard lay adjoining to the inn; in this ſolem
not always enabled to indulge in thoſe ſerious and ſalutary refl
it ought alone to inſpire; the quaint or ridiculous effuſions
ſchoolmaſter, and the ſexton, thoſe prolific mortuary laur
awaken an irreſiſtible ſmile, by commemorating the ravage
ſome pious pun or holy conundrum; a perverſion which well

terpoſition of the eccleſiaſtical officer whoſe power extends over theſe regions of the dead. I had not wandered far, before a freſh plain ſlab attracted my notice, and by its inſcription informed me that it was raiſed to the memory of Captain Chriſtenſen of Krajore in Norway, who fell by the bite of his dog when mad; the tale was ſimply but touchingly told, and drew from me the following lines:

Ah! hapleſs ſtranger! who without a tear
Can this ſad record of thy fate ſurvey?
No angry tempeſt laid thee breathleſs here,
Nor hoſtile ſword, nor nature's ſoft decay.

The fond companion of thy pilgrim feet,
Who watch'd when thou would'ſt ſleep, and moan'd if miſs'd
Until he found his maſter's face ſo ſweet,
Impreſs'd with death the hand he oft had kiſs'd.

And here, remov'd from love's lamenting eye
Far from thy native cat'ract's awful ſound;
Far from thy duſky foreſt's penſive ſigh;
Thy poor remains repoſe on alien ground.
Yet pity oft ſhall ſit beſide thy ſtone,
And ſigh as tho' ſhe mourn'd a brother gone."

The account of a marriage proceſſion in Denmark is curious, and in the cloſing ejaculation, our readers, we apprehend, will cordially join with the author.

"At Aſſens we, for the firſt time, experienced the change of a large feather bed, inſtead of a blanket and ſheet. To an untravelled Engliſhman nothing can be more ſingular. In the morning, as the horſes were putting too, a ſingular proceſſion paſſed us; a young woman in gala, whoſe hair was ſtiffened almoſt to the conſiſtency of ſtucco with powder and pomatum, on which was raiſed a high cap of lace, decorated with a profuſion of artificial flowers, and with a large noſegay of ſpring and artificial flowers in her boſom and a book in her hand, and turning in her toes moſt abominably, paſſed in the moſt ſtately manner up the ſtreet, preceded by three girls in mob caps, decorated with little bits of ſilver and gold lace, and in red jackets, each with a book in her hand, and followed by two old women, holding books alſo. The fair heroine of this ſingular groupe moved to me as ſhe paſſed. She was proceeding to the church, where her bridegroom was counting the lagging moments of her abſence. The old and the young peeped out of the doors and windows as they paſſed. Heavens keep me from any thing like pomp or publicity on the marriage day!"

Every thing relating to the memorable action off Copenhagen, in which Lord Nelſon ſo eminently ſignalized his courage, his ſkill, and his prudence, cannot fail to intereſt the feelings of Britons; and therefore, we are convinced, our readers will thank us for laying before them the following extract, long as it is.

"On our return to the city and about a mile from it, a turfed hillock of ſmall

ſmall poplars attracted our notice: it was the national tomb c
who fell in the memorable battle of Copenhagen roads on
April, 1801, and ſtood in a meadow about two hundred ya
road, and looked towards the Crown battery. As we appr
ſaw a ſmall monumental obeliſk which was raiſed to the mer
tain Albert Thurah, by the Crown Prince. It appeared b
tion, that during the heat of that ſanguinary battle a ſignal w
one of the block ſhips, that all the officers on board were
Crown Prince, who behaved with diſtinguiſhed judgment an
during the whole of that terrific and anxious day, and wa
orders on ſhore, exclaimed, 'who will take the command.'
Thurah replied 'I will my Prince,' and immediately leaped int
as he was mounting the deck of the block ſhip, a Britiſh ſh
him amongſt the dead, which formed a ghaſtly pile before h
ſigned his ſpirit and his glory to the regions of immortality
young man of great promiſe.

It is thus that death often

Strikes the poor peaſant; he ſinks in the dark,
Nor leaves e'en the wreck of a name,
He ſtrikes the young warrior, a glorious mark,
He ſinks in the blaze of his fame.

"As the battle under all its circumſtances was as awful an
any in the Engliſh and Daniſh hiſtory, the reader will I am ſu
luctance minutely to contemplate the larger tomb which firſt
notice; it is a pyramidal hillock neatly tufted and planted
poplars, correſponding with the number of officers who fell.
the principal front are tomb ſtones recording the names
theſe officers and their reſpective ſhips. A little above is an ol
northern marble, raiſed upon a pedeſtal of granite bearing this

"*To the memory of those who fell for their country, their grateful*
raise this monument April 2. 1801.

"And beneath, on a white marble tablet under a wreath
and cypreſs bound together is inſcribed: *The wreath which the*
never withers over the grave of the fallen warrior. The whole is
ſquare palliſado: as a national monument, it is too diminutive

"The next day I viſited the ſpot where ſo much blood
young Daniſh officer upon the Crown Battery obligingly po
diſpoſition of the ſhips, and ſpoke of the battle with great
From the poſition of the Britiſh Fleets, before the ſquadron
Nelſon bore down and rendered his intention indubitable, the
irmly of opinion that the Britiſh commander intended to proc
Calſcrona or Revel, and made no preparation for defence
were lying in ordinary, they therefore truſted ſolely to their bl
batteries.

"On that day the hero of the Nile ſurpaſſed thoſe atchieve
admiring and aſtoniſhed world conceived muſt for ever re
imitation as they had been without example in the annals c
Navy. Favoured by a fortunate ſhift of wind and an extra
vation of the tide which at the time was higher than the Da
remembered it, he placed his unſupported ſquadron, and as
an unobſerved ſignal of retreat flying at the maſt head of th

chief in command, in a moſt advantageous and formidable poſition. The citizens of Copenhagen in a moment flew to their poſts; all diſtinctions were loſt in the love of their country. Nobles and mechanics, gentlemen and ſhopmen ruſhed together in crowds to the quays, the ſick crawled out of their beds, and the very lame were led to the ſea ſide imploring to be taken in the boats, which were perpetually going off with crowds to the block ſhips. A carnage at once tremendous and novel only ſerved to encreaſe their enthuſiaſm. What an awful moment! The invoked vengeance of the Britiſh nation, with the fury and velocity of lightning, was falling with terrible deſolation upon a race of gallant people, in their very capital, whoſe kings were once ſeated upon the throne of England, and in the veins of whoſe magnanimous Prince flowed the blood of her auguſt family. Nature muſt have ſhuddered as ſhe contemplated ſuch a war of brethren; the conflict was ſhort but ſanguinary beyond example; in the midſt of the ſlaughter the heroic Nelſon diſpatched a flag of truce on ſhore with a note to the Crown Prince, in which he expreſſed a wiſh that a ſtop ſhould be put to the further effuſion of human blood, and to avert the deſtruction of the Daniſh arſenal and of the capital, which he obſerved that the Danes muſt then ſee were at his mercy. He once more propoſed their withdrawing from the triple league, and acknowledging the ſupremacy of the Britiſh flag. As ſoon as the Prince's anſwer was received a ceſſation of hoſtilities took place, and Lord Nelſon left his ſhip to go on ſhore. Upon his arrival at the quay he found a carriage which had been ſent for him by Mr. D. a merchant of high reſpectability, the confuſion being too great to enable the Prince to ſend one of the royal carriages; in the former the gallant admiral proceeded to the palace in the octagon, through crowds of people, whoſe fury was riſing to frenzy, and amongſt whom his perſon was in more imminent danger than even from the cannon of the block ſhips; but nothing could ſhake the ſoul of ſuch a man. Arrived at the palace in the octagon he calmly deſcended from the carriage amidſt the murmurs and groans of the enraged concourſe, which not even the preſence of the Daniſh officers who accompanied him could reſtrain. The Crown Prince received him in the hall and conducted him up ſtairs, and preſented him to the king, whoſe long ſhattered ſtate of mind had left him but very little ſenſibility to diſplay upon the trying occaſion. The objects of this impreſſive interview were ſoon adjuſted, to the perfect ſatisfaction of Lord Nelſon and his applauding country; that done, he aſſumed the gaiety and good humour of a viſitor, and partook of ſome refreſhment with the Crown Prince.

"During the repaſt Lord Nelſon ſpoke in raptures of the bravery of the Danes, and particularly requeſted the Prince to introduce him to a very young officer, whom he deſcribed as having performed wonders during the battle, attacking his own ſhip immediately under her lower guns. It proved to be the gallant young Welmoes, a ſtripling of ſeventeen; the Britiſh hero embraced him with the enthuſiaſm of a brother, and delicately intimated to the Prince that he ought to make him an admiral, to which the Prince very happily replied, 'If my Lord, I were to make all my brave officers admirals, I ſhould have no captains or lieutenants in my ſervice.' This heroic youth had volunteered the command of a praam, which is a ſort of raft carrying ſix ſmall cannon, and manned with twenty four men, who puſhed off from ſhore, and in the fury of the battle placed themſelves under the ſtern of Lord Nelſon's ſhip, which they moſt ſucceſsfully attacked, in ſuch a manner that although they were below the reach of his ſtern chaſers, the Britiſh

mariners

mariners made terrible ſlaughter amongſt them; twenty o
men fell by their bullets, but their young commander contin
in dead at his poſt, until the truce was announced. He has l
as he moſt eminently deſerved to be, with the grateful reme
country and of his prince, who, as a mark of his regard preſe
a medallion commemorative of his gallantry, and has appoin
command of his yacht in which he makes his annual viſit to E
iſſue of this conteſt was glorious and deciſive; could it be otl
its deſtinies were committed to Nelſon?"

The tribute of juſtice here paid to the gallantry of a
is highly creditable to the author's feelings. Such
Engliſh and the Danes may differ and may quarrel, but,
ſelves, they will not, on that account, ceaſe to eſteem,
juſtice, each to the other.

In the grounds of a country ſeat belonging to an opu
merchant, Mr. Carr diſcovered a retired ſpot which h
reſidence of a ſingular kind of hermit, a Dutch officer,
the court and the camp, in early life, paſſed many year
cell, till recalled to the ſervice of his country, he obeye
mons of his prince, and fell at the head of his regimen
to his departure from his favourite retreat, this extrao
compoſed an elegant farewel to the ſurrounding ſcenery,
been as elegantly tranſlated by Mr. Leigh Hunt.

Vain would life's pilgrim, ling'ring on his way,
Snatch the ſhort reſpite of a ſummer's day;
Pale ſorrow, bending o'er his ſad repoſe,
Still finds a tear in every ſhelt'ring roſe:
Still breaks his dream, and leads th' unwilling ſlave
To weep, and wander to a diſtant grave.
E'en he, whoſe ſteps ſince life's ungenial morn
Have found no path unfretted with rude thorn;
From all he lov'd muſt turn his looks away,
Far, far from thee, fair Dronningaard, muſt ſtray,
Muſt leave the Eden of his fancy's dreams,
Its twilight groves and long reſounding ſtreams;
Streams where the tears of fond regret have ran,
And back return to ſorrow and to man!
O yet once more, ye groves, your ſighs repeat
And bid farewell to theſe reluctant feet:
Once more ariſe thou ſoft thou ſoothing wave,
In weeping murmurs, 'ere I ſeek my grave;
Ere yet a thouſand ſocial ills I ſhare,
Conſuming war and more conſuming care,
Pleaſures that ill conceal their future pains,
Virtue in want, bleſt liberty in chains,
Vice-proud and powerful as the winter's wind,
And all the dire deliriums of mankind.
Yet e'en this heart may hail its reſt to come;
Sorrow, thy reign is ended in the tomb!

There close the eyes, that wept their fires away;
There drop the hands that clasp'd to mourn and pray;
There sleeps the restlessness of aching hearts;
There love, the tyrant, buries all his darts!
O grant me, heaven, thus sweetly to repose!
'Tis thus my soul shall triumph o'er its woes;
Spring from the world, nor drop one painful tear
On all it leaves, on all it treasures here;
Save once, perhaps, when pensive moonlight gleams
O'er Dronningaard's meek shades and murmuring streams,
The sacred grief, to dear remembrance true,
O'er her soft flow'rs may shed its gent'lest dew,
May once in sounds, that soothe the suff'ring mind,
Breathe its lorn murmurs through the solemn wind;
Lament, sweet spot, thy charms must withered be,
And linger e'en from heaven to sigh for thee!

In line 13, the perfect tense of the verb to run is substituted for the participle: an error but too common in modern poetry, though greatly transgressing all the bounds of poetical licence.

Of the capital of Sweden, our author gives his readers an interesting account, and he truly represents the Swedes as a brave and loyal people. The King being absent at this time, many enquiries were made after him by the peasantry, the cause of which our traveller did not rightly understand till his arrival at Stockholm.

"The people of Sweden had not been gladdened with the presence of their young sovereign and his beautiful queen, to whom they are devotedly and deservedly attached, for a long space of time, during which the court had been removed to the territory of the prince of Baden, the father of the queen of Sweden. The effect of such an absence was felt and deplored every where. No doubt the virtuous suggestions of his own heart will speedily restore the king to his people, and another traveller will have the gratification which was denied me, of seeing him in the bosom of his country, where a prince always appears to the most advantage. The king is said to possess a very amiable mind, and to regard the memory of his illustrious father with enthusiastic adoration; I contemplated a powerful proof of it in an obelisk of one solid block of porphyry, forty feet high, which is at once a monument of his taste and piety. I should not be doing justice to the king, were I not to mention the abhorrence which he, in common with his subjects, has manifested at the cold-blooded outrage committed against the person of the devoted duke d'Enghein."

If the Prussians and their monarch had *so* felt, we should have better hopes of an attempt to rescue the enslaved Continent of Europe, from the hands of this base usurper and ferocious assassin, than we now have. But *history* will amply vindicate the cause of justice and humanity, and will not fail to render full justice to these contemporary sovereigns.

The friendship which the last King of Sweden, the gallant Gustavus the Third, who fell a victim to the rage of a regicide, entertained for the equally gallant hero of Acra, whose name the historic

muse

muſe will immortalize, affords the author an opportunity of introducing an anecdote of the latter which is new to us, and may, probably, be equally ſo to our readers.

"As Sir Sidney is one of my favourite heroes, I will run the hazard of being blamed for deviating from my narrative a little, and for detaining the reader an extra moment to relate a ſingular prepoſſeſſion he felt, when a youth, of his fame, and the theatre of his future glory, which has juſt occurred to my memory. Being ſent, ſome years ſince, on ſhore upon the Iriſh coaſt with a brother officer, who is now holding a deſervedly high ſituation in the ſervice, to look for ſome deſerters from their ſhip, after a long, fatiguing, and fruitleſs purſuit, they halted at a little inn to refreſh themſelves; having dined, Sir Sidney on a ſudden became ſilent, and ſeemed loſt in meditation: "My dirk for your thoughts," exclaimed his friend, gently tapping him on the ſhoulder; what project, Sidney, has got poſſeſſion of you now?" "My good fellow," replied the young warrior, his expreſſive countenance brightening as he ſpoke, "you will no doubt ſuppoſe me a little diſordered in my mind, but I have been thinking that, before twelve years ſhall have rolled over my head, I ſhall make the Britiſh arms triumphant in the Holy Land." We need not knock at the cabinet door of St. Cloud to know how ſplendidly this prediction was verified."

In ſailing up the Baltic from Stockholm, to the capital of Swediſh Finland, in one of the ſmall veſſels of the country, our traveller witneſſed an operation which may give ſome idea of the manners of the lower claſſes of people in Sweden.

"One morning as I was looking over the deck from the ſtern, I beheld an operation ſomewhat ridiculous; but as it originated in rude notions of cleanlineſs, and moreover is one of the domeſtic cuſtoms of the country, I ſhall relate it.' Our ſkipper was lying at the feet of a good-natured brawny girl, who was a paſſenger; his head was on her lap, juſt as Goliah ſome time ſince reſted his on that of Delilah; but the fingers of our fair companion were more kindly employed than were thoſe of the woman of the valley of Sorek: the ſkipper had no comb, perhaps never heard of ſuch a thing, and this kind-hearted creature was ſedulouſly conſigning with a humane, becauſe an inſtantaneous deſtruction of ſenſation in every vital part by an equal and forcible preſſure, every reſtleſs diſturber of his peace in that region, which moſt aſſuredly muſt be, though doctors may diſpute the point, the ſeat of reaſon; the cabin-boy ſucceeded his maſter, and in return, with the keen eye and nimble finger of a monkey, gratefully repaid the obligation upon the head of his benefactreſs. In Italy, theſe engaging *little offices of kindneſs*, conſtitute the principal delights of courtſhip."

From hence our author proceeded through Ruſſian Finland to the capital of that vaſt empire. They there compute their time by the Julian calendar with the old ſtyle; but, as our author pertinently remarks; "both old and new ſtyle are ſuperior to the poetical abſurdity of the French calendar, which muſt be at perpetual variance with the immutable law of climates and Geography: for inſtance, when a merchant is melting away under the fiery ſun of the French Weſt India iſlands, his correſpondence will be dated Nivoſe, or the

month of ſnow." This conſideration, of courſe, eſcaped the notice of thoſe revolutionary philoſophers who framed the new Jacobin calendar; but, in truth, a Frenchman never looks beyond his own country, and, while his ignorance of all other countries is complete, he never thinks that any thing out of France is worthy his attention.

On his arrival at Frederickſhham Mr. Carr had the firſt ſpecimen of that Ruſſian hoſpitality which he ſo frequently experiences during his ſhort reſidence in that country. It was late at night, and no admittance was to be gained at an inn.

"We had been travelling all day under a fervid ſun, were covered with duſt and parched with thirſt; our Abo ham was glowing to the bone, our laſt bottle of claret was as warm as milk from the cow, and our poor exhauſted horſes were licking the walls of an adjoining building to cool their tongues. In this dilemma I beheld an elegant young officer, uncovered, in a dark bottle-green uniform the (legionary colour of Ruſſia), and an elderly gentleman, upon whoſe breaſt two reſplendent ſtars ſhone, coming towards us: theſe ſtars were two propitious conſtellations. The principal perſonage addreſſed us in a very kind and conciliatory manner in French. Upon our explaining our ſituation, he ſaid, 'I am very ſorry this fellow is out of the way, but it ſhall make no difference. When Engliſhmen enter Ruſſia it is to experience hoſpitality, not inconvenience: truſt to me, I will immediately provide for you:' he bowed, gave directions to an officer who followed at a diſtance and paſſed on. This amiable man proved to be the Count Meriandoff, the Governor of Ruſſian Finland, who fortunately for us, had arrived about an hour before from Wibourg. An officer ſoon afterwards came to us, and conducted us to a very handſome houſe belonging to a Ruſſian gentleman of fortune. Our kind hoſt, who ſpoke a little Engliſh, introduced us into a ſpacious drawing-room, where we went to reſt upon two delightful beds, which were mounted upon chairs. Our poor ſervant, after the manner of the Ruſſians, ranked no higher in our hoſt's eſtimation than a faithful maſtiff, and was left to make a bed of our great coats on the floor of the entry, and to ſleep *comme il plait à Dieu.*

Our traveller's deſcription of Peterſburgh, and of the cuſtoms and manners of its inhabitants, conveys a more accurate idea of the place and people than any former account which has fallen under our cognizance. Some parts of this deſcription we ſhall extract: the ſcene of the following exhibition was the ſummer gardens on the banks of the Neva.

"A young officer of the Imperial guards approached one of them and kiſſed her hand, and, as he raiſed his head, the lady kiſſed his cheek: it is the cuſtom in Ruſſia. Is it poſſible, thought I, that this ſpot, in no very diſtant day, owned a Swediſh maſter. Can a little paltry bridge make all this difference between the belles of the two countries? But I will leave this point undecided. Be it as it may, the ſalutation was the moſt graceful I ever witneſſed; it was politeneſs, improved by the moſt charming gallantry—bows, curtſies, and ſalams, are icicles to it. Whilſt France furniſhes us with caps and bonnets, and Egypt with duſky ſide-boards, may the Ruſſians fix the univerſal mode of friendly meeting between the ſexes for ever and for ever!

"This

" This captivating characteriſtic, and, as the ſun deſcends, the gentle ſound of lovers whiſpering in the ſhade, and the beauty of the ſpot, entitle the ſummer gardens to the name of the Northern Eden. Where the parties are not familiar, the lady *bows*, never curtſies: the attitude is very graceful. As I am upon the ſubject of kiſſing, and quit it with reluctance, I beg leave to ſtate, that in Eaſter every Ruſſian, be his rank in life however humble, and his beard as large, long, and as briſtly as ever graced or guarded the chin of a man, may, upon preſenting an egg, ſalute the loveliеſt woman he meets, however high her ſtation: they ſay, ſuch is the omnipotence of the cuſtom, that, during this delicious feſtival, the cheek of the lovely Empreſs herſelf, were ſhe to be ſeen in the ſtreets, would not be exempt from the bliſsful privilege."

We ſhould conjecture that Mr. Carr penned this paſſage after an attentive peruſal of the *Baſia* of Johannes Secundus. An anecdote is here recorded of Count Alexey Orloff, one of the numerous favourites of the *unprejudiced* Catherine, which marks him as one of the moſt baſe, treacherous, and unfeeling of men.

" Here alſo we had a fine view of the country over the Wibourg ſuburbs, and in a diſtant part of the citadel was pointed out the court of the priſon in which the unfortunate young princeſs, who was enſnared from Leghorn by the treacherous ſtratagems of Orloff, and afterwards confined in this place, is ſaid to have periſhed. The ſtory of this devoted young perſonage is ſtill wrapped in ſome obſcurity: After the burning of the Turkiſh fleers near Tſcheme, a beautiful young Ruſſian lady, attended by an elderly lady, appeared at Leghorn: although ſhe appeared without ſhew, or the means of making any, her ſociety was much courted on account of the ſweetneſs and accompliſhments of her mind, the attractions of her perſon, and a certain air of majeſty which particularly diſtinguiſhed her. To ſome of her moſt confidential friends, ſhe communicated the fatal ſecret, that ſhe was the daughter of the Empreſs Elizabeth by a private marriage, and that her pretenſions to the throne of Ruſſia were ſuperior to thoſe of Catherine II., to whoſe ſuſpicious ear the communication was imparted with uncommon celerity. Allured by the deceitful ſolicitations of a Ruſſian officer, who was an agent of Count Orloff, who promiſed to eſpouſe her cauſe, and to gain over the Count, ſhe came to Piſa in the beginning of the year 1775, where Alexy Orloff then reſided in great magnificence during the repairs of his fleet. Upon her arrival the Count paid his reſpects to her with all the deference and ceremony due to a reigning ſovereign, affected to believe her ſtory, and promiſed to ſupport her pretenſions. At length, after appearing with her at every faſhionable place during the carnival, and paying her the moſt marked and flattering attentions, he avowed, in the moſt reſpectful manner, a tender paſſion for her, and ſubmitted to her the glittering proſpect of her mounting with him the throne to which ſhe was entitled. Into icated with the idea, ſhe gave him her hand. A few days after the nuptials, the Count announced a magnificant marine entertainment in honour of the marriage. The young perſonage proceeded to his ſhip in all imaginary naval pomp; as ſoon as ſhe entered the cabin, gracious heaven, what a diſplay of treachery was developed! Orloff upbraided her with being an impoſtor, and the more barbarouſly to degrade her, ordered her delicate

licate hands to be faſtened by handcuffs, which had been prepared for the purpoſe, and quitted the ſhip, which immediately ſailed for Cronſtadt; from whence ſhe was brought to the fortreſs in a covered barge, where ſhe was immolated, and never heard of more. It is ſuppoſed that ſhe was drowned in her dungeon, which was rather deep, during one of the inundations of the Neva."

At a time when the Ruſſian Emperor is nobly ſtanding forth to defend the rights of independent nations againſt the moſt ruthleſs ambition, and the moſt relentleſs uſurper that has ever invaded them ſince the days of the Goths and Vandals; every thing which can tend to throw a light upon his character, and to give us an inſight into his mind, muſt, of neceſſity, be intereſting.

"The preſent Emperor Alexander is about twenty-nine years of age, his face is full, very fair, and his complexion pale: his eyes blue, and expreſſive of that beneficent mildneſs which is one of the prominent features of his character. His perſon is tall, luſty, and well proportioned; but, being a little deaf, to facilitate his hearing, he ſtoops: his deportment is condeſcending, yet dignified. In the diſcharge of his auguſt duties he diſplays great activity and acuteneſs, but without ſhew and buſtle: the leading features of his mind are ſound diſcretion and humanity, qualities which cannot fail to render an empire flouriſhing and a people happy! He is ſo much an enemy to parade, that he is frequently ſeen wrapped up in his regimental cloak, riding about the capital alone, upon a little common droſhka: in this manner he has been known to adminiſter to the wants of the poor. It is his wiſh if he ſhould be recognized in this ſtate of privacy, that no one will take off their hats; but the graciouſneſs of his deſire only puts the heart in the hand as it uncovers the head. I have many times ſeen him in a chariot, perfectly plain, of a dark olive, drawn by four horſes, driven by a bearded coachman, a common little poſtillion, and attended by a ſingle footman. Soldiers are always upon the look out for him, to give timely notice to the guard of his approach; without this precaution it would be impoſſible, amidſt the crowd of carriages which is to be ſeen in the reſidence, to pay him the honours due to his rank. The Emperor is very much attached to the Engliſh, numbers of whom have ſettled in the empire, and have formed, under the auſpices of the government, a ſort of colony. The Emperor has often been heard to ſay that the man within whoſe reach heaven has placed the greateſt materials for making life happy, was, in his opinion, an *Engliſh country gentleman.*'

"Although the Emperor has never viſited England, he is perfectly acquainted with its character and manners, as he is with its language. A very amiable and reſpectable Engliſh gentleman, Mr. G. of the treaſury, was, by the wiſh of Catherine, brought up with him, and was the playmate and aſſociate of his early years. The incidents of boyiſh days, ſo dear to every feeling and generous mind, left their accuſtomed impreſſions upon the heart of Alexander; and though time placed him at an immeaſurable diſtance from his early companion, he has never ceaſed to honour him with the moſt gracious regard; in the diſplay of which he exhibited the Emperor only in the munificent proofs of his friendſhip. I heard another inſtance of the ſtrong partiality of Alexander for England. When an Engliſh gentleman, who, a ſhort time before the death of Paul, had frequently

quently played duets upon the flute with the Grand Duk to quit the empire for his own country, in conſequence of pathy which the former had taken to our countrymen; the laſt piece they ever performed together, Alexander t ſtrophized the flute of his friendly muſician, as he hel 'Adieu, ſweet inſtrument! you have charmed away care: often and deeply ſhall I regret the abſence of ſounds; but you are going to breathe them in the beſt an in the world.' Theſe are trifling anecdotes to record, the reader to the heart.

"Man is moſt natural in little things."

"How much and how juſtly, the Emperor is belov will occaſionally appear as I proceed. The Ruſſians, many foreign princes to govern them, behold with ent an Emperor born in Ruſſia. The face of the reigning ſweet and expreſſive; her perſon is ſlight, but very el uſual height of her ſex; ſhe is remarkably amiable, and ſhyneſs. Her mind is highly cultivated, and her manne and faſcinating. Her ſiſter, the Queen of Sweden, if th in the chiſel of Sergell, muſt be a model of female beaut and Empreſs have no family. They were united at an e age, from a wiſh of Catherine, to contemplate as man who were deſtined to ſucceed to the throne, as ſhe coul The two Grand Ducheſſes, who are grown up, do honc their Imperial mother, and excite the attachment and who approach them. The youngeſt of the two was mar of Saxe Weimar, during my ſtay in Peterſburgh."

(To be concluded in our next.)

Obſervations on the preſent State of the Highlands of View of the Cauſes and probable Conſequences of the Earl of Selkirk. Small 8vo. Pp. 289. L 1805.

ON a general ſurvey of the hiſtory of man, two his character and deſtiny, apparently of an inc as oppoſite nature, above all others arreſt our attenti one light, he appears to be an inactive and ſluggiſh quit the habitation of his anceſtors, and the haunts o happieſt years, and adhering like vegetable nature t Under another point of view he is ſeen as a reſtleſs to change his ſituation, and roaming over the face queſt of a new ſettlement and better fortune. Theſe ers prevail each of them in different tribes and indiv to circumſtances: but, on the whole, we are moſt roaming diſpoſition, as our attention is more powerfu body in motion than by one at reſt. The hiſtory of its great outline, the hiſtory of colonization,

But though man be a reſtleſs and roving being, it is not choice but neceſſity that is the cauſe of the emigrations from the highlands of Scotland. The highlanders are well known to cling to their mountains with an ardor proportioned to the ſterility and unpromiſing aſpect of the object of their affection. The ſpirit of emigration in thoſe parts is growing ſtronger and ſtronger, and not to be ſtopped. The Earl of Selkirk unfolds the cauſes, and ſhews the probable conſequences; and points out means for "ſecuring to our own colonies all thoſe among our countrymen who cannot be retained in the kingdom."

Without any immediate or local connection with the highlands, he was led very early in life to take a warm intereſt in the fate of his countrymen in that part of the kingdom. During the courſe of his academical ſtudies his curioſity was ſtrongly excited by the repreſentations he had heard of the antient ſtate of ſociety, and the ſtriking peculiarity of manners ſtill remaining among them; and, in the year 1792, he was prompted to take an extenſive tour through their wild region, and to explore many of its remoteſt and moſt ſecluded vallies. In the courſe of this he aſcertained ſeveral of the leading facts on which the arguments contained in his publication are grounded: in particular, that emigration was an unavoidable reſult of the general ſtate of the country, ariſing from cauſes above all controul, and in itſelf of eſſential conſequence to the tranquillity and permanent welfare of the kingdom. He deſcribes the independence of the highland chieftains in former times, and the internal ſtate of the country reſulting from that circumſtance. But after the rebellion in 1745, the policy of the highland chieftains was changed. The chiefs now ceaſed to be petty monarchs. The ſervices of their followers were no longer requiſite for defence, and could no longer be made uſe of for the plunder of a defenceleſs neighbour. Reduced to the ſituation of any other proprietors they were not long in diſcovering, that to ſubſiſt a numerous train of dependents was not the only way in which their eſtates could be rendered of value; that the rents they received were far below thoſe given for lands of equal quality in other parts of the kingdom. Formerly, every ſpot in the highlands was occupied by nearly as many families as the produce of the land could ſubſiſt. But in conſequence of this political change paſturage and ſheep-farming began to prevail, and farms to be engroſſed; and the ſmall tenant, deprived of his land, had no other alternative than either to remove into a different part of the country, to earn his ſubſiſtence as a labourer, or go to America to obtain land. The highlands ceaſed to be that nurſery of ſoldiers which they had been. In proportion as the feudal ſyſtem was ſupplanted by the progreſs of a commercial ſyſtem, the highland regiments approached to a ſimilarity to the other regiments in our ſervice. The low rent of land was the foundation of the whole difference. The emigrations from the highlands, in Lord Selkirk's opinion, is ſo far from being prejudicial to the public intereſts,

reſts, or detrimental to manufactures and agriculture, th
timately connected with the progreſs of national pro
the means that have been propoſed for preſerving the
the highlands, namely, the improvement of the waſte la
and manufactures, cannot obviate the neceſſity of emi
emigration has no permanent effect on population: that
tions are uſeleſs and dangerous:—and that, conſidering t
in the highlands, emigration is ſubſervient to the public
ſhews the miſtakes from which the prejudices of the h
prietors againſt emigration ariſe.

"The prejudices which many perſons entertain on thi
from the moſt patriotic, though miſtaken motives. Aſcribin
emigration to mere capricious reſtleſſneſs, they deprecate ir
the nurſery of ſoldiers that has hitherto been found in the H
adverting to the decay of thoſe cauſes from which that adva
rived. They ſee the poſſibility of employing great number
productive induſtry, and overlook the diſtinctions which ren
ſuitable to a great proportion of the actual inhabitants.

"To theſe have in ſome inſtances been ſuperadded miſta
private intereſt. Some proprietors, accuſtomed to the advar
lity of recruiting, would wiſh to preſerve this power, at the ſa
they profit by the advance of their rents. A few individuals
ed the incompatibility of theſe objects, and, unwilling to relin
tient ſplendour of a numerous train of dependants, have frankl
make an adequate pecuniary ſacrifice: but in a much greate
inſtances this incompatibility has been overlooked, or ſeen
and the conſequence has been a train of inconſiſtent manageme
between contradictory motives.

"The ideas of the Highland gentry have alſo perhaps bee
by the very unjuſt cry that has been prevalent againſt themſel
unfavourable impreſſions, as to the tendency of their conduct
public have been led to entertain. The long continued indul
landlords, the ſacrifice of rent to which they ſubmitted for ſo m
preſerve their people, are little known beyond their immediat
hood. It would be difficult to find a proprietor in other parts
dom, who to pleaſe his tenants would accept a rent not half th
land. This has been done by many in the Highlands, and yet
men have been generally reputed ſevere landlords.

"The old ſyſtem of the Highlands, ſo long eſtabliſhed and de
could not be broken up without a great degree of popular odi
any proprietor grew tired of the loſs of rent he ſuſtained, and re
joy the full value of his eſtate, the clamours of the tenantry
againſt his unjuſt and oppreſſive conduct (as they deemed it), a
echoed from diſtant parts of the kingdom. When a populous
converted into ſheep-walks, the author of the change was he
enemy of the public, who, for a ſordid intereſt, promoted the d
his country; and the remote conſequences through which th
evils' terminate in 'univerſal good,' were not to be ſeen by ſu
ſervers.

"The gentlemen of the Highlands might have repelled these aſperſions, by appealing to the undeniable general right of landed proprietors to manage their property for their own advantage: but this argument was too much at variance with the eſtabliſhed prejudices of their neighbourhood to be well received. Conſcious, therefore, of the unpopularity of their conduct, and ſore under theſe impreſſions, they acted as if diffident of the juſtice of their own cauſe, and inſtead of meeting the queſtion on fair and manly grounds, recriminated with accuſations of capricious diſcontent on the part of the people, excited only by the artifices of men who had an intereſt to delude them.

"Such motives of pique, and a remnant of the feudal pride which a numerous clan was calculated to inſpire, have perhaps more influence than any view of pecuniary intereſt, in exciting a jealous antipathy againſt emigration in the minds of the more conſiderable proprietors of the Highlands; and this may account for a ſingulr contradiction that has been frequently obſerved. Many of theſe gentlemen have, in their cooler moments, acknowledged, that the over-population of their eſtates was a loſs to them and expreſſed a wiſh that a great proportion could be removed, and have nevertheleſs been warmed, even to indignation, when any of their own tenantry ſhowed a diſpoſition to emigration. When their feelings have been rouſed, the phantom of antient prejudice has put to flight every ſober conſideration of intereſt."

On the conduct of the Highland Society, and the Emigrant Regulation Bill, Lord Selkirk's obſervations are extremely ſevere becauſe perfectly juſt. "Every manly heart will revolt at ſuch means employed to reſtrain the exerciſe of an acknowledged natural right, and the indignation which every act of oppreſſion muſt excite, may actually impel thoſe to emigration who would never have thought of it." The pretence of the Emigration Bill is, "To regulate the tranſportation of emigrants in ſuch a way that no undue profit may ariſe from its being conducted in a manner deſtructive to the paſſengers." But it appears, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that theſe regulations can ſerve no other object whatever, than to enhance the expence of paſſage. This object is not indeed entirely diſavowed by the ſociety. In the hiſtory of their tranſactions the regulations are ſpoken of as "having the effect of a certain neceſſary burthen on the voyages of emigrants." The peculiar objects of that inſtitution lead them to pay an excluſive attention to the local intereſts of one diſtrict. They have given their opinion not in the character of a judge, but as a party in the cauſe, as repreſenting one claſs of men, for whom they appear as advocates at the bar of the public.

Our author keeping in view an important diſtinction he had noticed and inſiſted on between cotters and ſmall tenants, aſſumes it as ſufficiently proved, which we think is not aſſuming too much, that emigration to a greater or leſs extent is likely to go on from the highlands until the latter claſs be entirely drained of, ſhews that it is an object deſerving of both attention and exertion, to ſecure theſe emigrants to our colonies, rather than abandon them to a foreign country.

Lord Selkirk in his concluding chapter gives ſome account of the part

part which he himſelf took in regard to the ſettlers whom he conveyed to Prince Edward's Iſland, Nova Scotia, in 1803: the difficulties attending the project, its progreſs, and final ſucceſs. It appears that he managed the particular or genius of about eight hundred highlanders with great addreſs. He provided for their wants, directed their efforts, comforted them under diſappointments and hardſhips, and animated them to perſeverance. At laſt the proſpect of abundance diffuſed univerſal ſatisfaction, and every doubt as to the eligibility of the ſituation fixed on for the ſettlement ſeemed to be removed. "There were three or four families who had not gathered a crop adequate to their own ſupport: but many others had a conſiderable ſuperabundance. The extent of land in cultivation at the different hamlets was found to be in the proportion of two acres, or thereabouts, to each able working hand: in many caſes from three to four. Several boats had alſo been built, by means of which a conſiderable ſupply of fiſh had been obtained, which formed a trifling addition to the ſtock of proviſions." Thus, in a little more than one year, from the date of their landing on the iſland, had theſe people made themſelves independent of any ſupply that did not ariſe from their labour.

In the hiſtory of this ſettlement, there is ſomething very intereſting. The character and circumſtances of the coloniſts, and the character, circumſtances, and views of their leader, are equally affecting. A young nobleman, of large fortune, inſtead of reſigning himſelf to the uſual diſſipation, at a great riſk of fortune, by a ſacrifice of pleaſure and eaſe, and certainly not without perſonal danger, leads a poor oppreſſed people acroſs the Atlantic, in queſt of a new ſettlement, by ſubduing the aſperities of ſavage nature. Had the Earl of Selkirk's views extended no farther than the improvement of his own property, he might, without any loſs, and with much leſs trouble, have found ſettlers enough in the diſtricts where the cuſtom of emigrating to the ſame quarter was already eſtabliſhed. But this was not his purpoſe. He had undertaken to ſettle theſe lands with emigrants, whoſe views were directed towards the United States, and without any wiſh to increaſe the general ſpirit of emigration; and he could not, therefore, avoid giving more than ordinary advantages to thoſe who ſhould join him. Certain prejudices, too, entertained againſt him, and induſtriouſly fomented, made it neceſſary for him to extend his offers of encouragement as far as he could, without a total diſregard of his own intereſt.

In former times, the chiefs of clans ſet a greater value on men than money: now they ſet a greater value on money than men. If they, like other landed proprietors, are allowed a full and free exerciſe of power over their eſtates, the depopulation of the Highlands is a matter of courſe. When the great landholders lived on their eſtates, amidſt their people, their clans, their power, conſequence, and no ſmall degree of note was eaſily maintained, without racked rents: but now, power, conſequence, and ſuppoſed dignity, are ſought after by reſorting to the capital; and all manner of GILLIES, or ſervants for particular

purpoſes,

purpoſes, are exchanged for valets, grooms, footmen, &c. To remedy the evils flowing from this new order of things, Lord Selkirk would encourage emigration to our own colonies; and this would certainly be better œconomy than to let the emigrants paſs into other countries. But it would be better ſtill, if poſſible, to retain them at home. Though it may be better for both the landlord and ſervant, that there ſhould be a ſmall number of moderate farms, than a great number of ſmall ones, yet an exceſſive monopolization of farms, even in the Highlands, ſhould be avoided; for this would lead ultimately to the detriment of both the landholders and the nation. Men have a kind of natural right to the ſoil they occupy, on the fulfilment of the conditions to which they and their anceſtors have been accuſtomed. This does not render rents fixed and ſtationary: they may and muſt be raiſed in proportion to the depreciation of money; but ſtill the occupants, the actual cultivators of the ſoil, ſhould not be treated as mere aliens, or an accidental aſſemblage of vagrants, ſharpers, and peulars in a fair. That land is beſt diſpoſed of by a competition among monied capitaliſts, that is, by auction, is a very pleaſing doctrine to thoſe whoſe only aim is, to bring moſt money into their pockets with the leaſt trouble; but the language of paternal and ſound policy is very different. Do not baniſh the labourer of the land, but encourage him, by all poſſible and ſafe means, to become an independent cultivator—a cultivator on his own account; break entails; quaſh exceſſive monopolization. If the demands of commerce draw a number of hands into towns, yet ſtill every encouragement ſhould be given to hamlets and villages. Entails, and the progreſs of the monopolization of farms, are the bane of health, population, virtue, and happineſs. Landholders have a right to the ſoil which they inherit or purchaſe; but beyond the preſent and actual value of the land ſo inherited or purchaſed, there is a farther value, which, if it does not belong wholly to the ſtate, yet is a juſt and proper object of political management and control—the poſſible and contingent value—a value that may be ſuperadded by wiſe œconomy—a certain ſuſceptibility or improveability. If great landlords neglect this, and drive away ploughs and ſpades, on pretence of bringing their hogs to the beſt markets, and thus ſtrip the land of its ſoundeſt defenders, then the legiſlature has a right and ought to interfere. We earneſtly recommend to Lord Selkirk, and all men who think as ſeriouſly as he does, on the great objects of political œconomy, an attentive peruſal of Capt. Newle's Tour in England and Scotland, but, above all, Profeſſor Ogilvie's *Eſſay on the Right of Property in Land*, which is the beſt book that was ever written on political œconomy, if the great end of this ſcience be, how to promote the ſtrength, wealth, virtue, and happineſs of a nation, and all this without any raſh and dangerous innovation, by gradual and progreſſive improvement. We ſuppoſe that there is not by any means ſuch a proportion of waſte lands, that is, lands waſte, but that might be cultivated, in the Highlands as in the lowlands. New colonies might abſolutely be ſettled on waſte lands in the low lands:

not

not ſo, we preſume, in the Highlands: but there is one ſpecies of cultivation that might be carried to any extent, and which would furniſh employment to all who really want it in the Highlands, namely, the planting of timber. Timber is of ſlow growth, and does not meet the cravings of a neceſſitous land-proprietor: yet, for the encouragement of planting, let it be obſerved, that the very thinnings of the foreſt trees, planted by the preſent Earl of Fife, on his extenſive eſtates, bring him an annual income of above 1000l. and are every year increaſing in value. The whole of his Lordſhip's rural œconomy is a perfect model for imitation to the Scotch lords and lairds. A bank might be eſtabliſhed for lending money, at legal intereſt, for incloſing, or fencing, and planting barren tracts, on the baſis of the number of trees planted for a ſecurity, in the way of mortgage.

We cannot but approve and applaud the Earl of Selkirk's views, in leading the emigrants, that would otherwiſe paſs into the United Provinces of America, to our own colonies; but we enter our proteſt againſt the principle, that eſtates are abſolutely at the arbitrary and capricious diſpoſal of their lords, without all regards to the intereſts of the cotter; and that nothing more is to be done than to let them, like a houſe, or ſhop in a town, to the beſt bidder.

As planting trees ought to be one of the principal occupations of the cultivators in Scotland, ſo the felling of trees, and clearing of ground, is the grand buſineſs of the new ſettlers in America, as it is in all new ſettlements. We read in the Book of Pſalms, that "In former days, a man was held in eſtimation, according to the ſtrength or addreſs with which he lifted up his axe on thick trees. For the benefit of Lord Selkirk's, and other ſettlers in America, we ſhall ſtate to his Lordſhip a fact, of the truth of which we are well and minutely informed by an eye-witneſs.

The inſtrument which the Malays uſe for the cutting down of wood is a ſmall hatchet, with a very obtuſe edge, like a wedge. It is fixed with a piece of ſmall rattan or cane, to an elaſtic handle, about four feet long; by which the force of the ſtroke is much increaſed; and as they direct it with exactneſs, the edge is never turned, although the wood of many of the trees is exceedingly hard. A dozen of ſtrong Malays, thus armed, will clear away a great deal of ground in a very ſhort time; and in their mode of proceeding, there appears too a great deal of ingenious contrivance. In moſt woods, whether from a long continued or violent wind in one direction, or from whatever cauſe, the trees all acquire a ſlight inclination one way. Of this circumſtance the Malays take advantage. Having cut a little way (perhaps one-third) into the ſides of two or three hundred trees where the inclination is, and whoſe branches are all perhaps entwined and intermixed with each other, they at laſt fix upon ſome large tree in the rear, which they entirely cut down. This in its fall carries down all thoſe that were notched next to it; thoſe next to them; and ſo on as far the trees have been cut into. In this manner, a maſs of trees

of ſome hundred yards in length, and perhaps fifty in breadth, is cut down in the courſe of a day, which could not be cut down, each by each, in leſs than a week.

We cannot diſmiſs the little tract before us, without noticing, that it is admirably well compoſed. The arrangement is clear, the ſtyle proper and perſpicuous; the arguments follow each other, in the manner of a mathematical demonſtration; and the whole breathes an air of candour, moderation, and a liberal and courteous mind; all which graces of ſtyle, ſentiments, and manners, contribute to bring forward and impreſs the general reſult on the mind, with an efficacy and force that is not to be produced, almoſt by any reaſoning couched in language ſlovenly, ungrammatical, obſcure, and diſguſting. And ſuch is the general ſtyle of even men of genius, who have been converſant with things, but not with books. They will tell you, in their prefaces, that they do not pretend to the ornaments of ſtyle: ſo much the better: but, alas! their ſtyle is not only barbarous and diſguſting, but, for want of logical arrangement and grammatical preciſion, in many inſtances obſcure, and in ſome altogether unintelligible.

Memoirs of C. M. Talleyrand, de Perigord, one of Buonaparté's Principal Secretaries of State, his Grand Chamberlain, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, Ex-Biſhop of Autun, Ex-Abbé of Celles and St Dennis, &c. Containing the Particulars of his private and public Life, of his intrigues in Boudoirs, as well as in Cabinets. By the Author of the Revolutionary Plutarch. 12mo. 2 vol. Pp. 830. 12s. 6d. Murray. 1805.

THESE memoirs cannot fail to be intereſting to all readers who take any intereſt in the paſſing events, or in the public characters of the day. They appear to be written from authentic ſources of information, and much in the ſame ſtyle as the Revolutionary Plutarch, which has run through four editions, which was reviewed by us at ſome length, on its firſt appearance, and our opinion of which ſeems to have received the ſanction of the public, by the rapidity with which the work has been circulated. We cannot attempt to analyze the maſs of materials which compoſe the checquered life of this apoſtate prelate of the Romiſh Church, conſiſtent in nothing but infamy. By the author's preface it will be ſeen that he has exhibited his hero in every poſſible point of view. "In theſe volumes Talleyrand has been expoſed in his true colours, as a ſubject, as a Chriſtian, as an intriguer, as a politician, and as a lover. Since they were ſent to the preſs, we have been favoured by a gentleman of rank, a Britiſh ſubject now in England, with ſome traits illuſtrating Talleyrand's character as a friend." Here a long account follows of his treatment of the gentleman in queſtion; of which we ſhall merely obſerve that it proves his friendſhip to be on a par with his other *good* and *amiable* qualities.

We

We shall extract the brief summary of this miscreant's character, from the close of the second volume, remarking that it is preceded by some information of a consolatory nature to all the friends of virtue and goodness.

" France must soon be delivered of one of her great criminals, and England of one of her most inveterate foes. By debauchery, intemperance, and gluttony, Talleyrand's constitution is entirely broken, and his health destroyed. Neither yearly journeys to the coast for bathing in the sea, nor yearly visits to the mineral springs at Aix la Chapelle and Bareuge; neither the prescriptions of the faculty, nor the drugs of quacks, can long prevent a dissolution which continual excesses must hasten. *Da mihi, Domine, mortem justi hujus,* said Talleyrand, when he heard last summer that the senator Fargues had expired suddenly in the arms of his mistress. This is an authentic confession of his present religious as well as moral notions: as he has lived profligate, he prays to die unrepenting.

" Nature had bestowed on Talleyrand a first rate genius. An early entrance into society procured him an early knowledge of mankind, and supplied the improvements others obtain by assiduous application and by profound meditations. Having, with the most vicious propensities, the duties of his order as an ecclesiastic to observe, or at least to guard the appearance of them, hypocrisy first became necessary, and afterwards habitual. Club-footed from his birth, he studied to banish the sense of his deformity by insinuating manners, obliging attentions, and an agreeable conversation. Ambitious to please, he acquired an easy penetration to discover whether he could ascribe his success to his merit or to his rank; or his miscarriage to want of adroitness on his part, or want of discrimination in his companions. By degrees he accustomed himself to draw acute and accurate conclusions, more from what he observed in the mind, than heard from the discourses or professions of those with whom he associated. Duplicity was, then added to hypocrisy, and treachery to both. He carried, therefore, with him into office all the vices, all the qualities, all the habits, which in times of trouble, of rebellion, of revolution, make men conspicuous for eminence; but which, in orderly and regular times, under moral and lawful governments, would make them shunned as dangerous, despised as contemptible, or punished as wicked. The immorality of his private life accompanied him in his public station. His policy has therefore been fraud; his conferences, deceptions; his negociations, intrigues; his agreements, impostures; his promises, infidelities; and his treaties, acts to delude the unwary, to dupe the unsuspicious, to crush the weak, to humble the elevated, to plunder the rich, to enslave the free, to rule the powerful, and to oppress and tyrannize them all; the strongest and best guarded state, as well as the most defenceless community, those who confided in his justice or generosity, or those who trusted only to their own value and resources.

" Of former French ministers, he possesses the financial abilities of a Sully, the political capacity and duplicity of a Richelieu, the cunning and cupidity of a Mazarin, the commercial knowledge of a Colbert, the insensibility and cruelty of Louvois, the profligacy and depravity of Dubois, the method and perspecuity of Fleury, the penetration of Choiseul, the suppleness of Maurepas, and the activity of Vergennes. Though from haughtiness,

he affects to depend upon his ſecretaries and inferiors for tranſacting the chief buſineſs of his office, nothing eſcapes his attention. With great facility, he decides in ſome few hours what has puzzled the comprehenſion of others for a week.

"Education unfolds talents received from the hand of nature; but their adaptation to time, and their juſt application to extraordinary junctures, are the work of reaſon, cultivated and enlightened by experience. There were, no doubt, in France great generals, ſtateſmen, and men of genius, ſixteen years ago; but they wanted the leſſon of adverſity, the examples of the triumphs of the revolution, the ſecrets of its ſtrength, and the uſe of the weapons proper to defend or to oppoſe it.

"But of what benefit to civilized ſociety have all Talleyrand's natural and acquired talents been? What advantage have his contemporaries derived, or can future ages expect, from his high ſtation, mighty influence, deciſive tranſactions, and all-powerful achievements? Have they procured for France liberty and happineſs, and other nations tranquillity and ſafety? Open the map of the world, and not a country is found in which France, under his miniſtry, has not committed ſome devaſtation, infringed ſome treaty, or violated ſome principle of the law of nations.

"Periere mores, jus, decus, pietas, fides;
Et, qui redire neſcit cùm perit, pudor!"

SENECA.

We cannot diſmiſs theſe volumes, which contain much uſeful information, and much entertaining matter, without expreſſing a wiſh that ſome parts of them had been ſuppreſſed. The amorous intrigues of this profligate prieſt are almoſt too diſguſting to be read with patience; and the letters ſigned *Cordelia*, ought not to have been tranſlated; and indeed it had been better, in our opinion, if they had not been publiſhed. The typographical errors are numerous; but we underſtand that they were owing to the abſence of the author from town, while the volumes were in the preſs. They will, of courſe, be corrected in a ſecond edition, which is already called for; and we hope that the intelligent author will embrace that opportunity of profiting by our ſuggeſtions for the removal of ſome other defects.

DIVINITY.

A Sermon, preached at the Viſitation of the venerable the Archdeacon of Norwich, holden at Walſingham, May 3, 1804; *and printed at the deſire of the Clergy preſent.* By *(the Reverend)* Matthew Skinner, M. A. F. A. S. Rector of Wood Norton with Swanton Novers, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Onſlow. 8vo. PP. 24. 1s. Stewardſon, Fakenham.

FROM the following text—"*The Servant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive; but be gentle unto all Men; apt to teach; patient;*" Mr. Skinner takes occaſion to expatiate, in language clear, correct, and impreſſive, on the virtues of patience and forbearance (if the latter may be dignified with the appellation

pellation of a virtue) as neceſſary to be continually exerciſed by a miniſter of the goſpel. From the general poſition it is impoſſible for any ſerious Chriſtian to diſſent; but we think that the preacher carries his argument rather too far when he ſays, "let us be quiet and *paſſive*;" for certainly if we remain *paſſive* while our enemies are *active*, a conſequence very naturally to be expected is, that the *ſchiſm ſhops* will become full, and the churches nearly empty. *Activity* is ſurely not incompatible with gentleneſs or patience; the object of St. Paul was to recommend Chriſtian leaders to avoid thoſe diſputes which have a tendency to engender *ſtrifes*, as, indeed, he expreſsly ſays in the preceding verſe; and not to urge them to be *paſſive*, in ſituations which require activity.

On the firſt words of the text Mr. S. juſtly obſerves that the ſervants of the Lord "are, as it were, his very domeſtics; wear his garb; tread his courts; ſpeak in his name; ſtand between him and his people; intercede for and bleſs them in his name; deliver his commands;" &c.—"No man taketh this honour unto himſelf; no perſon aſſumed the Levitical prieſthood, unleſs called by the Almighty as Aaron was: our Saviour had an everlaſting prieſthood conferred on him by God, after the ſimilitude of Melchiſidec's: he appointed the apoſtles to their high office, by the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt; who, in their turn, appointed others to aſſiſt and ſucceed them, by the impoſition of hands; and from theſe is the prieſthood deſcended to us, in uninterrupted ſucceſſion."

The Sermon contains many other judicious obſervations on the conduct, manners, and amuſements of the clergy, which are deſerving of their ſerious attention.

A Vindication of Defenſive War, and of the Military Profeſſion. A Sermon, preached before the North Worceſter Volunteers in the Pariſh Church of Tewkſbury, on Sunday, May 12, 1805. By the Rev. Jeremiah Smith, M. A. Aſſiſtant Curate of Moſely, and ſecond Maſter in the Free Grammar School, Birmingham. Knott and Lloyd, Birmingham; Cadell and Davies, London.

IN a ſhort preface to this Sermon the author has ſlightly noticed that which was ſome time ſince publiſhed by Mr. Warner of Bath, entitled, "War inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity;" which he juſtly conceived to contain doctrines both "irrational and unſcriptural." The opportunity of preaching before the corps to which he has the honour to be chaplain, afforded him a favourable occaſion of combatting the ſentiments of Mr. W. and of entering his proteſt againſt them, as well as againſt others of a ſimilar tendency.

His text is taken from Acts x. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4. The caſe of the centurion there mentioned, we think with him, is a ſufficient refutation of the looſe reaſonings of his opponents on this ſubject—but let him ſpeak for himſelf.

"If to bear arms," ſays he, "be abſolutely and eſſentially ſinful, why was not this officer of the Italian band explicitly informed of a truth ſo intereſting? If the military life neceſſarily preclude the acquiſition of the Chriſtian graces, how came he to be diſtinguiſhed by habitual piety? If nothing praiſeworthy can be learned from a ſoldier, how happened it that his family had been taught the fear of God? If his calling could not fail to chill the emotions of pity, how unaccountable is his practice of giving

much alms to the people? If no one can belong to the army of his earthly king without violating his allegiance to his heavenly Sovereign, what ſhall we ſay of the bleſſed aſſurance ſupernaturally given to him 'thy prayers and thine alms are gone up as a memorial before God."

This is well ſaid, and in our opinion is not eaſily to be refuted. It is not within our plan to enter much into the doctrines contained in ſingle ſermons, unleſs we find them ſuch as are directly hoſtile to the religion, morality, or law of the country.—On the ſubject, too, of this diſcourſe we have frequently had occaſion to ſpeak at large. We ſhall, therefore, only offer to our readers another quotation or two, and leave them to determine for themſelves.

"Let the right of repelling attack once be given up, and let the exertion of paſſive courage alone be allowed, what a maſs of evil will be introduced into the world? The unreſiſting doctrine is an invitation to every aggreſſor, and an encouragement to every robber. With reſpect to individuals, it gives over the weak as a prey to the ſtrong, the unoffending to the tyrannical, the induſtrious to the ſlothful, the provident to the thoughtleſs. As to communities, by ſtimulating the barbarous horde to invade their more opulent, more enlightened, and refined neighbours, it checks the ſpirit of induſtry, ſtops the progreſs of the arts, leſſens all their attendant bleſſings, and thus tends to reduce every nation to a ſavage ſtate.—Under this ſyſtem liberty would periſh from off the earth—it is a *ſuicidal* ſyſtem."

Again, in anſwer to the queſtion ſo triumphantly put by an opponent, "Can devotion lodge in a ſoldier's breaſt?"

"Well may we expect his breaſt to be its favourite abode. It is but natural that he, the continuance of whoſe life is peculiarly precarious, ſhould turn his thoughts to futurity with greater earneſtneſs and frequency than others. By no means then let the ingenuous youth, whoſe infant mind has been duly trained by pious parents, deem the union of piety and courage impoſſible, or even difficult: let him remember, for the confirmation of his juſt and laudable deſires, of his wiſe and holy reſolutions, that our Saviour and his apoſtles have ſelected more examples of devotion and zeal from this mode of life than perhaps from any other."

The following paſſage, with which we ſhall conclude, is of the greateſt importance, and ſhould be ſo conſidered by every ſoldier in the united kingdom.

"The volunteer by ſtepping forward at the call of his menaced country, ſtands pledged that he will act in every relation, and in every tranſaction of his life, as becomes a man and a Chriſtian. There cannot in fact be a more dangerous error, than to rely on a detached and ſolitary inſtance of virtue, abſurdly ſuppoſing that the diſcharge of our duty in one particular exonerates us from an attention to it in others. The patriotic ſpirit which has been ſhewn, cannot be too zealouſly cultivated, or too warmly commended. But that alone is not ſufficient. To undaunted courage, to a readineſs in undergoing fatigue, to alacrity in ſubmitting to various ſacrifices, to a prompt and punctual execution of orders on which ſo much depends, muſt be added the ſteady cultivation of every perſonal and every ſocial exceſſence. We muſt do juſtly, we muſt love mercy, and we muſt walk humbly with God: for without holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord, and righteouſneſs alone can permanently exalt a nation. Too poſſible is it, that while we carefully conſider, and diligently employ, the beſt methods of defending our country, we may not be ſufficiently attentive to

the

the ſalvation of our own ſouls; nay, while the arm in or
for the defence of our high national advantages, a corru
be undermining the foundation of them in another, and
injure incomparably more than our valour can benefit. I
may indeed be more eaſily repelled than the ruinous effects
fiſhneſs, venality, and profligacy averted.—The latter ar
maladies faſtening on vital parts."

From the large extracts we have made from this diſcourſe
is given for each of our readers to form his own opinion—fo
ſcruple not to declare, that the ſentiment, ſtile, matter, an
publication have our moſt cordial approbation.

A Sermon to Servants, with a Dedication to Maſters and Miſtreſſes.
John Riland, M. A. Rector of Sutton Coldfield, Warw

ECCE iterum Criſpinus! Callous to reproof this author
to expoſe himſelf. The purity of his intentions was never
tion, nor is it material how he diſpoſes of his emoluments fro
in Birmingham. Our concern is only with him as a writer,
paſs from the peruſal of our eminent and ſound divines to an
poſitions, we ſhall, in the language of the facetious Mr. Wil
Hog's waſh after a bottle of Champagne. Let the reader judge fo

Dedication. "When I wrote for them I wrote alſo fo
good as well as, *and in their's* is meant by me in writing, an
be meant by you in reading."—"The whole family will b
more holily, comfortably, and *happy*" for happily.—"The ap
maſters do the *ſame things* unto them, that is, all things which
good, in body and ſoul, which belong to them, and which y
on the like good principles as they are to you." Perhaps i
was, as they are to do to you.

In the body of the ſermon he begs leave to lay before
ſcriptural particulars." He tells them that they are to ſerve
well, becauſe thereby they are to ſerve their God well; they
latter to do the former; and, he adds, "will it not be the
you whether your maſter is cloſe to you *or a mile* from yo
ought, ſay I; ſurely it will, ſay you. Servants are to ſpeak *pr*
ſubmiſſively."—"The obliging tempers, *pleaſing and pleaſed*, ſh
valent the family through, kitchen and parlour." Towards t
he quotes a *ſtriking* thought, which he met with ſomewhere in
and it is a favourite one in that ſchool to which our author bel
the ſublimity is to others a little queſtionable

"The eternal ſalvation of one ſoul is of greater importa
with greater events, than the ſalvation of a whole kingdom fo
time, though it were for the ſpace of ten thouſand ages, becau
come up a point, an inſtant in eternity, when that one ſoul ſhall
as many ages as all the individuals of a whole kingdom ra
ſucceſſion will in the whole have exiſted in the ſpace of ten th
Therefore one ſoul is capable of a longer ſpace of happineſ
throughout an endleſs eternity, (for that will ſtill be before it)
kingdom is capable of in ten thouſand ages."

The moſt pleaſing part of ſome compoſitions is the concluſion, and the well known rule of the poet has been obſerved.

Denique ſit, quod vis, *ſimplex dumtaxat* et unum.

" O ſervant, whoever thou art, this is thy ſoul; yes, this is *thy ſoul*. And will you be careleſs about it inſtead of being careful for it. Will you not ſeek till you find God's work of ſaving grace in it, till you can ſay as *they* (not David) of old ſaid, Come all ye that fear God and I will tell you what God has done for my ſoul? 'Tis to be feared that the greateſt part of ſervants neglect their ſouls—be not you of that number. Leſſon it *by one*, if others will not leſſon it *by more*. If others *looſe* theirs, looſe not yours; but labour to ſave your own and their's alſo, and your maſters."

This diſcourſe might have been diſmiſſed in a much more conciſe way, if conſidered only per ſe; theſe Bavii and Mœvii in theology might ſink by their own heavineſs into merited contempt and oblivion. But poſſeſſing a rage of proſelytiſm, accuſing directly or indirectly the regular and well educated clergy; they ought to be expoſed, that the Chriſtians may attend thoſe places of worſhip where the doctrines and precepts of Chriſtianity are explained and illuſtrated in plain, eaſy language, without vulgarity, without coarſeneſs, and without conceit.

NOVELS.

St. Julian in a Series of Letters. By Mrs. J. T. Serres. 8vo. Pp. 167. Ridgway. 1805.

WE have here another proof of the talents of a lady whoſe powers are noticed in another part of our preſent number. The plot which theſe letters convey lies in a very ſmall compaſs. The heroine, Viola, is in love with St. Julian, but a union is offered by thoſe who poſſeſs a natural authority over the lady. The lovers are, therefore, obliged to hold a clandeſtine correſpondence, in which the author ſeems to have made *Rousseau* her model. They breathe much ardour on both ſides. But unfortunately the heroine is compelled to marry an old French nobleman of high rank, and large poſſeſſions. The venerable huſband is a very amiable man, and the lady is as happy with him as ſhe could poſſibly expect to be with a man at his time of life, and deprived of the object of her choice. St. Julian is, of courſe, very miſerable, but is cheered by a homely maxim among lovers, viz. "While there is *life* there is *hope*." At length the huſband very conveniently drops into the grave, and in due time the lovers renew their tender intercourſe, and St. Julian is content to wed his miſtreſs though he does not take her "withering on the *virgin* thorn."—It is evident that the author does not eſtimate this work ſo highly as ſhe does her poetical effuſions as ſhe has by no means ſent it into the world with ſo fair an exterior.

Scenes of Life, a Novel in Three Volumes. By T. Harrall, Eſq. Pp. 680. Croſby and Co. 1805.

PREFIXED to theſe volumes is a dedication to John Gifford, Eſq. in which, many perſons will be apt to conclude, the author's friendſhip has rather

rather warped his judgment; at all events, however his *understanding* may be impeached by those who think his praises undeserved, they certainly are highly creditable to his *feelings*. We shall transcribe his preface as it explains his motives for the composition before us, motives which, we feel persuaded, our readers will concur with us in characterizing as honourable.

"The exposure of folly and the castigation of vice fall, with peculiar propriety, within the sphere of the novelist. It is his task in common with the dramatic poet,"

> To hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature;
> Shew vice her form, virtue her own image,
> The very age and body of the time
> It's form and pressure.

"No character, however exalted by birth or adventitious circumstances, is beyond his reach; no object however contemptible in itself, if pernicious in effect, is beneath his notice. Extensive as the universe are the limits of his range; the barriers of nature are his only restraint.

"Novels and romances have of late years been too frequently rendered the vehicles of revolutionary and infidel principles; Holcroft and Godwin, those redoubted speculists (speculators) in literature and philosophy, led the van; and bringing up the rear, the morbid sensibility has added many volumes to the library of seduction.

"Surely it is fair to oppose an adversary with his own weapons!

"Coldness of constitution and imbecility of intellect are the only apologies which, in the present day can be alleged for neutrality of principle, either civil or religious. Can I greet with the embrace of friendship, the man whose sentiments are enveloped in mystery, whose conduct is incrutable to the eye of investigation? No! I would rather take a serpent to my bosom, for his sting would be neither unnatural nor unexpected. Be it the task of the true philanthropist to exhibit virtue in her most attractive form; to tear the visor from the face of hypocrisy; to drag the shrinking culprit from his den, and consign him over, together with the more daring villain, to the punishment of lasting infamy.

"If more of amusement than of instruction; more of narrative than of argument; more of fancy than of philosophy appear in the following *scenes of life*, let it be remembered that novels are but seldom calculated for the meridian of metaphysics; that the present is not a scientific treatise, a political disquisition, nor a theological discourse; but is simply a delineation of nature, intended as a relaxation from severer studies; and for the perusal of those, who leave weightier performances untouched. Some anachronisms may perhaps, present themselves; they either result from accident or are adopted for utility; and I solicit the reader's indulgence in their behalf. Of the plot and characters I shall anticipate nothing

> 'An honest man's the noblest work of God;'

and it is the indispensible duty of every honest man to yield his support to that community of which he may happen to be a member. Let none attempt to excuse himself on a plea of incapability; for there is no individual so poor, so weak, so contemptible, whose endeavours may not be productive of good. From a union of individuals arises the formation of a state, and

and from the exertions of each is its organization perfected and continued. Impreſſed with this ſentiment, I venture the following ſheets into the world, and howſoever weakly my intentions may be executed, I truſt, that they will not prove totally ineffective. Conſcious of their rectitude, whatſoever reception they may experience, I ſtand ſelf acquitted."

We doubt not but that Mr, Harrall's ſucceſs will bear ſome proportion to the goodneſs of his intentions; for he has certainly executed his part with ability, and in ſtrict conformity with the plan which he had marked out for himſelf. The ſtory is natural and intereſting, but principally valuable as being made the vehicle for many judicious obſervations, and juſt opinions on men and things. We ſhall extract the remarks on the German drama, to ſhew what the author's principles are, and to convey ſome idea of his ſtyle of writing.

"Can you not allow the exiſtence of merit in a foreigner?"

"Pardon me, Sir,' I am not wanting in generoſity: I can acknowledge merit even in my bittereſt enemy; but as a member of civil ſociety, I ſhould conſider myſelf deficient in duty if I did not uniformly and ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the extenſion of the German drama and its deteſtable principles."

"Your grounds of oppoſition, my dear Sir?"

"I oppoſe it Sir, from a conviction of its moral turpitude. The people of England are frequently ſeized with a ſpecies of mania, which ſometimes appears under one form, ſometimes under another. Its prevailing ſymptom at preſent is a violent penchant for German literature: but repletion and ſatiety, with the application of appropriate medicines, will I truſt effect a cure, and common ſenſe will again reſume her throne.

"I certainly need not inform any one here" continued Darnley, "that the origin of dramatic performance was of religious tendency—that they were intended to ſerve the beſt cauſes—thoſe of virtue and morality. Where ſhall we find more exalted ſentiments, more ſublime notions, than in the Greek tragedies? By painting virtue in her loveliеſt colours, and pourtraying vice in her moſt hideous form; by uniformly rewarding the one and puniſhing the other, old men were confirmed in their principles of rectitude, and the Grecian youths were taught to emulate their god-like anceſtors. The noble Romans followed their example; and the Britiſh ſtage is alſo in poſſeſſion of dramatic pieces which, in every excellence, may vie with the beſt productions of the ancient ſchools. Is it not a national diſgrace that we muſt have recourſe to the ſophiſticated performances of German poets, while the brilliant effuſions of nature and inſpired genius lie mouldering on the ſhelf of forgetfulneſs?—The Grecian and the Roman theatres were abuſed, and ſo have been the Britiſh; the Engliſh ſtage although we have a licencer of plays has been converted into the pulpit of vice, and ſentiments have been inculcated, which diſgrace humanity.

"To enter into the diſcuſſion of Ariſtotelian principles, to examine the ſtructure of the fable, to aſcertain the literary excellence of the popular Angliciſed German plays, are foreign to the queſtion; their moral, religious and political tendency is the grand object of animadverſion. The firſt of theſe exotics which we imported was *The Stranger*, from the prolific pen of the well known Kotzebue. What is the outline of the Stranger?—Truly no other than this:—The wife of an amiable man is ſeduced by a contemptible coxcomb; and as the lady herſelf gives us to underſtand, ſhe yielded after a very little ſolicitation. The ſenſible good man her huſband, knowing

knowing much better than herſelf what was requiſite, had denied her ſome ſilly gew-gaws, ſome idle extravagance, which, the more lady-like animal her ſeducer thought fit to accommodate her with. Theſe *endearing* attentions gained her tender heart, and ſhe fell an eaſy victim to his artifice.

"Virtue and pride, the guardians of her honor,
Were lulled aſleep, and luſt alone was waking."

"She fell!—and what followed?"—"ſhe was puniſhed" you exclaim—poetical juſtice purſued and cruſhed the offenders to the earth! no! at the cloſe of the piece, the fond huſband and the guilty wife ruſh into each other's arms; and forget and forgive are the order of the day.

"Is this a fit picture to be preſented to a Britiſh audience? Is it a fit model to be exhibited before Britiſh fair? Engliſh ladies are celebrated for chaſtity, and yet they preſs forward in crowds to behold the pernicious ſcenes—Rouſſeau, Godwin, or Mary Wollſtonecraft could not have inculcated a more baneful ſentiment! ought a woman to be preſented as an *eaſy* victim? ought ſhe to poſſeſs no ſenſe of honor or of duty?—I can pity the innocent unſuſpecting girl who falls into the ſnare of ſeduction—I can execrate the villain who betrays her. But can we feel the ſame emotions for the fall of the *married* woman, particularly when the temptation has been but *ſlight?* No! a reſpect for her own fair fame, a conſciouſneſs of duty to her huſband, to her infant offſpring, ſhould inſpire her with energy to reſiſt every allurement. A girl, poſſeſſing the higheſt notions of virtue may place her unſuſpecting confidence in a villain, may be overcome by an affection pure as it is ardent, may be deluded by a promiſe of marriage; but theſe excuſes vaniſh before the married ſinner; gloating luſt alone can urge her to the commiſſion of a crime at which the face of heaven muſt bluſh. She knows that diſcovery muſt blaſt her reputation, and ſcatter it to the contending winds. This is indeed placing woman in the ſame deſpicable point of view that Mary Wollſtoncraft has done. It is degrading her beneath the brute creation, and all that can be offered in extenuation is the flimſy and fallacious excuſe, contained in thoſe *pretty* and often quoted lines of Prior,

"When poor weak women go aſtray,
The ſtars are more in fault than they."

"A bleſſed doctrine this!" but you enquire, "does ſhe not repent?—Granted! but then mark the moral. A woman may ſin with impunity, and after a time be received to the arms of her huſband, without even an explanation taking place.

"Kotzebue, it ſeems, in his preface to a late edition of this play adduces a ſolitary inſtance of a return to virtue, occaſioned by witneſſing its repreſentation. The German author exults in the return of one female to the paths of virtue, effected by his writings; but he informs us not how many they have plunged from the throne of innocence into the abyſs of miſery.

"*Lovers Vows*, by the ſame author, like moſt of his other pieces, is calculated to render the higher orders of ſociety ridiculous and obnoxious in the eyes of the vulgar. The nobles of a country are repreſented as devoting themſelves to criminal purſuits, while every virtue ſparkles with proudeſt luſtre in the plebeian boſom. As to its moral tendency it is very near a-kin to the Stranger: Frederick, an illegitimate ſon, a common ſoldier, the hero of the piece, is a pattern of every thing that is excellent.

Count

Count Caſſel a man of birth and fortune, every thing odious and contemptible, is an admirable foil to ſet off with ten-fold luſtre the virtues of the humble Frederick. Agatha, too, is another *eaſy* victim to ſeductive eloquence. She expiates her crime it is true; but a ſeduced female ſhould never be publicly exhibited but in terrorem to the ſpectators.

"The Caſtle Spectre, though not a native of Germany, is a ſcion from the ſame ſtock. On the firſt appearance of this drama, a periodical writer enquired: whether by the introduction of Father Philip, he meant to revive old hatreds againſt the clergy? 'Whether by the ſentiments of his negroes, he wiſhed to countenance the ſacred right of inſurrection as practiſed lately in the Weſt Indies? And whether in the perſon of Earl Ormond, by pourtraying a black inſtance of feudal tyranny, it was ſuppoſed to attach to the very exiſtence of nobility?'

"How are we to anſwer theſe queries? The critic concludes with telling us that the author is a member of parliament—another periodical critic ſaid that the licenſer if he had known the intention of his office, would have *ſtruck his pen across* ſuch expreſſions as Saviour of the world—God of Heaven, &c. Mr. Lewis did make ſomething like an apology; Mr. Lewis received a ſevere caſtigation from the author of Purſuits of Literature, and perhaps Mr. Lewis may act better another time.

"And what Sir is your opinion of Pizzaro?" enquired Miſs Burton, "of that unrivalled production of genius, that effulgent conſtellation, that blazing wonder of dramatic ſplendour, which was the means of extending the ſeaſon a month beyond its uſual limits, ſomething remains to be ſaid. Mr. Sheridan has indeed pruned it of many pernicious exuberances; but that which is radical will always remain ſo in a degree. Who but D***, that ſhameleſs champion of vice in every form will dare to defend the tendency of this drama? That man has impiouſly hurled the gauntlet of defiance in vindication of principles which we have preſumptive right to believe are his own: but let me aſk the literary dueliſt if in Pizarro there be any thing like *Chriſtian Morality*. Are not the precepts and the religion of Chriſtianity held forth to contempt? Are not the idolatrous Peruvians repreſented as ſuperior to the Chriſtians in every point of view? Is not the Chriſtian Alonzo a preacher of Deiſm?

"Where is the young, the inexperienced, the unthinking mind which applauds not the conduct of Elvira, in her wiſhed for aſſignation of Pizarro? Elvira's ſentiments infuſe a deadly poiſon, which requires the moſt forcible counteraction: once eſtabliſh the precedent of private and individual right to the puniſhment of crime, and we ſhall have murders in every ſtreet, aſſaſſinations in every corner!

"Why ſhould we have theſe volumes of infamy obtruded upon us when in ourſelves, we poſſeſs an exhauſtleſs mine of every excellence? Why ſhould we thirſt for deformed novelty, when we are in ample poſſeſſion of native ſtandard beauty? There is but one good which can poſſibly reſult from the influx of this ſpecies of German lirerature:—it may ſtimulate ſome of our Britiſh bards to furniſh ſomething which may *command* ſupport: which may chaſe the foreign monſter from the ſtage, and convert our theatres into temples of loyalty, of virtue, and of honour.

"Perhaps it may be aſſerted that we have no writers capable of producing this reformation in the public taſte. I deny the charge. Whether is it more proper, that the people ſhould lead genius, or that genius ſhould lead the people? We have at leaſt one poet who might ſafely undertake the cleanſing

cleanſing of the Augean ſtable: ſincerely do I regret, that the elevated genius of a Sheridan ſhould ſtoop to the ſervility of Angliciſing a German play, when its fainteſt efforts of originality might call down thunders of deſerved applauſe!

"Admitting however that the preſent age affords *no* dramatic writers of merit, ſtill we poſſeſs Shakeſpeare, who far exceeds all others in exhibiting man under every diverſity of character and ſituation, and of every movement of paſſion. Where ſhall we meet with more grandeur and ſublimity than in Shakeſpeare? Wherever *his* magic pencil ſpreads its colours,

> "'Tis nature's genuine image, wild and grand,
> The ſtrong marked picture of a maſter's hand."

If we pant for nerve and paſſion, where ſhall we find ſuch forcible delineations? The pathetic Southern, the eloquent Rowe, and the tender and affecting Otway, too, command the tear of love and pity. But not in tragedy alone we ſtand unrivalled; the comic muſe has ſmiled propitious on our iſland. In ſweet ſimplicity, in ſtrong, varied, poignant, and univerſal humour, here Shakeſpeare alſo ſhines unequalled; the genuine humour, too, of Beaumont and Fletcher—not to mention Dryden, Vanburgh and Farquhar, with the brilliant, the electric wit of Congreve, may bid defiance to the world.

"Until theſe can be ſurpaſſed, let us ſhrink from pernicious innovation; let us ſupport the humble efforts of the modern muſe, nor leave the neglected genius of Britain to ſpeed her reluctant flight to more congenial climes.

"I inſiſt, however, that we *have* writers of the *preſent* day, to whoſe performances, if you turn from the extravagant ravings, nonſenſe, and immorality of Kotzebué, you 'will paſs from the contemplation of a puny pantling and his little ſtructures in the duſt, to the atchievements of giants of mighty bone and bold emprize, piling Oſſa on Olympus, and Pelium on Oſſa, till they ſcale the ſkies.'

"But the time will come, when native merit ſhall obtain its juſt reward; when the aſhes of departed excellence ſhall be again revered, when the inſulted manes of Shakeſpeare and Otway ſhall be appeaſed!"

POETRY.

Flights of Fancy. By Mrs. J. T. Serres. 8vo. Pp. 190. Ridgway. 1805.

A Lady may be contented with nature if ſhe is gifted with the power of excelling in one branch of the polite arts, and, according to report, the fair author of theſe poems has full reaſon to be ſatisfied with her genius for the pencil, if ſhe ſhould not be found able to handle the lyre with equal ſkill. But Mrs. Serres, we have heard, has another reaſon to be ſatiſfied with the bounty of nature which, if ſatirical writers may be truſted, would be the moſt deſirable quality that nature could beſtow on her ſex, for ſhe is a very beautiful woman, inſomuch that though there is a very pleaſing likeneſs of her prefixed to this volume, we are aſſured that it does not render her juſtice. The poems before us are to be regarded rather as proofs of what ſhe might have produced, if poetry had been her ſtudy as much as the ſiſter art. They indicate at leaſt an amiable mind,

and

and an imagination that with practice may enable her to make a more conſpicuous figure in poetical annals? The fair author ſpeaks of them in her preface, with an intereſting diffidence that muſt ſmooth the brow of criticiſm, if it could be ſo very ungallant as to think of trampling upon the firſt ſhoots of female genius. The rhymes are not always correct nor the metre exact, but though her *flights* may ſometimes ſoar above ſcholaſtic preciſion, they never wander wholly from ſentiment. At the end of the poems there is an opera entitled, *the Caſtle of Avola*, which exhibits ſome promiſe of dramatic ability. We ſhall ſelect one ſpecimen of the merits of this little work.

" FRIENDSHIP.

" THE ſun is grateful to the op'ning roſe;
For, bleſs'd not with its ſmiles, her luſtre goes;
Bedew'd with nature's tears ſhe droops her head,
And fades and dies upon oblivion's bed.
So friendſhip to the mind each joy imparts;
Without its aid exiſtence were in vain;
It e'er delights to dwell in generous hearts,
And where 'tis found, no ſelfiſh thought can reign.
Then come, bleſt Friendſhip! ever in my mind
Proclaim thy power—thy tranſports let me feel,
In adverſe fortune be a ſolace kind,
For thou alone the wounds of fate can heal—
For thou alone canſt ſoothe each anxious thought,
Subdue our ſorrows, and calm patience give;
For from thy bleſt example we are taught
Thoſe golden rules for which we ought to live.
Depriv'd of Friendſhip, what is human life?
A wretched void—a deſert of deſpair,
Within whoſe limits dwell eternal ſtrife,
Soul-cank'ring grief, miſery, and care!"

Soldiers Fare, or Patriotism and Hoſpitality, a Poem, reſpectfully inſcribed to Robert Wigram, Eſq. M. P. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the 6th Regiment, L. L. V. By a Volunteer. 4to. Pp. 20. 1s. 6d. Jones. 1805.

THIS appears to be a tribute of gratitude from a volunteer to his colonel, and ſo far it is praiſeworthy. If we cannot compliment the author for his diſplay of poetical powers, for the energy of his thoughts, or for the harmony of his lines, we may, without a compliment, congratulate him on the poſſeſſion of more eſtimable qualities, a loyal heart, and a truly patriotic ſpirit.

Sonnets and other Poems: to which are added Tales in Proſe. 12mo. Pp. 136. 4s. Blacks and Parry. 1805.

THOUGH the age of chivalry be, indeed, no more; though the heroes of the preſent day look more like grooms than knights errant; and though gallantry alſo have changed its very form and nature in theſe revolutionary times, yet the fair author of theſe poems has no occaſion to *dread* the " ſeverity",

"ſeverity" of criticiſm, becauſe ſhe has done nothing to incur it. Her muſe is the muſe of virtue, of feeling, and of taſte; and theſe are accompliſhments ſo rarely met with, that ſavage and ferocious indeed muſt that diſpoſition be which could ſeek to detract from their merit, or to decry their productions. The Sonnets are chiefly of the *deſcriptive* kind; but they are penned with ſpirit, and are true to nature. We ſhall extract the ſixth as a ſpecimen.

"*Addreſſed to the Village Children of Kent, who preſent Travellers paſſing the Road with Noſegays.*

"Sweet, ſmiling train! your pleaſing taſk purſue,
The mountain-pink and ſpotted orchis bring;
Violets and hyacinths, of azure hue,
And the firſt ſnow-drops of the infant ſpring:
Tho' venal minds the ſimple tribute ſcorn,
Or pride, diſdainful, view with brow auſtere,
Theſe bloſſoms ſpangled with the dews of morn,
To ſenſibility ſhall ſtill be dear,
The artleſs offerings of the blameleſs hand;
And mild benevolence ſhall pleas'd beſtow
Her meed, to bid your little hearts expand,
And ſpread your dimpled cheeks with pleaſure's glow.
Then, gentle village babes, your taſk purſue,
And may life's thorny paths be ſtrew'd with flowers, for you."

The miſcellaneous poems alſo have conſiderable merit. They diſplay a correct taſte, and a chaſtened imagination. The tales in proſe, though the longeſt of them, "Myrtle-Wood," be intereſting, are entitled to leſs praiſe. The ſentiments, indeed, are uniformly good, and the moral is excellent; but they have fewer beauties and more blemiſhes than the poems, of which we ſhall ſelect two for the amuſement of our readers; and, if they approve the ſpecimen, as we have no doubt they will, they may be induced to read the whole of the volume, which we venture to aſſure them, will amply repay them for their trouble.

"On a beautiful Child Sleeping.

"ANGELS guard, and heav'n protect thee!
Ev'ry bleſſing gracious ſend,
Save from evil, and direct thee
At pure virtue's ſhrine to bend.

Soft, the lovely babe repoſes,
Wrap'd in ſlumber's downy wing;
Soft, as zephyr breaths o'er roſes,
In the ſweeteſt morn of ſpring.

Gentle dreams! that hover round him,
Led by fancy, youth, and joy;
With your gayeſt ſcenes ſurround him;
And in ſleep amuſe my boy.

Health

Health, fair queen of earthly pleaſure!
Round his brows thy garlands bind;
Dove-ey'd peace! ſtill dearer treaſure,
Ever bleſs his infant mind.

Innocence and virtue lighting
With their brighteſt rays his morn;
Truth and Wiſdom there uniting,
Shall his riper years adorn.

O! if ev'ry bliſs poſſeſſing
Equal to my fondeſt pray'rs,
Sweeteſt boy! each precious bleſſing
Thy thrice happy mother ſhares."

*To Miſs W. with the 'Paſſionate Shepherd to his Love,' and the 'Nymph's Reply.'**

"LIKE this wiſe nymph's, be your reply,
When flatterers breathe the artful ſigh;
Nor, lovely maid, his ſuit approve,
Who ſeeks with gifts to win your love.

The tinſel coxcomb's lures beware;
Light as the breath of ſummer air,
This gay ephemeron of an hour,
Deſpiſes Love's ſubduing power.

Nor yet a liſt'ning ear incline
To the inſidious libertine,
For his unhallow'd breaſt the glow
Of chaſte affection ne'er can know.

The venal ſycophant withſtand,
Who ſeeks, for wealth, to gain your hand,
His heart to ev'ry paſſion cold,
Except th' inſatiable love of gold.

But ſhould a graceful youth appear,
Wiſe, generous, tender and ſincere,
Who boaſts a fair unblemiſh'd name,
Whoſe conduct malice dare not blame;

Who, like your Sire, delights to bleſs,
And ſuccour virtue in diſtreſs;
Whoſe ſoul celeſtial truth informs,
And pure devotion's ſpirit warms:

Should ſuch a youth, dear Fanny, ſue,
O! be his flame approv'd by you;
His worth your mind may juſtly move
'To live with him, and be his love.'

* "Theſe elegant little ballads are inſerted in Dr Percy's Reliques of Antient Poetry, Vol. I. p. 220, the firſt is aſcribed to Chriſtopher Marlow, who was killed by a ſtab in a brothel; the laſt to Sir Walter Raleigh, as a juvenile production of his pen."

In

With him beneath the altar bow,
With him exchange the ſacred vow,
Nor let the awful word obey,
Your doubting heart with fear diſmay.

In love's ſoft hand, the nuptial chain
Becomes a gentle ſilken rein,
Enwreath'd with flowers, whoſe vivid bloom
Thro' every ſeaſon breathe perfume;

And truſt me, Hymen's genial ray
Can gild with bliſs life's wintry day,
And o'er encircling plains of ſnow,
Bid lilies ſpring and roſes blow.

Then let no riſing doubts annoy,
The ſun-beam bright of promiſed joy;
As Wiſdom bids the ſwain approve,
'And live with him and be his love.'"

THE DRAMA.

Who Wants a Guinea; a Comedy; in Five Acts. By George Colman the Younger. 2s. 6d. Longman and Co.

THE dramas of the preſent day are all ſo much alike in character that our opinion of one may fairly paſs for that of another. To convey to our readers an idea of the different plots would occupy as much room as copying the pieces, and even then we could not rely on being ſucceſsful. Mr. Colman is, indiſputably, a wit of no ordinary rank, and the ſmartneſs of his dialogue muſt doubtleſs keep an audience in good humour, in ſpite of the abſurdities of the ſtory. We will give our readers a ſhort extract, exhibiting a rich old clothes' man, whom pity has induced to leave his ſhop to take care of itſelf, while he accompanies a poor female lodger to a houſekeeper's place in the country.

"OLDSKIRT and FANNY.

"*Oldſkirt.* Well, I had'nt been out of the bills of mortality ſince I ſet up ſhop; and now we're in Yorkſhire, a hundred and ſeventy miles from Whitechapel. This croſs-lane is as boggy as Tothillfields, and as rough as Cranbourne Alley pulled up for new paving!

"*Fanny.* We cannot be far from Mr. Torrent's now?

"*Oldſkirt.* Far! *we've* waddled a good three miles of bad way ſince we left the ſtage at the corner of the high road. Miſs Fanny arn't you monſtrouſly tired?

"*Fanny.* Not in the leaſt.

"*Oldſkirt.* I'd carry the bundle for you myſelf, only, ten to one, I ſhould tumble and daub it.

"*Fanny.* Indeed, I want no aſſiſtance; and the ploughman we juſt met ſays it is but half a mile further to the Manor-houſe.

"*Oldſkirt.* At any rate I'm glad we're out of the coach. Six inſide,

two ſqualling children in lap, and a pointer as big as a hog. At every jolt the ſleepy quack Doctor plump'd his head ſmack in the pit of my ſtomach; and when I popp'd my mouth out o'window to fetch breath, the long legg'd Scotchmen on the roof gave me a kick in the jaws with his heels.

" *Fanny.* But, my dear Sir, I—I have a favour to aſk.

" *Oldſkirt.* A favour?

" *Fanny.* Conſider, I am going to Mr. Torrent's in a humble ſituation.

" *Oldſkirt.* Aye, as houſekeeper. You ought to have a palace of your own. If fortune is not quite blind, I wiſh, for your ſake, ſhe'd ſend for ſome eye water.

" *Fanny.* As it is, let me perſuade you not to appear with me at the houſe.

" *Oldſkirt.* What?

" *Fanny.* I only mean not immediately.

" *Oldſkirt.* Oh, oh! I ſmell a rat! What then, Miſs Fanny you're beginning to feel aſhamed of Jonathan Oldſkirt, the little remnant ſeller from the back of St. Clement's.

" *Fanny.* How can you fancy ſo?

" *Oldſkirt.* Why, you are a gentlewoman born; and I ſuppoſe I am but a ſtiff-rump'd jockey, to go to a grand houſe: the members of our club called me old dead wig; and laſt week, when buſineſs took me a trot up Bond-ſtreet, a pert puppy in pantaloons aſked me after my uncle Noah, and hoped all my relations were well in the ark. But I didn't think Miſs Fanny would have turn'd up her noſe at me neither.

" *Fanny.* Can you think me capable of—Sir you have been my preſerver.

" *Oldſkirt.* I can ſee—'tis the way of the world—ſhake hands with a ſhoeblack when your boots are dirty, and kick him as ſoon as they're ſhined.

" *Fanny.* How can you wrong me ſo?

" *Oldskirt.* Pooh! what could have made me leave ſhop at ſixes and ſevens but to ſee you well placed? I've been bump'd and bruis'd in the ſtage into as many colours as a taylor's book of patterns.—And, now we're within half a mile of the houſe, you are for ſhuffling one off in the middle of the mud.

" *Fanny.* Pray oblige me! pray be patient with me! To preſent myſelf in my new office with a perſon, determined as you are, to fix there for ſome days, would be thought preſuming.

" *Oldſkirt.* But, what the plague am I to do? ſtick here in the dirt, like a ſkewer in a marrow-bone?

" *Fanny.* There appears to be a village to the left yonder, ſcarcely a quarter of a mile diſtant.

" *Oldſkirt,* I ſee a few chimneys, and a deuced deal of ſmoke.

" *Fanny.* No doubt you'll find an inn in the place; wait there till evening; then come to me. I ſhall then have ſpoken to Mr. Torrent concerning your care and kindneſs for me. 'Twill be better on both our accounts, indeed it will.

" *Oldſkirt.* Ah! bleſs you, Miſs Fanny! you can perſuade me to any thing. But how will you get ſafe? we're ſo far from town it muſt be monſtrous dangerous.

" *Fanny.* Oh! I have no apprehenſions.

" *Oldſkirt.* Well, I ſee you're reſolved and deſperate. Heaven bleſs you! This is a wild country for a Londoner! and ſome how my mind miſgives me, I ſhall never ſee you again.

" *Fanny. (ſmiling)* There is no danger believe me.

" *Oldſkirt.* Farewel! *(going, returns)* Miſs Fanny, my will's in the left hand pigeon hole of my bureau, in the back room, up two pair of ſtairs. I've neither chick nor child; ſo I have made you ſole executrix and legatee.—Jonathan Oldſkirt may cut up richer than ſome people think. Heaven knows the depth of theſe mud lanes! I meaſure but five foot three; and, if I happen to be miſſing, it will be but reſpectful to ſend ſomebody to dig for me. [*Exeunt, ſeverally.*

MISCELLANIES.

A Defence of the Principle of Monopoly of Corn-factors, or Middle-men: and, Arguments to prove that War does not produce a Scarcity of the Neceſſaries of Life. 8vo. Pp. 30. 1s. Symonds. 1805.

THE title of this pamphlet naturally divides its contents into three parts. Firſt, then, to the 'defence of the principle of monopoly.' The author wiſhes not to be underſtood as juſtifying this principle by the canon of Hutcheſon, Paley, or of any other writer who has undertaken to aſcertain rules for us in the complicated ſcience of morals: with the *morality* of the queſtion, he conceives that he has nothing to do; practicability and *expedience* bounding the enquiry before him.

We ſhall ſuffer him to ſpeak for himſelf:—

"Thoſe who contend," ſays he, "that a monopoly of farms is an evil, and the primary cauſe of ſcarcity whenever it prevails, do not deny that the produce of the ſoil is in conſequence conſiderably increaſed (by this conceſſion they prove all that I want, and much more than they wiſh.) The love of gain, when it pervades the boſom of that obnoxious creature the farm monopolizer, ſtimulates him, as it does other traders, to turn every thing within his touch to gold; and by having extenſive means, his power is commenſurate to his will. A perſon of this ſtamp (and what trader is without the impreſſion,) where ultimate aim is profit, will take eſpecial care not to let an inch of his poſſeſſion run waſte for want of the proper cultivation; and he will be equally careful to cultivate that ſort of produce which ſooneſt fills his coffers, which brings to his induſtry and labour that fair remuneration for which all of us toil, and which ought in juſtice invariably to accompany labour and induſtry. Man for the tranſgreſſion of our common parents was doomed to toil: the rewards however which generally await the arm of induſtry have turned that curſe into the moſt ample ſource of human felicity.

" By this kind of monopoly, then, the *public ſtock* is augmented, and the fears of that dreadful calamity, *famine*, are driven from our apprehenſion."

Farther on, he obſerves, and with much juſtice,

" That a few rich capitaliſts can do infinitely more buſineſs, than if their trading property were in a variety of hands—they poſſeſs more enterprize, and are content with leſs profits—they can hazard a great deal and loſe it, without being bankrupt; whereas the little merchant moves on with wary circumſpection, doing little buſineſs, and graſping at large profits, to the great injury of the community. Reaſoning by analogy, we may ſafely extend the principle to thoſe who poſſeſs large capitals, and employ them

upon extenſive cultivation. Admitting the truth of this (and a little application of our reaſoning faculty will lead us to ſuch conceſſion,) we ſhall find that a monoply of farms is not among the cauſes which contribute to raiſe the neceſſaries of life, becauſe that monopoly is inſtrumental in augmenting the public ſtock of proviſions; and notwithſtanding the farmer obtains his own price, were the land (under all the preſent circumſtances of commerce and ſociety) to be divided into inſignificant parcels, and cultivated by as many inſignificant farmers, the produce which they could be capable of raiſing, from their limited capabilities to cultivate properly what they poſſeſs, would be leſſened, and would conſequently obtain a more exorbitant price than all the monopolizers in the kingdom could poſſibly do."

Our authur deprecates the idea of legiſlative interference, contending that the forcing of farmers to ſell their corn at a *maximum*, would be 'ſomething like compulſion, and as there does not appear to be any law, moral or political, written or underſtood, obliging men to be farmers, any compulſory law fixing a ſtandard price for proviſions, would very ſoon point out to the cultivator of the earth other branches of trade, in which he could employ his capital and induſtry, not hampered and broken down by proviſions of law.' He farther obſerves, that the Eaſt India Company is a monopoly, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; and that, ſhould the legiſlature frame any law to compel farmers to bring their produce to market, and to ſell it there at a preſcribed price, it would eſtabliſh a precedent for adopting the ſame meaſure with every deſcription of merchants, ſhould ſimilar prejudices ever be raiſed againſt them. "Is there not," he aſks, "as much reaſon to let the growers and holders of ſugar and cotton feel the application of ſuch a law as the growers and holders of corn?"

To defend the corn-factors, or middle-men, is perhaps a more difficult taſk than that of defending the principle of monopoly. We are by no means diſpoſed to believe, that, were theſe men to be diſpenſed with, ſcarcity would for ever diſappear. The events of ſcarcity and plenty depend on higher cauſes. We, are, however, fully perſuaded, that the nefarious conduct of the middle-men has frequently a pernicious effect on the corn-market. But it is the *abuſe* of the principle, and not the *principle* itſelf which merits reprehenſion. The author of this tract indeed admits, that there is *much* evil in the middle-men ſtepping between the grower and conſumer; but he thinks, and certainly with juſtice, that a *greater* portion of evil would be experienced by the community, if they were to be removed.

"This propoſition" ſays he "I muſt endeavour to exemplify, and where can I be more upon the 'vantage ground' to do it than in the centre of this immenſe city. London is indebted for her ſupplies of grain to the very edge of her circumference, to the remoteſt corner of the kingdom: Can we then evince a greater abſurdity than to expect the farmer to leave his home, laden with ſamples of his granary, in order to viſit her market? The ſuppoſition is ſo ſtrikingly ridiculous, that it would be equally ridiculous to reaſon upon it. Corn-factors, or they who make it their buſineſs to ſell upon commiſſion, are neceſſary men—ſo much ſo, indeed, that deſtroy them, and you famiſh London in a week; for how is it poſſible for farmers reſiding at a conſiderable diſtance to know the daily wants of this city, and by knowing to ſupply them. Burn down the Corn Exchange, and choak the gutters with the innocent blood of thoſe who meet there if you pleaſe. and pray where is the baker to be ſupplied with materials in order to meet the wants of his cuſtomers? He muſt wait, I preſume, until ſome honeſt ruſtic from the country,

country, covered with duſt and ſweat, calls at his ſhop with ſamples of his laſt harveſt, and then he muſt wait a month perhaps before his orders can be executed. So much for the abolition of the corn-factors, or middle-men. Beſide we have omitted to take into the account that travelling is very expenſive; and ſhould farmers be metamorphoſed into huxters, they muſt meet, ſpeaking in the phraſeology of commerce, this extra charge—and in what way is this to be done but by advancing the price of their corn. This is the uſual practice of other traders, and they are not condemned for it. Now this advance upon corn would be ten times greater than the paltry commiſſion which the farmers pay at preſent to the corn-factors, and would be a means of raiſing our bread to a lamentably higher price, even in the time of plenty, to what we are obliged to pay in a period of palpable deficience. So that by a retroſpect of theſe hints, for they have not extended to dilated arguments, we may perceive that we are to be in daily dread of famine, let our harveſts be ever ſo abundant."

Our author's ideas on the conſtitution of mobs, and on the mode of ſuppreſſing them, are ſo perfectly anti-jacobinical, and, conſequently, ſo perfectly accord with our own ſentiments on the ſubject, that we ſhall offer no apology for giving them a place after adverting to the conduct of the gentleman who filled the civic chair in 1081, he proceeds:—

"Humanity on proper occaſions is a virtue ennobling our nature; and occaſions may ariſe in which humanity, or that which paſſes for it, may be weakneſs—may be a falſe lenity to a few, and they totally unworthy of it, and cruelty to the many who ought to be protected; therefore it may be extreme injuſtice. Had the civil power, at the commencement of the diſgraceful diſturbances in 1780, acted with promptitude and vigour, much miſchief might then have been hindered, and much blood ſpared; but the magiſtrates of that day, either from not knowing their duty, or from wilfully neglecting to do as it directed, expoſed the poſſeſſions of their fellow-citizens to lawleſs plunder, and to the firebrand of a cruel, infuriated rabble. Mobs are arrant cowards, if magiſtrates poſſeſs the proper energy and courage which magiſtracy demands: they know not their own force by any reaſoning a priori—they judge of their power by what they do, and that is tremenduouſly great if it meet with no reſiſtance. They reaſon fairly, that if they are not oppoſed, *they ought not to be*—they conſider a virtual toleration of their exceſſes as a tacit conceſſion of their impreſcriptable, indefeaſible right to burn houſes, having firſt plundered the contents, and to cut the throats of their inhabitants, whenever it ſuits their humour, or convenience: therefore to hinder the 'Swinith Multitude' from feeling their phyſical importance and from being impreſſed that mobbing is among the number of their chartered rights, they ſhould never be permitted to be in a ſituation to perceive it, and to draw that concluſion—they ſhould inſtantly be put down—be diſperſed by the proper, legal authorities, no matter what the conſequence: act with this ſpirit, and hereafter we may ſleep ſecurely in our beds."

In ſupport of the poſition, that "war does not produce a ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life," our author's arguments are chiefly drawn from references to the average prices of wheat, during ſimilar periods of peace and war. The reſult of this inveſtigation is, that the average price is rather *lower* than *higher*, in the time of war.

We have already exceeded the limits uſually alloted to tracts, ſuch as the one now before us, or we ſhould take the liberty of making a farther ſelec

tion of useful passages. The present harvest thank heaven, is abundant, and has fully dispelled that dread of scarcity which began to diffuse itself. Much praise, however, is due to the exertions of those who labour to prevent, or to dissipate, that spirit of discontent which is too apt to prevail, even in the happiest times. The present writer, with much force and propriety, deprecates the baneful practice—too common amongst the clergy of a certain description—of preaching sermons against monopolizers and forestallers. Such harangues can be productive of no good, but may occasion much evil.

The Duellists; or Men of Honour; a Story; calculated to shew the Folly, Extravagance, and Sin of Duelling. By William Lucas. 1 Vol. 12mo. Pp. 182. 3s. 6d. Cundee. 1805.

ANY attempt to place the principles of human actions, whether good or bad, in a just light, must meet with the applause of all who wish to promote the welfare of mankind.

Instructions for the Use of Yeomanry, and Volunteer Corps of Cavalry. By Colonel Herries, of the Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster. Part II. 8vo. Pp. 330. 10s. 6d. boards. Egerton. 1805.

IN our review of the *First Part* of this work,* which related principally to the drill, and to the formation of a squadron of light cavalry, we were so convinced of its utility and excellence, that we expressed a hope, that when "the piping times of peace" should return, the author would not neglect the completion of the task which he had originally contemplated;—that of exhibiting the manœuvres of a regiment, the duties of volunteer cavalry in garrison and in the field, &c. With a spirit, most laudably anxious for the promotion of the service, Colonel Herries has not waited for the arrival of so uncertain a period; but, amidst his professional duties, has obtained sufficient leisure to accomplish his intention.

"Shortly after the first part of this treatise was printed for the light horse volunteers, and afterwards given to the public, *a manual for volunteer cavalry* was published by order of his Royal Highness the commander in chief; which being a faithful extract of every thing contained in his Majesty's regulations that appeared useful to volunter *corps*, seemed to supersede the necessity of any thing more being said on the subject: but," says Colonel Herries, "upon further reflection it will be found, that there is still much wanting for the information of men who are only occasionally soldiers; who have in general other occupations; and who cannot bestow a thought on their military duty, except at leisure hours, or when under arms."

We have attentively perused the present volume, and are satisfied, that it is admirably adapted to answer the purpose intended by the author. The illustrative wood-cuts, of which there is a considerable number, are neatly executed, and greatly enhance the utility of the book. We believe there are very few members of the volunteer cavalry *corps*, who would not derive information and assistance from its perusal.

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* *Vide* ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW for August, 1804, P. 400.

Observations

MISCELLANEOUS.

Observations on the Trial of TROY *v.* SYMONDS, *for a Libel in the* ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

BEFORE we enter upon our promiſed obſervations, we take leave to premiſe, that nothing can be farther from our thoughts and intentions, than to excite animoſity or to engender ſtrife between perſons of different religious perſuaſions; and, at the ſame time, moſt ſolemnly to diſclaim all undue prejudice againſt the followers of the Church of Rome, among whom we claſs ſome of our neareſt and deareſt connections. Indeed, when it is remembered, that we ſtood forth the ſtrenuous defenders of the perſecuted prieſts of France, that we uniformly pleaded their cauſe, and defended them againſt all their adverſaries; and when it is farther recollected that we have, again and again, been accuſed of ſecretly favouring the tenets and doctrines of the Romiſh Church, no ſuſpicion of being actuated by any ſuch unworthy motives as originate in bigotry and perſecution, could, we ſhould have imagined, poſſibly attach to us. But, in the courſe of our labours, we have had too many melancholy proofs of the injuſtice, not merely of enemies (which might naturally be expected), but of friends alſo, who, finding us unprepared to go all lengths with them, or to ſacrifice our principles to their prejudices or to their intereſts, have not ſcrupled to become our loudeſt and moſt violent accuſers; not to feel the neceſſity of aſſerting the purity of our motives, and of vindicating the integrity of our conduct.

While, however, we diſclaim all unjuſt prepoſſeſſions, while we expreſs our unfeigned abhorrence of intolerance and perſecution of every kind; we will not, for a moment, ſuffer it to be ſuppoſed that we are indifferent ſpectators of paſſing events; that we know not how to diſcriminate between *toleration* and *encouragement*; or that we ſhall remain inert and paſſive, while the enemies of our eſtabliſhed Church, and her pretended or miſtaken friends, are diligent, perſevering, and active in the purſuit of meaſures, which, whatever their profeſſed or real object may be, have a direct tendency to undermine and ſubvert the national religion. Firm to our principles, and fearleſs of conſequences, we will perſiſt to the end in the path which we have hitherto trodden, and unawed by *proſecution*, or even by *perſecution*, we ſhall continue the conſiſtent and undaunted champions of the eſtabliſhed religion of theſe realms againſt all its opponents; carefully pointing out the dangers which either threaten or aſſail it, and occaſionally ſuggeſting the mode of ſubduing, or the means of averting, them. We fully agree with LORD GRENVILLE, that reaſon and truth muſt ultimately prevail, however we may differ from his lordſhip in his definition, or rather, in his application, of the terms; and it ſhall be our care to promote ſuch diſcuſſions as ſhall give truth and reaſon fair play; courting, not ſhunning, inveſtigation, our pages ſhall be open to the fair, free, and temperate animadverſions of the advocates of either ſide, Romaniſts and Proteſtants.

The readers of the ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW, who know that the political conduct of LORD GRENVILLE has ever had our firmeſt ſupport, and that, on almoſt every occaſion, we have ſtood forward in his defence, againſt thoſe very perſons, among others, who are now the loudeſt in his praiſe, for the part which he took on the queſtion of *Catholic emancipation*, as it is ignorantly and prepoſterouſly called, will, perhaps, be ſurpriſed to hear, that the proſecution for the libel in queſtion was inſtituted by that party of which his lordſhip calls himſelf the head. Meſſrs. Frogatt and Robſon, the attor-

nies for the plaintiffs, are the confidential agents of the MARQUIS of BUCKINGHAM; and, the latter of them at least, has the principal management of his *electioneering* business, which is carried to an extent almost unprecedented, and the compatibility of which with the duties of a British Peer, or with the principles of the British constitution, it is foreign from our present purpose to examine. The Marquis, it is known, married a lady of the Romish persuasion; who has, of course, a confessor in the house; while a school for the education of young Romanists, upon a tolerably extentive scale, has been established in the vicinage of Stowe, under the immediate patronage and protection of the noble owners of that princely mansion. Let it not be supposed, however, that we mean to cast the slightest reflection on the Marchioness; we know her to have been carefully trained to the paths of religion and virtue, by a lady who, in her own person, exhibited an eminent example of both; that she profited by the instructions which she received, (with a little abatement, perhaps, on the score of *pride*, a family failing, we fear, too easily adopted, and too freely indulged) we have no reason to doubt; that she stands high in the estimation of all who know her, we firmly believe; and her efforts to propagate and extend the principles and practice of the religion which she professes, far from being a subject for crimination, must only be received as a proof of the sincerity of her professions, and of the fervour of her zeal. We should not have presumed even to allude to her ladyship, in this place, but for the purpose of marking the natural source whence the prepossession of his lordship arises, and which gives a colour and complexion to his religious and political opinions. Neither are we so bigotted as to object to a school for the education of young Romanists; nay we will go farther, and freely state our opinion, that the conduct of the great majority of the *English* Romanists entitles them to a removal of some of the restrictions under which they, at present, labour. But when we see institutions of this nature multiply; when we see convents actually established in the heart of the country, not merely for the purpose of affording a suitable retreat for those unhappy victims of persecution, who have been forcibly and cruelly driven from the places which they had selected for their residence—a purpose which humanity commends, and which Christian charity sanctions—but with a design to propagate the tenets of the Romish religion; in pursuit of which object ladies are actually permitted, or rather encouraged, to take the veil, thus increasing the number of nuns; when we see these things passing before our eyes, we cannot be blind to the consequences, nor so unmindful of our duty, as not to put our Protestant brethren, and the rulers of our church, on their guard against them.

There can be no doubt, then, that the Marquis of Buckingham himself was the *real* and Dr. Troy only the *nominal* plaintiff in this action: and we know that, so far from there being any truth in the assertion which Mr. Erskine was instructed to make, that this cause "had no concern whatever with the great question of state which has lately been agitated in the great councils of the nation," it had a direct and immediate reference to that question; and we have good reason to believe, that it would never have been tried, if that question had never been agitated in Parliament. It should be remembered that, although the trial did not take place till the month of July, upwards of a year after the publication of the libel, the action was brought and the writ served early in the month of November; and it was evidently the intention of the plaintiff to bring it to trial before the discussion of the question in Parliament, probably for the double purpose of influencing the minds

minds of many members, and of deterring public writers from a declaration of their opinions of the measure. It must not be forgotten, too, that it was not in the power of the Plaintiff to prevent the postponement of the trial, because it was postponed at the request of the Defendant, successfully urged to the Lord Chief Justice, on grounds the most solid and substantial. *After*, indeed, the decision of Parliament, the Plaintiff endeavoured to create a farther delay; and he even submitted to no inconsiderable expence, by withdrawing his plea, in order to obtain it, on a pretext the most frivolous and absurd, and, on the very face of it, fallacious; namely, the absence of Lord Fingal, who had been in England, and therefore might have been *subpœna'd*, if there had been any occasion for the adoption of compulsory means for enforcing the attendance of one who might, very fairly, be considered as a party in the cause; but who in fact proved to be no evidence at all for he only told the Court that he was a Romanist; that Dr. Troy was Dr. Troy, and a Catholic priest; and that he first saw the Anti-Jacobin Review which contained the libel, in England, and not in Dublin. This was the sum and substance of Lord Fingal's evidence, to obtain which, forsooth, the Plaintiff submitted to a considerable expence, in postponing the trial; which trial was not brought on at last, until the Defendant *compelled* the Plaintiff to bring it on. Such, then, we are warranted in concluding were the real *motives* and *object* of this prosecution.

We shall next make some brief observations on its *spirit*. And here we cannot forbear to observe, that it was marked by a spirit of *persecution* as strong as that spirit which produced the cruelties exercised on the Protestants in the times of our Queen. Mary, or of that which, at a subsequent period, occasioned the expulsion of the Hugonots from the kingdom of France. To justify this opinion, it is only necessary to state, that no less than *four actions*, in each of which the damages were laid at *ten thousand pounds*, were brought, at the same time, for this one libel; one against the Publisher of the Review; another against a bookseller whose name appeared on the title page; a third, against the printer; and a fourth, against the present defendant Symonds, whose name was not on the work; and who could only be selected for prosecution because he was known to sell a greater number of it than any other bookseller in the kingdom. The second action was not proceeded with, because it was expected, that the evidence of the publisher would be necessary against the printer; and why the first was withdrawn, and through what channel the intelligence was obtained that Symonds circulated so many of the Review, is perfectly well known to us, and affords an irrefragable proof that it was a party-prosecution, meant to bias the decision of Parliament, and to prevent the free discussion of the merits of the Catholic question in the public prints. We appeal to the common sense of every man in the kingdom, whether, if the object of the prosecution had really been, as it was stated, the vindication of Dr. Troy's character *, it could be necessary to bring more than *one* action,

* Besides if Dr. Troy had been so anxious to vindicate his character, why did not he, or some of his advocates, accept the invitation which we gave them for that purpose? At the close of the very article which contained the libel, we inserted the following *challenge*:—

"These facts are derived from such authority as leaves not a shadow of doubt

tion, or to lay the damages at the enormous sum of *ten thousand pounds?* And if it were not necessary for that purpose, we may be allowed to ask Dr. Troy, whether it was consistent with that Christian charity, forbearance, meekness, and forgiveness, which it is his bounden duty, as a minister of the Gospel, to preach and to practise, to multiply actions for the sake of increasing expence, and to harass and to punish the innocent for the offences of others? If this be not *persecution*, it is so very like it, that it will require all the casuistry of a jesuit, and of a much more able and acute jesuit than Mr. Plowden, to mark the distinction.

Having thus endeavoured to illustrate the *motives*, the *object*, and the *spirit* of the prosecution; we shall briefly notice some of the observations which fell from the Plaintiff's Counsel, in the course of his address to the Jury. And first, his remark on the power of *justification* given by the *action*: "This Defendant," said Mr. Erskine, "had a right to justify what he said on this occasion by the rule of law, under the force of the present action. Has he justified this publication? *If it was true, he might have proved the truth of it*; but he has not; by which he admits that he has calumniated the Plaintiff." We shall not insult the understanding of our readers, by entering into a serious exposure of the absurdity of this argument; neither are we now disposed to justify what a Jury have pronounced to be libellous. But we shall remark, that the charge *might have been* true, and yet it might have been impossible to *prove* the truth of it; and this nobody knows better than Mr. Erskine: and he very well knows also, that all this ostentation of candour and liberality, in having recourse to an action for the purpose of affording the Defendant an opportunity of justifying the charge, is ridiculous; since if any such intention had existed, the action would have been brought in *Dublin*, where and where only the means of justification were to be found; and not in *London*, where there were no such means, and where no process could issue (in a civil action like this) to compel the attendance of witnesses resident in Ireland. His inference, therefore, is a *non sequitur*, and the imputed *admission* of the Defendant existed only in the imagination of the Plaintiff's Counsel. There could have been no difficulty in bringing the action in Ireland; for though Lord Fingal and Mr. Wogan told the Court, that *they* never saw the Anti-Jacobin Review in Dublin (because, doubtless, they frequent no shops that are kept by *Protestants*), it is very certain, that it was not only sold but published there, and that Dr. Troy's, or the Marquis of Buckingham's agent could have purchased the number as readily (and rather more so) in Archer's shop in Dublin, as in Symonds's shop in Paternoster-Row. It was never our design, however, nor is it our wish, to *calumniate* Dr. Troy, though we can by no means subscribe to the indiscriminate praises bestowed on him, and think him highly indebted to the prudence of his advo-

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doubt on our minds of their perfect authenticity; but, *anxious for the establishment of truth*, beyond most other considerations, *we challenge a confutation of all or any of them*, by any of the Romish advocates who are employed in this country, for promoting the views of their church, and for enforcing the pretensions of their party."—*Anti-Jacobin Review, Vol. XVIII. P. 330.*

Surely no challenge could be fairer or more direct; nor could Dr. Troy have found any better channel for the vindication of his character, than that through which the attack on it had been made. We again repeat, that the *establishment of truth* is the primary object of all our writings.

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cate, as diſplayed in his omiſſion to *examine* the numerous witneſſes whom he had ſummoned to attend on the trial. Had we been diſpoſed to hold up this Romiſh prelate as an object of cenſure; we can aſſure him, that we were in no want of materials for the purpoſe. We were enabled to trace him, with accuracy, from his paternal reſidence in Smithfield to the period antecedent to his excurſion to Dublin; we could have ſtated the motives of that journey; we could have ſpecified the very ſum which induced him to undertake it, and have named the very perſon from whom he received it. We could have tried him, too, by another criterion, the "*noscitur a sociis.*" We were prepared, indeed, with evidence to this effect, but we had no ſuch object in view. The individual would have paſſed, and would ſtill paſs, unnoticed by us, but for his writings, and for his miniſterial office and conduct. The former we ſhall not very ſoon forget. The memorable aſſertion in his Paſtoral Letter, publiſhed in 1793, that the Proteſtants of England and Ireland are ſlaves, is not likely to eſcape our memory. "THE PEOPLE ARE ENSLAVED WHEN THEIR SOVEREIGN DECLARED HIMSELF HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,*" was an opinion, delivered as a fact, in a ſolemn "Paſtoral *Inſtruction* on the duties of Chriſtian citizens, addreſſed to the Roman Catholics of Dublin," by Dr. Troy, whom we are now called upon to regard as a phenomenon of loyalty, wiſdom, and virtue. We are aware of the explanation given to this paſſage in a ſupplement to the *third* edition of the Paſtoral Inſtruction; but, beſides that the words are too plain to be miſconceived or miſinterpreted; how came it that they were ſuffered to remain, even in that third edition, after the impreſſion which they had made on the public mind? It may not be amiſs, too, to remark here, that while the Paſtoral Inſtruction, containing this and many other moſt objectionable paſſages, was carried, with rapidity, through three editions; of the Loyal Exhortation, ſo much dwelt upon by Mr. Erſkine, and certainly entitled to all the praiſe which he beſtowed upon it, only *eighty* copies were printed; although more than three times that number might have been printed with no other additional expence than the purchaſe of ſo many ſheets of paper!! And yet Mr. Erſkine could gravely aſſert of this Exhortation, that "DOCTOR TROY directed it to be printed and publiſhed, and *circulated most extensively*, and upon its being printed and publiſhed and circulated, *much public benefit arose*!!!". If he had not had the *mal-adreſſe* to examine Wogan, the printer of *both* theſe productions, his aſſertion might have paſſed current with the world, and would no doubt have been quoted as authority; but to that examination we are indebted for the diſcovery of the *fact*, which has placed the tranſaction in ſo *proper* a point of view, that no comment of ours can be neceſſary to render it perfectly clear and intelligible to our readers; or to enable them to eſtimate the quantum of *public benefit* derived from the *most extensive* circulation of this loyal production!

Mr. Erſkine's notions of *wickedness* appear, like ſome other of his notions,

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* Again—"The nation was enſlaved when ſchiſm was introduced by this brutal and deſpotic Prince" (Henry VIII.) Paſtoral Inſtruction, third edition, P. 28. "The Catholics conſider it" (the King's ſupremacy over the Church) "*an uſurpation.*" P. 100.—Were this the place for entering into a diſcuſſion of the queſtion, we could very eaſily prove, that the Doctor's diſavowal, in his Supplement, neither alters the ſenſe, nor diminiſhes the force, of the objectionable paſſages in his Inſtruction.

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to be peculiar to himſelf. He tells us, that, during the prevalence of a rebellion, "to create a general hatred of the evils which are ſuppoſed to reſult from a Catholic eſtabliſhment, was *most wicked*, becauſe it was moſt dangerous." We are yet to learn, that it is *wicked* to teach men to hate *evils* of any deſcription; nor do we know by what mode of reaſoning, or on what principle, we are to be brought to eſtimate the *wickedness* of an act by the *danger* attending its commiſſion. If ſuch be really the caſe, and an act be wicked in proportion as it is dangerous, certainly LORD NELSON and SIR SIDNEY SMITH are the moſt wicked of all his Majeſty's ſubjects; for they have repeatedly, deliberately, and with malice aforethought, performed acts which expoſed themſelves, their crews, and his Majeſty's ſhips, to the moſt imminent danger. But a rebellion raged in the country, forſooth, and *therefore* it was improper to deprecate the evils of a Romiſh eſtabliſhment. Mr. Erſkine uſed much the ſame argument reſpecting the outcry againſt the evils of republicaniſm, ſome few years ago. He thought that, during the prevalence of the revolutionary and republican rage in France, it was highly wicked and dangerous to inveigh againſt the horrors of revolutions, and the oppreſſions of republicaniſm. The Whigs of the laſt century, whom Mr. Erſkine, and his partizans, ſo warmly admire, ſo loudly panegyrize, and ſo deeply toaſt, thought and acted on rather different principles; and when they imagined that it was in agitation to reſtore the ſuperſtitions of popery, in Ireland at leaſt, they thought it neither wicked nor dangerous, but politic, expedient, and wiſe, to deprecate the evils reſulting from a Popiſh eſtabliſhment, even during the exiſtence of a civil war. But this is not the only inſtance in which we ſhall have occaſion to appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in our diſcuſſions on the preſent ſubject. Our appeal, indeed, will not be ſo eloquent, impreſſive, and forcible, as the maſterly production of the late Mr. Burke, but it will contain at leaſt an *argumentum ad* HOMINEM, and will not, we truſt, be without an *argumentum ad* REM.

Dr. Troy, in the Paſtoral Letter, which we have before quoted, and which he himſelf expreſsly marks as one of thoſe ſolemn documents, by which the profeſſors of the Romiſh faith, and "their religious and civil principles" (P. 102-3),* may be fairly aſcertained and judged, aſſerts, what we are by no means diſpoſed to deny, the authority which the clergy have over the laity. "The Catholic laity," he ſays, "of Ireland reſpect their clergy, and conſider it a duty to be regulated by their determinations on all points of religious doctrine. They are attached to their paſtors and ſpiritual guides, *who love them as their children in Chriſt.* Clergy and laity are united by the moſt tender and intereſting conſiderations. Every effort to diſſolve this

* "We wiſh that Proteſtants and others may judge of our religious and civil principles by our catechiſm, by our books of devotion and religious inſtruction, by the paſtoral letters of our biſhops, by the dogmatical conſtitutions of popes, by the doctrinal deciſions of our general councils, and by our uniform conduct. It is in this manner, that Catholics are taught to judge of the peculiar and diſcriminating doctrines of every Chriſtian denomination not in communion with the See of Rome, and centre of Catholic unity; and not from the private unauthorized opinions of individuals, much leſs from their particular conduct on any occaſion." P. 103. We have extracted this paſſage, for the purpoſe of referring to it in any future diſcuſſion of the Catholic queſtion.

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union muſt prove ineffectual. Intereſt and duty combine to render it indiſſoluble. In adverſity or proſperity, they muſt riſe or fall together." (P. 104) Mr. Erſkine alſo, with equal truth, affirms "the higher prieſts of the Catholic church have an influence over their inferior clergy." There can be no doubt of the fact: the influence and authority of the Iriſh prieſts over their flocks is abſolute and unlimited. We notice it here for two purpoſes. Firſt, to expreſs our ſurprize, that the men who mention the exiſtence of this authority ſhould be the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for releaſing the Romaniſts from every poſſible reſtraint, and for giving them more than an equal ſhare of political power; for it was propoſed that, for the acquiſition of ſuch power, they ſhould not be ſubject to thoſe conditions, without a ſtrict obſervance of which it cannot be acquired by any of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* ſubjects. It is curious to obſerve, that all *former* advocates for Catholic emancipation deemed it neceſſary to diſavow, in the moſt poſitive terms, the exiſtence of any ſuch influence and authority of the prieſthood over the laity; while the opponents of that meaſure contended for its exiſtence (which, indeed, was notorious), and urged it as one of the principal grounds of their oppoſition. A quondam friend of Mr. Erſkine's, and no ſtranger, we believe, to Dr. Troy, who was a Member of the Iriſh Parliament in 1795, when the queſtion was fully diſcuſſed, calls the aſſertion of its exiſtence "harrowing up charges from the barbarous ages that are gone by." And he adds, in the moſt peremptory language, "Aſk the Catholic clergy" (with numbers of whom he had, no doubt, converſed on the ſubject), "and they will tell you, that their power has declined. Aſk the Proteſtant gentry, from one end of the kingdom to the other, and they will tell you, that the ſuperſtitious power of the Romiſh clergy is at an end. But have you not heard the right honourable gentleman (Pelham) on this night lament the decline of this power? Have you not heard him, in the vileſt proſtitution of terms, lament its decline, as the decline of a wholeſome controul? But whilſt it is with joy I expreſs my ſatisfaction, that all *ſuperſtitious controul* over the minds of my Catholic countrymen is at an end, as that circumſtance which puts the juſtice of their claims to freedom beyond all doubt *, I cannot, nor will not ſuppreſs my deteſtation and abhorrence of the right honourable gentleman's doctrine, which would make a *ſuperſtitious*, a wholeſome, controul. At this doctrine of paſſive obedience, which would revive the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition, as the doctrine of ſome deſpots, who having ſome infernal ſyſtem of oppreſſion to ſupport, and ſhrinking from the light of reaſon, would plunge us into that darkneſs and obſcurity we have eſcaped. Backed, then, by the authority of the Catholic clergy, backed by the authority of the Proteſtant gentry, and backed by the ſtill more general authority of the general obſervation of every man within and without theſe walls, from one end of the kingdom to the other, I will aſſume it as a fact, that the *ſuperſtitious* controul of the Catholic clergy over

* This contradiction among the advocates for Catholic emancipation is worthy of attention; for while Dr. Troy and Mr. Erſkine, *cum multis aliis*, maintain, and truly maintain, that the influence of the clergy over the laity exiſts, this partiſan inſiſts that it is long ſince at an end; repreſents it as a ſuperſtitious, deſpotic, and oppreſſive controul, and argues as if the exiſtence of it would be a fair ground of objection to a compliance with the claims of the Romaniſts.

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the Catholic mind *is at an end.*"—*Speech of Arthur O'Connor on the Catholic Bill, Monday, May 4th*, 1795.

The second purpose for which we introduce this topic is, to corroborate the assertion of some Members, in either House of Parliament, that the authority here noticed was frequently exercised in the most oppressive way; particularly by excommunication, productive of the most serious consequences to the persons excommunicated. This assertion, though known to be true by every one acquainted with the interior state of Ireland, experienced the most positive contradiction from several Members of either House. The following fact (among hundreds that might be cited), which we have extracted from a daily paper now before us, will suffice, we apprehend, to decide this question; while it will exhibit a notable specimen of the accuracy of Dr. Troy's statement, that the Irish priests love the people *as their children in Christ.*

"DUBLIN, SEPT. 13.

"The following are the facts of a very curious case, which was tried before the Hon. Mr. Justice Day, and a Special Jury, at the last Cork assizes:—A baker, of the name of Donovan, brought an action against the Rev. Mr. O'Brien, Vicar-General to Dr. Coppinger, Titular Bishop of Cork, and Roman Catholic parish priest of Clonakilty. The damages were laid at 500l. It appeared on the trial, that a subscription had been set on foot by the priest for the purpose of building a Roman Catholic chapel. Donovan was ordered to pay as his affixed quota, 16s. 3d. which he accordingly did; he was afterwards called on to pay 9s.; this sum he likewise paid, but observed at the time that he was very poor, and that he could not afford it. A third demand on him of 16s. was made by the priest, which Donovan refused to comply with. On Donovan's going to mass the following Sunday, he was asked by the priest whether he would pay the 16s. or not; he answered that he was not able. The priest rejoined, "I will settle you." Terrified at this observation, Donovan sent by his wife 16s. to the house of the priest, who refused then to take less than two guineas. On the following Sunday the priest cursed from the altar all those who had not paid his demands towards building the chapel. Donovan went on the next holiday to mass, and was formally excommunicated; and the people denounced as cursed and contaminated if they should deal or hold any communication with him. This threat was so effectual, that not one of the country people would sell a sod of turf to Donovan to heat his oven, and Donovan could not even sell in his own name such flour or stock which lay on his hands. Reduced almost to despair from his forlorn situation, the baker went in a white sheet to the chapel as a voluntary penance, and asked pardon of God and the priest for his disobedience; and was there desired by the priest to attend him to his house, where he again demanded from him the two guineas, which Donovan assured him he could not possibly make up. The excommunication was therefore continued in full force against him, and he was consequently obliged to shut up his house. The above facts were incontrovertibly proved by two *unwilling* witnesses. The Jury, composed equally of Protestants and Roman Catholics, after a very able charge from the Learned Judge, found a verdict for the Plaintiff.—50l. *Damages*, and 6*d. Costs.*

"This trial occupied the public attention very much."—*Morning Post, Sept.* 18, 1805.

Mr. Erskine concluded his speech by expressing his belief, that the Irish Roman-

Romaniſts would one day be able to obtain what they fought for; and by declaring it to be the *duty*, as well as the *wiſh*, of every *virtuous* man among them to exert himſelf for that purpoſe. Now we muſt confeſs ourſelves unable to underſtand how it can be the duty of a virtuous man to remain diſſatisfied with the privileges which he has already obtained, after the moſt poſitive declaration at the time, that if *they* were granted he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied. For our part, we are decidedly of opinion, that the laſt conceſſions made to the Iriſh Romaniſts were highly unwiſe and impolitic, and that they encouraged them not only to make farther demands, but to proceed to thoſe farther acts of violence and outrage which ſo ſtrongly characteriſed their conduct at ſubſequent periods. Thoſe conceſſions, however, are made, and we ſhould be the laſt perſons in the world, to adviſe any departure from them; unleſs they were made (as, indeed, by ſome of the Catholic advocates, they have been) the grounds of farther claims, urged, not as matter of *indulgence* but of *right*.

But if any thing could aſtoniſh us in theſe days, when every conſideration is ſacrificed at the ſhrine of party, it would be to ſee the patriots of the Whig Club, who annually celebrate with enthuſiaſm, either real or affected, the Revolution of 1688, and the memory of the principal agent in it, our third William, become the moſt violent advocates for Catholic emancipation. One would really be induced to think, that they had either drunk deep of the Lethean ſtream; or, which is rather more probable, that they were ſo muddled with wine, as to loſe all recollection of paſt events, and totally to forget not only the principles advanced by their anceſtors, the Whigs of old who brought about that revolution, but all the circumſtances which preceded and followed it. Why was our ſecond James declared, by the Whigs, to have abdicated his throne? What were the offences laid to his charge? What was the ruling principle of the Act of Settlement? Is it poſſible that we, who boldly avow ourſelves to be *Tories*, ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of pleading the cauſe of the Revolution againſt thoſe who proclaim themſelves to the world as *Whigs*? Alas! it is. Had we lived at the period of the Revolution, however we might have condemned the conduct of our ſovereign, never would we have ſuffered our allegiance to be transferred, like a bale of goods, from one man to another. No, we would have ſhewn him *paſſive obedience*; which the Whigs may call *the doctrine of ſlaves*, but which we know to be *the duty of Chriſtians*; and PRINCES, at leaſt, ſhould know how to value it. However, for the benefit of modern Whigs, we will recapitulate ſome prominent points of the declaration of their favourite KING WILLIAM, whoſe acceſſion they commemorate, whoſe politics they admire, and whoſe memory they profeſs to revere. "All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated: the diſpenſing and ſuſpending power; the Court of Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion; *the filling of all offices with Catholics, and the raiſing of a Jeſuit to be privy-counſellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, and ſeminaries, for that ſect; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of Papiſts;*" &c. &c. (Hume's Hiſtory, vol. viii. p. 292.) Yet thoſe meaſures, which the Whigs of old thought ſufficient to juſtify the depoſition of their ſovereign, are the very meaſures which the efforts of modern Whigs are exerted to promote! The contradiction is too flagrant, the inconſiſtency too glaring, the facts are too deciſive to require any endeavour of ours to point them, or to give them their due effect.

effect. The public will examine, and will appreciate them. For our part, we are ready for once to adopt a *Whig-toaſt*—"May the example of one Revolution prevent the neceſſity for another!"

There are ſome other parts of Mr. Erſkine's ſpeech to which we ſhould have thought it neceſſary to advert, if they had not been ſo ably expoſed in the admirable anſwer of Mr. Garrow, and in the letter of our correſpondent *Orthodoxus*, publiſhed in our laſt number; and here is the proper place to pay a tribute of juſtice to Mr. Garrow; to return him our beſt thanks for the uncommon pains and attention, which, amidſt a multiplicity of other avocations and engagements, he paid to this cauſe. Seldom has more eloquence been diſplayed at the Britiſh bar, and never was eloquence exerted with more judgment and with better effect. We muſt farther obſerve, that it is not fair nor juſtifiable, conſidering the ſituation in which Mr. Garrow ſtood, and the very difficult part which he had to perform, to examine every ſentence which fell from him, with the ſame rigour and ſeverity, as it would be proper to obſerve in the examination of his ſentiments, if coolly and deliberately delivered through the medium of the preſs. Thus we are very far from conſidering the conceſſions which he made to the Romaniſts in the ſame light with our correſpondent before alluded to. Regarded in a proper point of view, they could not be received as the ſentiments of Mr. Garrow, but as part of the means employed by the advocate for obtaining a verdict for his client; conſequently they were not *dangerous*, and the very reverſe of *unwiſe*. The principles of Mr. Garrow, we are perſuaded, are not leſs ſound than his abilities are ſplendid, and his legal knowledge is profound. He is an ornament to the bar, and will, no doubt, prove an honour to the ſenate. Indeed it would not be poſſible to ſelect from the whole bar, three advocates who are more ſtaunch friends to the eſtabliſhed church, or more orthodox members of it, than the three Counſel employed by the Defendant in this cauſe. Nor are we aſhamed to confeſs, that they were ſelected on that very account. To our very able Solicitors alſo, we are infinitely obliged, for their moſt zealous and indefatigable exertions, greatly exceeding mere profeſſional activity, and proceeding from a congeniality of ſentiment and principle.

That the *conſequences* of this proſecution will be very different from thoſe which the promoters of it hoped and expected to produce, is perfectly clear to us. For, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, it will extend, the inveſtigation of the important queſtion at iſſue between the Romaniſts of Ireland and the Proteſtants of the United Kingdom. We are in no fear that champions, both able and zealous, will be found to defend the religious eſtabliſhments of the realm againſt all their enemies, now as well as at the cloſe of the 17th century; and certain we are, that the more the ſubject is inveſtigated, the more fully will the public be convinced of the impolicy and the danger of acceding to the monſtrous claims of the Romaniſts, whoſe firmneſs in demand will ever increaſe with our pliancy in conceſſion. It muſt not be forgotten, that they declared themſelves perfectly ſatisfied when they obtained the elective franchiſe; yet the very man who then pleaded their cauſe, and proclaimed their ſatisfaction to the world, is again brought forward in the ſenate, for the expreſs purpoſe of giving the lie to his former aſſertions, by pronouncing them to be diſſatisfied with paſt conceſſions, and by advancing farther claims. In ſhort, the very genius and ſpirit of their religion will render them diſcontented, until they have thrown off the ſhackles of ſubordination to a Proteſtant eſtabliſhment,

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and ſecured their own aſcendancy. What *toleration* Proteſtants would then have to expect, may be collected from the example of other Catholic countries, and from the hiſtory of our own. They, then, who encourage them to entertain hopes of ſucceſs in future applications of a ſimilar nature, and who ſtimulate them to perſeverance in their efforts to obtain it, ſacrifice the peace and tranquillity of the empire to a ſelfiſh and degrading ſpirit of party. Thank Heaven! we are bleſſed with a Sovereign, who has underſtanding to appreciate his duty, and reſolution to diſcharge it; and fully perſuaded we are, that we ſhall never have the misfortune to ſee the crown of Britain on the head of any Prince, capable of departing from thoſe principles which placed his family on the throne.

In concluſion, we repeat, that we have no enmity whatever to our Romiſh fellow-ſubjects; let them live peaceably and quietly; grateful for the indulgence which they have received, and for the toleration which they enjoy; true to their king, and obedient to the laws; and, far from moleſting them in the free exerciſe of their religion, our beſt wiſhes for their happineſs, welfare, and proſperity ſhall attend them.

Illuſtrations of a paſſage in Virgil.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

YOU ſometimes give admiſſion to "*illuſtrations*" of claſſical paſſages, preſented by correſpondents, who doubtleſs are not a little flattered by your acceptance of their *free-will-offerings*. Like them, ambitious of becoming one of your *tributaries*, I beg leave to ſubmit the following to your inſpection, in the hope of its finding favour in your eyes, and obtaining a place in your excellent work.

Burke's Letter, on the Duke of Bedford's attack, has been very aptly denominated an *informatum fulgen*, by the author of the Purſuits of Literature, who ſays that "he cannot deſcribe the whole compoſition better than in the words of *that Poet*, who would have been proud to record the workmanſhip of EDMUND BURKE."

Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquoſæ,
Addiderant, rutili tres ignis et alitis Auſtri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos, ſonitumque, metumque,
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.

Burke himſelf, in a work of much earlier date, has quoted this paſſage of Virgil, which he thought "admirably ſublime;" but he ſays, at the ſame time, that "if we attend coolly to the kind of ſenſible images, which a combination of ideas of this ſort muſt form, the chimeras of madmen cannot appear more wild and abſurd than ſuch a picture." He then gives the following as a literal tranſlation—"Three rays of twiſted ſhower, three of a watery cloud, three of fire, and three of the winged Southwind; then mixed they in the work terrific lightnings, and ſound, and fear, and anger, with purſuing flames." He remarks of this "ſtrange compoſition," that it is "Formed into a groſs body, hammered by the Cyclops, in part poliſhed, and partly continues rough." His object here was to exemplify the power of words to produce their intended effect, without

raiſing any diſtinct images in the mind; and he ſays that "if poetry gives us a noble aſſemblage of words, correſponding to many noble ideas, which are connected by circumſtances of time or place, or related to each other by cauſe and effect, or aſſociated in any natural way, they may be moulded together in any form, and perfectly anſwer their end"

Now "Jove's dread thunder-bolts," we know, were anciently repreſented as conſiſting of twelve *zig-zag rays*, proceeding from a center, and terminating as it were in a circle—an imaginary *combination* of ſuch rays as are in fact often ſeen *ſingly* darting through the clouds,

——————Tonitru cum rupta coruſco
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos——,

and this phenomenon is uſually connected both "in time and place," with a *fiery redneſs in the ſky*, followed by *ſudden guſts of wind*, with *heavy ſhowers of rain*, or *ſtorms of hail*. In this view there is an evident propriety in the expreſſion, *nubis aquoſæ*, a cloud, not of light floating vapour, but black, and rapidly condenſing into *water*, ready to fall in *torrents of rain*. The ſame "natural aſſociation" is there in the phraſes, *ignis rutili* and *alitis auſtri*; but what ſhall we ſay of *imbris torti*, a *twiſted ſhower*! Why, that Virgil's meaning has been ſtrangely miſtaken by Mr. Burke, who cannot have been ignorant that *torquere* ſignifies to *hurl* as well as to *twiſt*; and had he adverted to this, he muſt have perceived in *imbris torti*, not a *twiſted* but a *miſſile ſhower*, that is a *ſhower of hail*; and thus his obſervation would have been fairly applicable to the whole paſſage, as it ſtands in the original, though ſcarcely to any part of that paraphraſe which he, with ſeeming approbation, has quoted from Pitt's tranſlation.

"Three points of rain, three forks of hail conſpire,
Three arm'd with wind, and three were barb'd with fire.
The maſs they temper'd thick with livid rays,
Fear, wrath, and terror, and the lightning's blaze."

Here indeed we have *imbris torti* righty diſtinguiſhed from *nubis aquoſæ*: but inſtead of Virgil's *rays*, which he is ſuppoſed to have copied from ancient marbles, we have three *points* of one ſort, three *forks* of another, three of a third ſort (whether points or forks does not appear) *armed with wind*, and three *barbed with fire*; and this combination of points and forks is *tempered thick* with *livid rays*, &c.! Words that, ſurely, when thus combined, do not "correſpond to any noble ideas" nor indeed to any ideas whatever.

Among the *tempering ingredients*, for *metum* we have both *fear* and *terror*, but nothing for *flammis ſequacibus*, by which Virgil, I ſuſpect, intended to ſuggeſt the idea of that deſtructive flame, which is often kindled by lightning and *follows* it, as a natural effect, but is at the ſame time indicative of *wrath* which here couples with it.

After minutely diſſecting this tranſlation, ſhall I venture to offer one of my own, and take the chance of being, in like manner, cut up in my turn? If I am, I hope to ſee—"What, after you are *cut up*?—Oh yes, we minor critics are *immortal*—I hope to ſee either a better tranſlation, or one that may afford me another *ſubject of diſſection*.

Three rays of hail they blend with three of rain,
Of reddening æther, and the driving blaſt,
All deep in-wrought with awful gleams, and noiſe,
And fear, and wrath, and fierce vindictive flame.—URANOPTES.

EPIGRAMS.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

THE anxiety of the Rev. J. Riland's friends makes the following queries not altogether improper.

Did not his elder brother once find it neceſſary to diſmiſs him from the curacy of Sutton Coldfield?

Did he not *for a time* become the diſciple of the author of Thelypthora?

Did he not make and obtain a demand of thirty-ſix pounds for dilapidations of his brother's repreſentatives, after that brother by will had given him the next preſentation to the living of Sutton, now worth 800l. per annum.

Was he not fruſtrated in a mean attempt to cut down the ornamental trees near the Rectory Houſe?

Has he not diſfigured thoſe trees which he was prevented from cutting down?

POETRY.

The Reviewers Impromptu on reading a certain Motto from Juvenal.

Go angry zealot, boaſt with honeſt pride,
Thou haſt for once ſix verſes well apply'd.
Live, to thy own quotation juſt and true,
Th' infuriate monſter whom the poet drew.

EPIGRAMS.

PENSIONERS*.

WHY at penſioners rail, while the patriot Charles
(Since him oppoſitioniſts call ſo)
For *two thouſand a year* at our Government ſnarls?
—Iſn't he then a penſioner alſo?

RUNAWAYS.

Young ſays,—a fool's profuſion to diſplay—
"He built a houſe from which to run away."
Thus too Old England of her foes may ſay,
For France builds fleets *in* which to run away!

UNCHANGEABLES.

Of the Papiſts to judge—*as they never can vary*,
We ſhould turn to the reign of the bloody Queen Mary.
When in pow'r they were *fiends*—"Aye, but NOW they wont hurt you.
—Theſe *unchangeable* men are all mildneſs and virtue!†"

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* Occaſioned by a late Whiggiſh attempt to expoſe the liſt of penſions as if they were newly granted, when the liſt was only freſh made out.

† This plainly appeared in the Court of King's Bench, as *you well know*, Mr. Anti-Jacobin, July 11th 1805.

BUONAPARTE

BUONAPARTE'S SOLILOQUIES.

SOLILOQUY I.

France and Italy, Switzerland, Hanover, Spain,
Holland, Pruſſia, the Netherlands, Fox and his train,
Pope Pius, and Holkar, by me all commanded,
—Do but ſee how the Engliſh I beat *ſingle-handed!*

SOLILOQUY II.

Happy times ſhall enſue—be it known thro' the world,
Not a ſhip ſhall be freighted, or canvaſs unfurl'd,
Not a ſhip ſhall ſet ſail without tribute to me,
When once, thro' my proweſs THE OCEAN IS FREE!

TOM T'WHIG'EM.

*** Theſe Epigrams were intended for our laſt number, but came too late—however, the two Foxes which we did inſert was by the ſame author.

TO OUR READERS.

We are happy in being able to inform our readers that much additional and valuable aſſiſtance has recently been obtained for this Review; ſo that in future no work of Science will be left unnoticed, nor any other publication of the ſmalleſt importance. The *Summary of Politics* will alſo be resumed very ſoon; and be continued with regularity.

ERRATUM.

Page 74, line 17, from bottom, for *aſſignation* read *aſſaſſination*

THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

Review and Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For OCTOBER, 1805.

Sit hoc ſatis; præſtat enim pauca avidè diſcere, quam multa cum tædio devorare.—ERASM.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

Laing's *Hiſtory of Scotland.*

(Continued from P. 398.)

THE commencement of our author's third chapter excited, we muſt confeſs, our aſtoniſhment. Aſſertions ſo notoriouſly contrary to fact we could not have expected, even from the hardihood of Mr. Laing.

"From the moral evidence," he ſays, "which the conduct of Mary affords of her ſecret concern in the murder of her huſband, her apologiſts are careful to turn away their eyes. They quibble concerning particular facts, but are afraid to contemplate the whole in ſucceſſion; and under whatever name their examinations, enquiries, and vindications are publiſhed, they begin invariably at the middle, with verbal and minute criticiſms on the letters, or partial obſervations on detached paſſages of the conferences in England, of which they never venture to trace and ſtate the reſult." (P. 111.)

Surely Mr. Laing muſt take it for granted, that none of his readers have ſtudied this controverſy; or he would not thus inſult their common ſenſe. On no ſubject has *the moral evidence* been more ably canvaſſed, or the facts examined with greater care. Goodall's work, indeed, was principally confined to the object of proving the letters ſpurious; but his labours thus far were attended with complete ſucceſs. Tytler, however, took a wider range. His "Inquiry" embraces *the whole moral evidence, in all its bearings*, and is, confeſſedly,

one of the moſt elegant and maſterly ſpecimens of controverſial writing which any age or country has produced. The mighty mind of Whitaker has exhauſted the ſubject. His keen and indefatigable eye, which nothing can eſcape, inſtead of turning, as Mr. Laing alleges, from the evidence in this cauſe, has pierced its moſt dark and intricate receſſes. Not only has this powerful and ardent writer placed all the *direct proofs* in a light which flaſhes conviction; but he has hardly omitted even *a collateral point* connected, however remotely, with the queſtion. His "Vindication" contains an amazing maſs of information, combined with that ſtrong fire of genius, and that impregnable ſolidity of argument, by which all the productions of his pen are diſtinguiſhed. His "Vindication" might, perhaps, be ſomewhat improved by compreſſion; and, certainly, by a more orderly arrangement. But he has, with ſuch acuteneſs, detected the enormous and complicated villanies of Murray and his rebellious crew, that their names, in ſpite of Mr. Laing's exertions, will deſcend with infamy to the lateſt poſterity. We muſt, however, proceed with our author.

According to the ſtatement of the rebels, one of Bothwell's ſervants, named Dalglieſh, was, on the 20th of June 1567, ſeized, by ſome of Morton's retainers, with a box of papers, which he had been ſent, by his maſter, to fetch from Edinburgh Caſtle, then in the hands of Sir James Balfour. This box was a caſket of ſilver gilt, which had belonged to Francis II. of France, and which Mary, *of courſe*, had preſented to Bothwell. It contained the famous letters, ſonnets, and contracts, which thus came, ſay the rebels, into their poſſeſſion, affording the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of Mary's, as well as of Bothwell's guilt, convicting them both of adultery and of murder. It is, certainly, very natural to aſk, What could have tempted Bothwell to preſerve theſe papers? We ſhall ſuppoſe the Queen, from the influence of her abandoned paſſion, to have been ſo loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame and conſiderations of ſafety, as to write the letters, and even to diſpatch them *open* to Bothwell; but we cannot ſuppoſe *him* to have been delirious with love of a woman, who was forcing, and naufeouſly forcing, her perſon upon him. His intereſt, in every poſſible point of view, was certainly to deſtroy theſe dangerous letters; and, therefore, his conduct is wholly unaccountable. Lord Hailes, however, Mr. Laing informs us, aſſigns, in a MS. note on Tytler's Inquiry, "three *ſufficient* reaſons" for Bothwell's procedure; "the care of vindicating himſelf; the deſire of preventing the Queen from drawing back; and the vanity of having received ſuch letters from the fineſt woman in the world." It is wonderful to ſee the effects of prejudice. Lord Hailes was a man of penetration and ſenſe; yet, in this caſe, we find him ſatisfied with reaſons which are no reaſons at all. The laſt of them, all the circumſtances conſidered, is ridiculous to the laſt degree. The two firſt are the original property of Buchanan, who ſays that Bothwell "literas conſervârat, ut ſiquid diſſidii cum eâ [Reginâ] incidiſſet, illo teſtimonio uteretur, nec ſe regiæ cædis auctorem, ſed comitem fuiſſe, oſtenderet." (Hiſt. xviii, 51.) It is ſurely

ſtrange

ſtrange that it did not occur to Buchanan, Lord Hailes, or Mr. Laing, that Bothwell could never have dared to produce theſe letters in his own juſtification, though the Queen ſhould have afterwards capriciouſly deſerted him. The production of them muſt have been attended with his inſtant and infallible ruin.

But "the Confederate Lords," as our author calls them, were, according to him, perplexed with the diſcovery, and knew not how to act. "Until the contents of the caſket," he ſays, "were carefully examined, we may be ſure that the diſcovery would not be revealed by them. They were careful not to exaſperate Mary's friends, by divulging the letters." (P. 114.) It is thus that our author, by a friendly fiction of his own invention in favour of his clients, endeavours to account for a ſingular fact which alone is ſufficient to damn their cauſe. This important caſket, on which they choſe, at laſt, to reſt their whole defence, came, the rebels tell us, into their poſſeſſion the 20th of June; yet it was never heard of by a ſingle perſon till the 4th of the following December, when it was produced in Murray's Secret Council. Dalglieſh was examined before Morton's Council on the 26th June, and was not executed before the 3d January. But neither in his depoſition, nor in his confeſſion, which are both given us by the rebels themſelves, is there a ſingle word of the caſket or its contents. No queſtion, it appears, was aſked concerning them. It is not ſufficient, with Mr. Laing, to ſay, that, at the time of Dalglieſh's examination, ſix days after the diſcovery of the letters, the rebels "were afraid at firſt to divulge them, leſt it ſhould preclude all terms of accommodation with Mary's friends." (P. 121.) When they laid theſe papers before the Council and Parliament in December, their fears of accommodation were over. Dalglieſh was then alive; why did they not produce him, and thoſe who ſeized him, to authenticate the circumſtances of this intereſting diſcovery? The reaſon is plain: BECAUSE THEY DURST NOT. Dalglieſh knew nothing about this caſket, of which the contents, at the time of his apprehenſion, were not in exiſtence; and had he been then, or afterwards, examined on the ſubject, he would have blown the whole forgery at once into atoms.

There is no reſiſting the force of this concluſion. But although the rebels, according to Mr. Laing, were at firſt afraid to divulge the letters, they put them, it ſeems, to an admirable uſe. "Their firſt deſign, which," he ſays, "was *to keep Mary confined for a time, till divorced from Bothwell*, was altered by thoſe indiſputable proofs which they had diſcovered of her guilt." (P. 114.) This, we think, is incomparable! The original object of the rebels, good ſouls! is only to get their Queen divorced from Bothwell. To accompliſh this object, when they have Bothwell in their power at Carberry Hill on the 15th June, they very courteouſly "bid him depart, promiſing *that na man ſould follow nor purſew him!*" and they then confine their unfortunate Queen till the divorce be obtained! When Mr. Laing condeſcended to reaſon thus, he muſt ſurely have ſuppoſed all his read-

ers ſimpletons! The contents of the caſket, however, being thus providentially diſcovered by theſe conſcientious men, were employed to extort, according to Mr. Laing, from the captive Queen a reſignation of her crown. They threatened her with a judicial trial for the murder of her huſband; and ſhe, when ſhe knew that they had ſuch evidence againſt her, could refuſe them nothing. The danger of a legal inveſtigation, if we believe Mr. Laing, was the only argument employed to frighten her. From her reſignation he, therefore, concludes, that the contents of the caſket were undoubtedly genuine. "As Mary had no danger to apprehend, except from a judicial examination, nothing leſs than her letters, containing the proofs of her guilt, could have induced her thus to reſign the crown." (P. 119.)

One would think that Mr. Laing muſt have been preſent at every interview of theſe audacious rebels with their wretched Queen. Who told him that ſhe was in no danger, except from a judicial proceſs? Throckmorton ſays, "I find by intelligence that the Queen is in very great peril of her life:—they cannot tell how to be rydd of their Queene *(wyche I myſtruſte they intend an wey or other).*" Melville ſays that they ſent Lord Lindſay, "firſt to uſe fair perſuaſion, and if that failed, they were reſolved to enter into *harder terms.*" Crawford's MS. ſays, that "ſhoe nather could, nor durſt refuſe, for the meſſenger was commandit, in caſe ſhoe had refuſit, to denounce *puniſhment and death unto her for the murder of her lawful huſband King Henry.*" Theſe paſſages are, at leaſt, as naturally explained of aſſaſſination as of trial, and Mr. Laing forgot the character of his clients when he wrote the following gratuitous aſſertion: "Her friends had no reaſon to apprehend that the Confederates would incur the public abhorrence, and the united vengeance of France and England, by an aſſaſſination worſe and more atrocious than that of which they accuſed the Queen." (P. 117.) Murray, on his return, paid her a viſit; and "his motives," ſays our author, "for this viſit *have never been underſtood.*" But what has never been hitherto underſtood, Mr. Laing is perfectly able to explain. We are, accordingly, aſſured that Murray's views "were to examine her preſent diſpoſition in perſon, that his future conduct might be regulated by the reſult of his own obſervations; to produce, perhaps, by his ſalutary remonſtrances, a reformation in her mind; and, finally, to procure her perſonal conſent to his acceptance of the government." (P. 119.) That Murray was actuated by the firſt and laſt of theſe views, no one, we ſuppoſe, will be diſpoſed to doubt; and we are rather ſurpriſed that Mr. Laing ſhould arrogate to himſelf the claim of uncommon diſcernment on account of the diſcovery. With regard to the ſecond motive to which Murray's viſit is here aſcribed, we own that we have our doubts. Throckmorton informs us, from the rebels themſelves, that Murray, at the ſecond interview with his ſiſter, "behaved like a ghoſtly confeſſor." This report is certainly conſiſtent enough with the character which Murray uniformly affected, and which was afterwards confirmed to him by the appellation of the *Gude* (i. e. *godly*) *Regent*. From the very beginning

ginning of the Reformation, this unprincipled, but able, hypocrite reſolved to make the ignorant zeal of the fanatical reformers the ſtalking horſe of his inordinate ambition; and he ſucceeded. But he had, in truth, no ſenſe of religion; and, although he had known the Queen to be as guilty as he knew her to be innocent, her repentance and obduracy would have been to him matters of equal indifference. The object of this viſit was to force his Sovereign to abdicate her crown; and the argument employed was, *undoubtedly, a menace of inevitable death.* At the cloſe of his ſecond interview, accordingly, he "*left her to the mercy of God, as her only reſource.*" (P. 120.) This intelligence we have from the rebels themſelves, who, by the very expreſſion, ſufficiently betray the kind of language held by Murray on this cruel occaſion. But if Murray's party had, at this time, been poſſeſſed of the letters, would ſuch have been his language? "*Credat Judæus Apella.*" Could the rebels have told their unfortunate Queen that they had letters of hers, undoubtedly genuine, which clearly convicted her of adultery and murder, no other argument would have been neceſſary. Had Mary, indeed, been even conſcious that ſuch letters might poſſibly be in exiſtence, a ſingle hint of their diſcovery would have been ſufficient: and had Murray been fortified with ſuch irreſragable evidence of his Sovereign's guilt, the grimaces of the "ghoſtly confeſſor" would have been wholly uſeleſs, and, of courſe, we may be ſure, would have been laid aſide.

Mr. Whitaker (Vol. I. 240, &c.) has proved, in the moſt convincing manner, that the contents of the caſket, though ſaid to be obtained on the 20th June, were not in exiſtence for many months after. Elizabeth had ſent down Throckmorton to interpoſe in behalf of Mary with the rebel faction. The rebels diſcovered great eagerneſs to juſtify themſelves by defaming the Queen. But they never once alleged the letters; and, therefore, we may be certain that they had them not. Nay, in all their acts of council and proclamations, from the 20th June to the 4th December, not a ſingle hint of theſe letters occurs, nor even ſo much as a bare alluſion to them. Mr. Laing accounts for this omiſſion by ſaying that, "as no minutes of council were then taken, no mention of the letters could occur in its records, till an act of council was pronounced on the ſubject;" and he adds, that Mr. Whitaker "ſhould have known" this. (P. 121.) But ſuch reaſoning is moſt egregious trifling. Why did not the rebels *make* an act of council on the ſubject of theſe letters? The letters were certainly the *beſt* defence which they could allege for their treaſon. We ſhall, indeed, ſoon find them expreſsly declaring theſe papers to be their *only* defence. If they had had theſe moſt important documents, their acts of council, their negociations with Throckmorton, and their proclamations, would have reſounded with their triumphs. We, therefore, conclude *that they had them not*; and all Mr. Laing's reaſons for their ſilence are nothing but the "quibblings of a Scottiſh advocate," which, to the mind of a perſon accuſtomed to ſcrutinize the value of evidence, prove only the deſperate badneſs of his cauſe.

At laſt theſe important letters make their appearance. On the 4th December, nearly ſix months after the ſeizure of Dalglieſh, the rebels, aſſembled in ſecret council, declare that, after conſultation for their own ſecurity, they "can find *no other way or moyen* [mean] how to find or make the ſaied ſecuritie, but be oppynynge and reveling of the trewth and haill matter fra the begynninge plainlie and uprichtlie." They then declare, with diabolical falſehood, their ſorrow for being driven to this ſtep, "for that luif they beare unto hir perſon, wha was ſomtime their ſoveraine, . . . and if otherwiſe the ſinceritie of their intentions and proceedings myt be known to forrein nacions, and the inhabitantes of this iſle ſatisfiet and reſolvit of the rightneſſneſs of theire quarrel, and the ſecuritie of them and theire poſteritie *be any other mean* myght be providit and eſtabliſhed."

Let our readers obſerve the profligacy of theſe men. From the 11th of June, when they armed againſt their Sovereign, to the 4th of December, they allege, as their excuſe, her attachment to the murderer of her huſband, and their anxiety for the Prince's life. If theſe excuſes were valid at firſt, they were valid at laſt; and no other was wanted. During all this time, though many ſchemes had been agitated in their fertile brains, and, among the reſt, a project of charging the Queen with the crimes of adultery and murder, not a word eſcapes them concerning the letters. Even ſo late as the 1ſt September, Throckmorton reports the following converſation with Murray, now Regent: "As to the acceptation of the regency, he ſaid, it was now paſt: and as for ignominy and calumniation, *he had none other defence againſt that but the goodneſs of God, his upright conſcience, and his intent to deal ſincerely in his office; and if that would not ſerve, he could not tell what to ſay*; for now there was no other remedy but he muſt go through with the matter." (Keith, 457.) By his own confeſſion, therefore, Murray had not *then* the contents of the caſket. They had not as yet come forth from the forge; for his only defences were *the goodneſs of God, his upright conſcience*, and *his good intentions*. But a better defence than any of theſe was deemed expedient. Accordingly the letters, ſonnets, and contracts are, at laſt, prepared for the public inſpection. And now, the rebels, whoſe actions were before ſufficiently juſtified, have no ſhadow of juſtification whatever, but what ariſes from theſe papers. They "can find no other way or moyen" for their own ſecurity but producing theſe papers; and the Queen's unconquerable attachment to Bothwell, their ſolicitude to bring that nobleman to juſtice, their fears for the Prince; nay, "the goodneſs of God," Murray's "upright conſcience," and "his intent to deal ſincerely in his office;" all vaniſh into air.

But theſe men, like moſt deviſers of crooked policy, overſhot their mark. They declare that "their previe convenſinis and meſſages," that is, their private treaſonable confederacies; their "taking of armes, and comінge to the fields with opinn and diſplait baneris;" their "taeking of the Quene's perſon upon the 15th daie of Junii laſt by paſt, and holding and deteininge of the ſame within the houſe and

and place of Lochlevin continewallie ſenſyne, preſentlie, *and in all times coming*; *and generallie, all other things inventit, ſpokin, writtin, or donne be them or anny of them ſen the tent daie of February laſt bypaſt* [the day of the King's murder] *unto the daie and date heirof*, towcching the ſaied Quene hir perſon, were all occaſioned by her crimes, as diſcovered in the letters to Bothwell. Thus the letters, which, by their own accounts, were not diſcovered till the 20th of June, are aſſigned by them as the cauſe, not only of their taking arms on the 11th, and of making their Queen a priſoner on the 15th, of that month; but, generally, of all their treaſons from the 10th of the February preceding. Mr. Laing has, indeed, controverted this interpretation of the act of council; and therefore it is neceſſary to produce the very words of it. The rebels ſay, then, that "*the cauſe and occaſion*" of all their proceedings, as detailed above, "wes in the ſaied Quene's awin default, *in as far as, be divers hir previe letters, writtin and ſubſcrivit with hir awin hand, and ſent be hir to James Erll of Boithwell.... it is moſt certeine that ſhe was previe, art and part, and of the actuall deviſe and deid of the murder of the Kinge hir lauchful huſband.*"—"This paſſage," ſays our author, "has been miſerably perverted to a different ſenſe, viz. that her letters to Bothwell were the cauſe of taking arms, and the detention of her perſon, which, as the letters were not then diſcovered, was abſolutely falſe." His own interpretation is that, "ſhe could not accuſe their riſing as rebellion, when their proceedings were juſtified by her own crimes, as was manifeſt both from her letters and marriage." (P. 123.) For this expoſition he quotes his great authority, Lord Hailes, in another MS. note on Tytler, who had urged the argument. But this is only another proof that Lord Hailes, notwithſtanding all his acuteneſs, was capable, where his prejudices were engaged, of the common weakneſſes of inferior men. The rebels, *in expreſs terms*, affirm that *the cauſe and occaſion* of their rebellion, were *the crimes of the Queen, as proved* (in part, at leaſt) *by her letters to Bothwell*. Now this is a groſs and manifeſt falſehood; for they openly rebelled on the 11th of June; and yet the crimes of the Queen, *as proved by the letters*, were not known, by their own confeſſion, till the 20th. Theſe men are, therefore, proved, by their own public act, as notorious liars as they were perjured traitors; and it is to us incomprehenſible on what principle any perſon of honourable feelings can undertake their defence.

The object of the rebels, in their act of council, was to prepare themſelves for the meeting of Parliament. Accordingly, on the 15th December, an act of parliament ratified the act of council. But in parliament the letters are exceedingly different from what they were in council. In the latter they were "divers hir previe letters, *writtin and ſubſcrivit with her awin hand*;" but, in the former, the ſubſcription is cautiouſly withdrawn. They are now deſcribed as "divers hir previe letters, *writtin halelie* [wholly] *with her awin hand.*" The letters had, therefore, undergone a moſt material change ſince their production in council; a change which fixes the brand of forgery ſo

ſtrongly on them, that no efforts will ever be ſufficient to remove it. Our author, however, denominates this inference "*deſpicable quibbling*;" whilſt his own ſagacious reaſoning on the ſubject is ſupremely ridiculous. "As every *legal* and *conventional* writing," he ſays, "was termed *a letter*, her letters, ſonnets, and marriage contracts, which were all ſecret, were ſtyled indiſcriminately her *previe letters*." (P. 125.) The Scots, it is true, talk of *letters of horning*, *letters of caption*, *criminal letters*, &c.; but no Scotch lawyer ever talked, we believe, of *letters of ſonnet*, or *letters of marriage contract*. Mr. Laing too, we apprehend, is the firſt lawyer of any nation who ever ſtyled private love-letters and ſonnets "*legal and conventional writings*." But, continues our author, "As the letters, ſonnets, and firſt contract in French were written, and the ſecond only ſubſcribed, by the Queen, they were deſcribed, *undoubtedly*, as 'divers her previe letters, written *or* ſubſcribed with her own hand:' but this clauſe, in the copy found by Haynes among the Cecil papers, has been converted, by a natural miſtake of the pen or the preſs, into 'written *and* ſubſcribed with her own hand!" (Ibid.) This is improving on the old ſolution of Hume, who contended that "the letters only were written by the Queen; the ſecond contract with Bothwell only ſubſcribed;" but whoſe ſagacity was unequal to the happy diſcovery, made by Mr. Laing, of *and* having ſlipped into the place of *or*. Hume, fooliſh man! was weak enough to ſay "that a proper accurate diſtinction was not made, and they are all ſaid to be wrote *and* ſubſcribed." Yet even our author, with all his dexterity, has ſome difficulty to ſave the credit of his clients. The contents of the caſket, in the act of parliament, are ſaid to be "*wholly* written by the Queen's own hand!" Now, among theſe contents was one contract of marriage between her and Bothwell, which, according to the rebels, was written, *not by the Queen, but by Huntley*. What then is to be done with this troubleſome document? for the honeſt gentlemen ſeem, on every ſuppoſition, convicted of falſehood. But no! Another ſwinging aſſertion of Mr. Laing ſets all to rights. His all-powerful *undoubtedly* at once eſtabliſhes their honeſt good faith.

"In parliament the whole caſket was not produced. The Scotch contract at Seton was *undoubtedly* withheld, for this ſubſtantial reaſon, that it was written by Huntley, one of the Lords of Articles; and when his peace was already made with the Regent, the contract would not have been permitted to paſs that committee, nor introduced into parliament for his obvious impeachment. The letters, ſonnets, and *perhaps* the firſt contract, were alone produced, and are therefore properly deſcribed in the act, by the clerk of parliament, as *written halelie* with hir awin hand." (Pp. 127, 128.)

In anſwer to all this egregious ſophiſtry, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that not a ſingle circumſtance leads us to ſuppoſe that any thing but the letters, *properly ſo called*, were exhibited either in parliament or in council; and in council they were not only written, but ſubſcribed, by the Queen. They then had all the proper and peculiar appendages

dages of private letters; they muſt have been, as all ſuch letters are, ſubſcribed, addreſſed, and dated, with the appearance likewiſe of having been ſealed. But theſe diſtinguiſhing marks of genuine letters were ſoon diſcovered to be dangerous. They were therefore removed; and the ſubſequent ſtate of the letters is thus impreſſively deſcribed by the Biſhop of Roſs. "They are not ſubſcrivit be the alledgit writer thairof, nor ſeillit, nor ſignetit, and contain na dait of zeir [year], moneth, or day, nor zit [yet] direct to na man." Of ſuch letters well might Mr. Whitaker obſerve as follows:—

"They were, therefore, moſt extraordinary letters to be exhibited in evidence. They were to ground a charge againſt Mary of murderous confederacy with Bothwell. Yet they were not *ſubscribed* by Mary; and they were not *ſuperscribed* to Bothwell. But they were both *ſuperscribed* and *ſubscribed* originally, as I have already ſhewn. Only the ſame principle of cautious villainy in the rebels, that annihilated their own prior creation ſo decifively, that mangled their poſterior one ſo much as we have ſeen, and peculiarly lopped away the ſubſcriptions, equally applied its retrenching hand to the directions, and tore them wholly away. Letters UNSEALED, and yet (as the Commiſſioners at York very properly ſay,) 'containing foule matteir, and abominable to be thought of, or to be written by a prince,' could not be ſuppoſed, by any but the determined enemies of Mary, to be either ſigned openly *by her*, or to be addreſſed openly *to him*. The ſimplicity of faith in a fool would revolt equally at either. And the addreſs to Bothwell was, accordingly, withdrawn, with the ſignature of Mary." (Vol. I. p. 403.)

After all, we muſt obſerve, the ingenious diſſertator appears to have no great confidence, either in the *undoubted* ſubſtitution of *and* for *or* in the act of Secret Council, or in the *undoubted* ſuppreſſion, when the contents of the caſket were produced in Parliament, of the contract written by Huntley. The character of his clients is, at laſt, defended by accuſing them of a blundering miſtake. "Nothing can be more captious and pedantic," he ſays, "than to demand preciſion of language from an age and nation accuſtomed to *neither*." [*neither* what?] (P. 125.) Unqueſtionably a man's reputation for honeſty is cheaply bought by a voluntary ſacrifice of his pretenſions to ſkill in compoſition. But whom does Mr. Laing expect to perſuade that Murray and his friends underſtood not the difference between "*writtin and ſubſcrivit*," or (as he will have it ſo) "*writtin or ſubſcrivit*," and "*writtin halelie*?" Or does he, on his honour and conſcience, believe that the latter words were ſubſtituted, in the act of parliament, without any meaning, and merely in conſequence of a thoughtleſs blunder? We have a better opinion of Mr. Laing's diſcernment than to imagine ſo. But his modeſty in requiring his reader to grant him ſo plain a poſtulate is really admirable! If Mr. Laing were counſel for *a common felon*, he would not, we may ſafely venture to affirm, overlook a groſs inaccuracy in the indictment. But when the honour and life of *a Queen* are at ſtake, we muſt not be too tenacious of preciſion!

ciſion! This is, ſurely, impartiality with a witneſs; and muſt greatly recommend the unprejudiced ſpirit of this learned hiſtorian!

As ſoon as Mary had put herſelf into the power of Elizabeth, her caſe was deſperate. This was juſt what that unfeeling woman deſired; and it had happened, beyond her moſt ſanguine hopes. But ſhe took care that her credulous and too eaſy priſoner ſhould have leiſure to repent her ill-placed confidence. Mr. Laing has, as he himſelf profeſſes, taken great pains to ſtate the preciſe intention of the conferences in England; "becauſe," he ſays, "Mary's apologiſts, from *a few partial quotations* of her inſtructions to her commiſſioners, have affirmed, that, whether ſhe were innocent or guilty, the profeſſed object of the conference, whatever were its iſſue, was to reſtore her unanointed and unannealed to her throne." (P. 137.) This is abſolutely too much. There is not a circumſtance relating to the negotiations either at the conferences, or previous to them, left unexamined by Whitaker and Tytler, while Mr. Laing's quotations are garbled and unfair. But our author ſays, that "the early deliberations of Cecil .... afford a full demonſtration that Mary could expect no aſſiſtance *nor liberty*, till abſolved from thoſe crimes of which ſhe was accuſed." (P. 138.) Yet part of Cecil's plan, as quoted by Mr. Laing himſelf, is thus expreſſed: "But, if by her anſwer it ſhall not appear but that ſhe is culpable, then her Majeſty may deviſe otherwiſe how to cover the diſhonour of her crime, *and alſo to ſettle her in her realm*, under ſuch government as may preſerve the ſame from the tyranny of the French, and continue the good accord betwixt the two realms." (P. 130) This plan, however, did not ſuit Elizabeth, who was reſolved that Mary, whether guilty or innocent, ſhould never be reſtored. Our author repeats, (p. 143.) that "the alternative, which was unavoidable, muſt have been tacitly underſtood by both, that, if plainly guilty of her huſband's murder, Mary had no claim on Elizabeth for protection or relief." But the alternative, as our author calls it, could not be ſo underſtood by Mary, who never could have ſuppoſed that ſhe was to be formally tried, before Elizabeth's commiſſioners, for adultery and murder. Her misfortune was, that ſhe truſted too much to Elizabeth's hollow profeſſions of friendſhip. When once, indeed, ſhe was treacherouſly confined in an Engliſh priſon, and had diſcovered the real diſpoſitions of her ſiſter queen, what could ſhe do? She would have acted with more heroiſm, it is true, by reſiſting all attempts to make her commit herſelf; but who could have foreſeen Elizabeth's dark and inveterate malice? Had Mary been the vileſt wretch on earth, Mr. Laing will not ſay that Elizabeth had any authority over her; and the very impriſonment of a ſovereign princeſs was the blackeſt treaſon againſt royalty itſelf.

Elizabeth's object was now to perſuade Murray and his faction to accuſe their Queen, and to obtain ſuch plauſible proofs of her guilt, as might, in ſome degree, ſerve to cover, in the eyes of the world, her own diſhonourable proceedings. Even Murray, however, was frightened

ened at the proſpect of engaging in ſuch a buſineſs, and demanded an aſſurance that he might do it with ſafety. He wanted a plain declaration from Elizabeth, that ſhe would eſpouſe his cauſe. He therefore, tranſmitted a note, by Middlemore, on the 22d June, 1568, requiring to know on what ground he ſtood. The tenor of this note is very remarkable. It ſets the villany of both Elizabeth and Murray in the cleareſt light. After mentioning the danger of bringing forward, as Elizabeth ſolicited him to do, an accuſation of murder and adultery againſt his Sovereign, Murray thus proceeds :—

" Alwayis, *in cais the Quenis Majestie will have the accusation directlie to proceed*, it wer maiſt raiſonabill we underſtude quhat we ſuld luke [ſhould look] to ſollow thairupon, in cais we prieve [prove] all that we allege; utherwayis we ſal be als incertane eſter the cauſe concludit, as we ar preſentlie. And thairfoir we pray zou requyre her Hienes in this point to reſolve us; at leiſt that my Lordis of the Counſal will aſſure us quhat we ſall lippin unto [may depend upon]."

" Farther it may be that ſic letteris as we haif of the Quene, our Sovereign Lordis moder, that ſufficientlie, in our opinioun, preivis hir conſenting to the murthure of the King hir fauchful huſband, *ſall be callit in doubt*, be the juges to be conſtitute for examinatioun and trial of the caus, quhether they may ſtand or fall, pruif or not. Thairfoir ſen [ſince] our ſervand Mr. Jhone Wode has the copies of the ſame letteris *translated in our language*, we wald erneſtlie deſyre that the ſaid copies may be conſiderit be the juges that ſall haif the examinatioun and commiſſioun of the matter; that they may reſolve us this far, *in cais the principal agrie with the copie, that then we pruif the caus indeed:* for quhen we haif manifeſtit and ſchawin all, and zit [yet] ſall haif na aſſurance that it we ſend ſall ſatisfie for probatioun, for quhat purpois ſall we ather [either] accuſe, or tak care how to pruif, quhen we ar not aſſurit quhat to pruif, or quhen we haif preivit, quhat ſall ſucceid?"

A more ſcandalous tranſaction than is here brought to light occurs not in all the annals of corruption. Murray coolly aſks Elizabeth *to certify him, beforehand, that the evidence which he has to produce ſhall be held ſufficient to condemn the Queen.* But our author's interpretation of this requeſt is inexpreſſibly curious. " By a ſtrange miſrepreſentation of the fact," he ſays, " or perverſion of intellect, Murray's demand is repreſented as an infamous propoſal, to which Elizabeth acceded, that the letters ſhould be held as authentic evidence of guilt, *if they agreed with the copies, not if actually written in Mary's hand.*" And he contends that Murray only wanted to know, " Whether on inſpecting the copies then in England, if the originals correſponded with theſe tranſlations, the letters would be ſuſtained by judges, *not as authentic*, but, according to the Scottiſh law, *as relevant*, or ſufficient, if authenticated, to eſtabliſh her guilt." (P. 140.) It is, ſurely, by " a ſtrange perverſion of intellect" that Mr. Laing pretends to underſtand Murray better than Murray underſtood himſelf; and that, too, directly in the very face of Murray's own words. Where does Mr. Laing find, in Murray's note, a ſingle ſyllable about the *relevancy* of theſe letters, or

about

about *proving them the hand-writing of the Queen?* Murray ſends tranſlations of his pretended originals, and he expreſsly deſires to have a previous declaration, that his cauſe will be ſuſtained as good, *not if the originals are proved to be the hand-writing of Mary*, but "*in cais the principal agrie with the copie.*" Can any thing be more evident and plain? And yet Mr. Laing has the modeſty to aſſert, that Murray's only care was about the *relevancy* of his proofs! Mr. Laing muſt ſuppoſe the intellects of his readers to be perverted indeed!

But the artful Elizabeth was not quite ſo forward as Murray wiſhed, to grant the broad aſſurance which he demanded: and, therefore, while the letters are ſhewn, as we have ſeen, at York, to Elizabeth's commiſſioners, "in a ſecret conference, and not as commiſſioners," the ſame Mr. John Wood is employed to haſten, by a letter to Cecil, her tardy movements. This letter, which alſo fully diſcovers the cool and deliberate villany of Murray, is dated at York, October the 9th, 1568. After informing Cecil that the conference is opened, the writer preſſes him, by arguments which he hopes will be effectual, to obtain the aſſurance which Murray requires.

"Now when it is at the pynche, I maiſt humbly beſeech you, Sir, to conſydder of the danger the delay may bring on ſo wechtye and ſo neceſſary ane cauſe; *and lett not* (ſo far as in your wiſdome lyeth) *ceremonyes stay and utterly undoyn so godly and so good ane work begoun; for I dar assur you that thir things being resolved, that, in furtherance of the rest of the cause, the word of the Evangile sall be accomplyshed, Et erint novissimi primi, et primi, &c. And seing now thai are proponit, if they sall not take playn and clear resolution, it may mar all the cause.*"

He then informs Cecil that Lord Herries, one of Mary's commiſſioners, and an honourable noble-ſpirited man, "does not forbear to augment ſuſpitions of the outfallings of the matter, and ſpeiks plainly and amply as to it." He farther tells the Miniſter, that John of Beton had brought 6000 crowns to Mary at Bolton, and deſires him to think what danger may enſue from her liberality.

"*Heir for, Shir,*" he adds, "*remember my ernist desyir, and lett the suyre remeid, quhilk I shew you, be haistallye prowydit in so gryitt an cause.* This far I am bold to trouble your honour, and *craif ernestlye to understand that it wald pleas the Q. majestie* TO ENCOURAGE FEARFUL SPREITTS; *and then ye wald persave the trewth wald quikly appeair.*" (Laing, Append. xvi.)

We then ſee this unconſcionable villain, John Wood, exactly treading in the infamous ſteps of the maſter-villain, Murray. He adviſes Elizabeth and her miniſters to lay aſide *all ceremony* in ſo good a cauſe, and to encourage *timid ſpirits*. And theſe are the men whoſe honeſty Mr. Laing undertakes to demonſtrate!

On the 8th of October the conferences at York began. Mary gave in a written complaint, accuſing Murray and his faction of rebellion, and uſurpation of her crown. The truth of this accuſation was ſo notorious that Murray did not attempt to deny it; but he juſtified the conduct of his party by alleging the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, and

and the neceſſity of ſecuring the prince from the murderer of his father. With regard to his own acceptance of the regency, he reſted his defence on Mary's *voluntary* appointment of him, and voluntary reſignation of the crown. Her *voluntary* reſignation! How could even Murray have the impudence to ſpeak of it? He well knew that it was any thing but voluntary; and what credit is due to a man who is capable of advancing ſo glaring and monſtrous a falſehood? Accordingly it was eaſy for Mary to reply "that ſhe regretted, and was ever deſirous to puniſh the murder, but had no ſuſpicion that Bothwell was guilty, when acquitted by a verdict confirmed in parliament, and when recommended by almoſt all the nobility, both her adverſaries and friends, as a huſband; and that the reſignation of the crown was extorted *by the fear of death*, on the aſſurance of Throckmorton and her friends, that nothing was valid to which ſhe was compelled to aſſent in priſon." (P. 150.)

The power of truth is great. This reply is ſo ſimple, and ſo ſatisfactory, that even Mr. Laing is unable to deviſe a ſingle argument in refutation of it. Does he, therefore, nobly and generouſly allow it the force and weight to which it has a claim? No: ſuch a conceſſion would have been an indelible blot on the candid impartiality of this hiſtorian! If he cannot refute the Queen's reply, he muſt, at leaſt indirectly, have a ſide blow at it. He accordingly tells us that "her reply to Murray's defence was more plauſible than juſt;" and he proceeds to aſſure us that, "while ſhe triumphed over her opponents in argument, her commiſſioners ſecretly trembled for the reſult." (Ibid) It is ſingular that our author's reaſonings and aſſertions ſhould, in various inſtances, be in flat contradiction to his own original documents. Mr. Laing's good friend, Mr. John Wood, does not appear to us, as quoted above, to inſinuate that Mary's commiſſioners "*trembled for the reſult.*" Lord Herreis, at leaſt, is *not* repreſented by him as trembling for the reſult. But Mr. Laing aſſures us that "Leſly tacitly acknowledged the authenticity of the letters;" (p. 151.) and farther, that Mary was early informed of the impreſſion which they had made on Norfolk and her other friends "who believed them authentic; and of the honour and laſting infamy which in their opinion, her character would incur, if the accuſation ſhould proceed." (P. 152.) Great as is our reſpect for Mr. Laing, we muſt take the liberty bluntly to deny the truth of both theſe aſſertions, till Mr. Laing ſhall be pleaſed to produce the authorities on which they are founded.

"Whether ſuſpicious," ſays our author, "or not of Norfolk's intrigues, Elizabeth ſoon perceived that no progreſs would be made at York." (P. 152.) True: the conference, as Robertſon obſerves, "had hitherto diſappointed Elizabeth's views, *and produced none of thoſe diſcoveries which ſhe had expected.*" She therefore removed it to Weſtminſter. And now Murray and his faction received that aſſurance which they had all along demanded, of having their accuſation

ſuſtained,

ſuſtained. On the 26th of November he gave in his charge. Elizabeth had promiſed that, as Mary was not admitted to her preſence, neither ſhould Murray and his aſſociates; but this promiſe was now, with conſummate contempt both of honour and of juſtice, totally diſregarded. The commiſſioners of Mary inſiſted on the ſame acceſs for their miſtreſs, and their claim was ſurely reaſonable. Yet, ſays Mr. Laing, "ſuch a requiſition can admit only of one interpretation." (P. 157.) "The admiſſion of their Queen to Elizabeth's preſence, as it had been refuſed from the beginning, was the more ſtrenuouſly urged, becauſe they were well aſſured that it could not be obtained." (P. 162.) It is impoſſible to read ſuch unfeeling language without indignation and contempt. *Why* could it not be obtained? Or on what principal of juſtice could it be refuſed? One would think that, in Mr. Laing's eſtimation, a character is ſanctified by hypocriſy, rebellion, and treaſon. Elſe why ſhould Murray have a better title than his ſovereign to an interview with the immaculate Virgin Queen? Mary's application was, however, rejected; and from this very rejection ariſes ſuch a preſumption of her innocence as muſt now cover her inveterate adverſaries with confuſion. Mr. Laing deduces a proof of her guilt from her aſking what ſhe knew that Elizabeth would not grant. But we maintain that had Elizabeth believed her guilty, her requeſt would have been immediately complied with. Poor Mary would then have been triumphantly produced, and at once overwhelmed with the evidence againſt her. But Elizabeth, knowing the evidence to be forged, ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of keeping her at a diſtance. This was, indeed, as Mary's commiſſioners ſaid, "a *prepoſterous order*, never uſed in any treaty or conference, yea not even in caſes of judicial procedure, to receive probation before the party was heard to anſwer to the alledgeance." This iniquitous procedure, on the part of Elizabeth, is the ſtrongeſt of all proofs in favour of Mary. On this ſubject we appeal to the common ſenſe of mankind. Let the caſe be fairly ſtated, without mention of names, and ninety-nine perſons out of every hundred will agree, we are confident, in our concluſion.

But Mr. Laing alleges, after Hume, that Mary, inſtead of anſwering Murray's accuſation, broke up the conference; and he argues that "her refuſal to proceed, at that critical moment, when the letters were ready to be produced againſt her, confirms their authenticity, and amounts to a plain acknowledgment that they afforded the moſt inconteſtible proofs of her guilt." (P. 163.) It is not to be denied that when Mary's commiſſioners were fully convinced of Elizabeth's partiality, they, at firſt, proteſted "that no further ſhould be proceeded in this conference." Can this proteſtation excite any wonder? It will certainly, however, excite aſtoniſhment that Mr. Laing ſhould argue thus, when he himſelf produces ample proofs that the conferences were *not broken up*. His own words are, "the ſequel of the conference remains to be re-examined;" (p. 176.) and he proceeds to examine it in his own way. The ſimple truth is that, though the groſs

groſs partiality and injuſtice of Elizabeth would have completely juſtified Mary in withdrawing her commiſſioners and putting an end to the conference, yet ſhe wiſely conſidered that her reputation would ſuffer, if ſhe did not give in an anſwer to the charge of her rebellious ſubjects. She therefore on the 19th of December, inſtructs her commiſſioners to "deſire the *inſpectioun* and *doubillis* of all that thay haif producit againis us; *and that we may ſee the alledgit principal writtingis*, and if they haif ony, producit." Accordingly on the 25th. her commiſſioners make this demand, and give in the only anſwer to Murray's accuſation which, without ſeeing theſe papers, it was poſſible to give, and which the reader will find in Tytler's Inquiry, Vol. I. Pp. 138—140. Yet our author ſays that "Tytler endeavours to conceal that the conference was broken off." (P. 160.) It would, we think, be ſomewhat difficult *to conceal a thing that never had any exiſtence.* But Mr. Laing has a long note in his appendix (Number XVIII.), in which he ſettles the credit due to Tytler. "The truth obliges one," he ſays, "to declare that *Tytler did not underſtand the controverſy.*" Whatever Mr. Laing may think proper to declare, this is not the general opinion of the public, nor ever will be. He adds that Tytler "wrote like a lawyer pleading from his brief; ſelecting what was advantageous for his client, not ſolicitous to diſcover, or to aſcertain the truth." If ſo, he muſt, we think, have *underſtood* the controverſy tolerably well; for otherwiſe he might have ſelected what was as much againſt his client as for her. The charge, indeed, approaches in our opinion, very nearly to nonſenſe; for if we do not underſtand, how can we ſelect? Mr. Laing, however, has, in this place, given us moſt accurately the character of his own diſſertation, and of his whole hiſtory. "*Alieno nomine de te fabula narratur.*" It ſeems as if he had received a fee for calumniating Mary and all the ſubſequent princes of her houſe. But our author's boldneſs of aſſeveration is ſometimes in danger of confounding the careleſs or ignorant reader. Thus, in this ſame note, he tells us that "Tytler ventured to give Hume the lie, for which he was afterwards ſeverely chaſtiſed." But he who ſhall examine the diſpute (which is fully detailed in Tytler's poſtſcript) will ſoon be able to decide what credit is due to this hardy aſſeveration. The ſubject of diſpute was this very point of the conferences being broken up by Mary and her commiſſioners. If the lie was given to Hume, it was given by the public records, and not by Tytler. By the records indeed it was given effectually; and the conduct of the hiſtorian itſelf is a ſtanding proof of the truth of the charge. He confeſſed the ſuperiority of Mary's defender by conferring an honour on him which he never vouchaſed to any other of his numerous opponents. He loaded him with ſcurrility and abuſe. But let Tytler's poſtſcript be read, and then let it be ſaid on whom the chaſtiſement reſted.

At laſt the contents of Murray's caſket are produced; and Mr. Laing dilates on the exhibition of them in ſome pages (from p. 166

to

to 171.) of such inextricable confusion as we have tried in vain to comprehend. Nothing, however, can be clearer than the gross iniquity of the whole procedure. On the 8th of December the rebels "produced seven several writings, written in French in the like Romain hand with others her writings which were shewn yesterday, *and avowed by them to be written by the Queen*; which seven writings, being copied, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof, as near as could be, by reading and collation, and made to accord with the originals; which the said Earl of Murray required to be re-delivered, and did there upon deliver the copies, being collationed." (P. 164.) Here two collations are evidently made; of the copies with the originals; and of the originals with other writings given in yesterday, *and avowed by the rebels to be written by the Queen*. With this avowal the commissioners are satisfied. Murray receives back his pretended originals, which are, therefore, barely shewn and withdrawn.

"This" as Mr. Whitaker has justly observed, "certainly has all the aspect of an *hocus-pocus* trick of dishonesty." In common justice to the accused Queen, to their own characters, and to their own feelings, the commissioners should have required the evidences, on which the accusation was grounded, to be left in the possession of the court. They should then have examined them, with the nicest care themselves. They should have collated them, again and again, with authenticated originals. Such a hasty collation of them as they made with Murray's pretended originals, *even if these had been real*, could never have been satisfactory. A comparison of papers, in order to ascertain the genuineness or spuriousness of a hand-writing, demands a long and painful attention. And, if it is to be done in company, like the business of a commission, it will necessarily proceed with a still slower pace. The commissioners of Mary should also have had free access to them, have been allowed to collate them, day after day, with their own originals, and been permitted to transcribe them from end to end. But the forgeries would not bear inspection. They would soon have been detected by it. They could only bear to be shewn, to be collated with *Murray's own standards*, and then to be instantly withdrawn." (Vol. I. P. 131.)

On the 14th of December, Murray's originals were exhibited before the privy council. As it does not appear that Murray himself was present; these precious papers were probably intrusted to Cecil. They were then, says the journal, "duly conferred and compared, for the manner of the hand-writing, and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters long since hereto written and sent by the said Queen of Scots to the Queen's Majesty—in the collation whereof no difference could be found." But how were they compared? "It is to be noted that at the time of producing, shewing, and reading of all these foresaid writings, *there was no special choice nor regard to the order of producing thereof; but the whole writings, lying altogether upon the council table, were one after another, shewn rather by hap, as the same did lie*

lie upon the table than with any choice made, as by the nature thereof, if time had ſo ſerved, might have been." The collation then, appears on the very face of it, to have been *a farce.* The very perſons employed to make it confeſs that neither care nor time was beſtowed on it. It was huddled over, without any attempt at diſcrimination, and as faſt as poſſible. Yet Mr. Laing, with unparallelled aſſurance, affirms, and even deduces it as an evident inference from the words which we have quoted, that the compariſon was made "in the moſt unexceptionable manner." If Mr. Laing really think ſo, we can only ſay that we do not envy his powers of intellect.

He thinks Whitaker very unreaſonable for maintaining that "in comparing the letters with others produced by Elizabeth, one forgery was merely collated with another." (P. 172.) And, in order to ſhew that this could not be the caſe, he obſerves that there were many members of council to whom Mary's hand was perfectly known, and who could not, of conſequence, be eaſily impoſed on. True; but our candid author chuſes to forget that Elizabeth was determined to find the letters genuine; and that theſe privy counſellors durſt not, for their lives, have called them ſpurious. The reaſoning of Whitaker is, in fact, unanſwerable. We are not, therefore, at all ſurpriſed that Mr. Laing has not attempted to anſwer it; but we are ſurpriſed that it did not convince him. We ſhall copy part of it, which, we think, will ſufficiently convince our readers.

"The letters had been authenticated, at their firſt appearance before the commiſſioners in York, by the force of affirmations and by the offer of oaths from *the very producers.* At their ſecond appearance before the commiſſioners in Weſtminſter, they had been authenticated by the written aſſeverations of *the very producers,* and by the collation of them with letters preſented by *the very producers.* And they are now authenticated pretty nearly in the ſame manner. They are now collated with letters, NOT indubitably originals themſelves, and *therefore* proper to be ſtandards of collation to the others. But they are collated with letters *that require to be previouſly collated.* They are collated with letters *furniſhed by whom?* Not, indeed, as before by the producers of the letters; *but—by their confidante and aſſociate in the buſineſs*—even by Elizabeth."

"Murray's letters were compared with ſome of Elizabeth's. Theſe are ſaid to have been written with Mary's own hand, and ſent by Mary to her. But *who witneſſed to the hand of Mary?* NO ONE! *Who witneſſed to the ſending of them by Mary?* NO ONE! We muſt take both upon the authority of Elizabeth and her privy council. But *can* we do ſo upon any principle of propriety? We cannot ſuffer either the privy council, or their preſident Elizabeth, to become at once witneſſes and judges.—But even if we could do this, yet can we admit the teſtimony of either? Or to ſpeak more preciſely, as the whole centers in Elizabeth herſelf at laſt, can we admit *her* evidence upon the point? We aſſuredly cannot. We have already ſeen her ſo deceitful and ſo audacious, in all the proceedings hitherto, that we cannot, in common juſtice to Mary, lay any ſtreſs upon her evidence.

"Even if we could allow Elizabeth to be at once a witneſs and a judge, and give her ſuch a credit for probity as would make her a competent

witneſs; yet we cannot certainly admit her to teſtify to facts which it was abſolutely impoſſible for her to know. She could not poſſibly know that Mary wrote the produced letters to her. She did not ſee her write them. She never ſaw her write at all; nor could ſhe poſſibly know that Mary ſent them. She was not preſent when they were ſent. She did not pretend to be ſo. And ſhe did not pretend to produce any one who ſaw them ſent, who ſaw them written, or had even ſeen any thing written by Mary." (Vol. I. Pp. 119—121.)

Theſe letters are now, however, authenticated by Elizabeth's ſtandards, which were themſelves juſt as authentic as Murray's, and not a whit more ſo. They are then withdrawn, for ever; and no importunity could ever obtain a ſight of them either for Mary or for her commiſſioners. Will Mr. Laing ſay that this was juſtice? We think that, bold as he is, he will not venture to ſay ſo. Mary was now deprived for ever of the power of proving them forgeries by inſpection of the hand writing; but this very circumſtance, as Whitaker moſt convincingly argues, is equivalent to a thouſand direct proofs of their forgery. This point is ſo ably urged by that writer, and is of ſuch ſupreme importance in the cauſe, that we ſhall make no apology for inſerting part of the argument.

"Had ſhe [Mary] been *guilty;* had ſhe, *in the ſlightest degree,* been acceſſary to the crime charged upon her, and had there been even *a fair probability* of proving her guilty of the charge, in ſpite of her innocence; her enemies would have acted in a very different manner. No ambuſcade would they have laid for her. They would never have ſkulked behind the buſhes, and wounded her with inviſible ſhafts. They would have come forward into view, and engaged in open fight with her. *They would have produced the originals, with pretended regret, and with real triumph. They would have lodged them with the commissioners at York, and the commissioners at Westminster. They would have compelled both to collate them carefully with private and with public, with foreign and with domestic, writings of Mary's.* Her commiſſioners would alſo have been *called upon* to inſpect them, *urged* to compare them, *challenged* to diſprove them. Mary herſelf would have been brought up from her confinement in the country, as ſhe frequently requeſted to be; ſuffered to enjoy *the freest access* to them; allowed to make *every objection* to them; and heard with all the patience of candour, for *days,* and for *weeks,* in her attempts to invalidate their authority. Such *must* have been the demeanor of Murray the producer, and of Elizabeth the receiver, of the letters, if they had thought her [Mary] guilty, if they had thought her *probably so,* or if they had thought her ſo *in appearance only.* And a conduct, totally the reverſe of all this, proves, what they never reflected it would prove, the falſehood of their own pretences, and the profligacy of their own conduct; Knaves little think, when they are exerting their arts of impoſition, and exhauſting their fund of deceit, for the proſecution and concealment of their ſcandalous purpoſes, that they are telling the world they are ſcandalous, by their very concealment." (Vol. I. Pp. 132—134.

Our author contends that Norfolk thought the letters genuine; and that he told his confidential ſervant Bannifter ſo. "Whereby," ſays

ſays Banniſter, "I verily thought that his Grace could never join in marriage with her." We think, however, that the declaration of the Duke himſelf is entitled to as much credit as that of Banniſter, and his Grace when examined, before his trial, concerning his interview with Lethington in the fields at York, anſwered that Lethington, who told him that he was a friend to the Queen, "moved this examinant to think her not guilty; and then alſo moved this examinant to like of a marriage with the ſaid Queen." But from this declaration, in our author's opinion, no argument for Norfolk's perſuaſion of her innocence can be derived. We ſhall give his reaſon in his own words; and it is, we conceive, ſuch a ſpecimen of logic as is ſeldom to be met with.

"If Lethington," he ſays, "firſt moved the Duke to think her innocent, then *moved* him to like of a marriage, the word *move*, to perſuade or propoſe, muſt in both inſtances receive the ſame interpretation, but it never can ſignify that Lethington ſo moved, or perſuaded the Duke to think her innocent, that he alſo moved or perſuaded, rather than urged or importuned him to like of that marriage. But the word is evidently uſed in an equivocal ſenſe, by a faint declaration of her innocence to extenuate her marriage, to which Norfolk was inſtigated by ambition, when convinced of her guilt." (Pp. 174—175.)

If our readers can make any thing at all of this we ſhall be glad; for our own part, we can make nothing of it. Mr. Laing does not appear to us a very plain interpreter. But one thing is evident. If Lethington *moved* the Duke of Norfolk to think Mary *not guilty*, he muſt have given him proofs of her innocence; for that is the only way in which one perſon can be moved to think another not guilty. And this was exactly what Lethington did. He aſſured the Duke that the letters were forgeries; which no other perſon could do with more effect, becauſe he himſelf had forged them. But Norfolk's preſuming to think Mary innocent coſt him his life. It was a crime which could not poſſibly be forgiven either by Murray or by Elizabeth. This popular and virtuous nobleman was induced, in an evil hour, to make Murray his confident. The vile unprincipled wretch betrayed him, and brought him to the block. Indeed his conduct to Norfolk ſufficiently marks the character of Murray, and ſhews that he was capable of every crime. The *godly* regent had not *one particle of virtue.* "He deceived and betrayed Norfolk," ſays Robertſon, "with a baſeneſs unworthy of a man of honour."

Although Mr. Laing is unable to conceal that Mary repeatedly and earneſtly requeſted inſpection of Murray's pretended originals, or, at leaſt to have copies of them, and was unfortunately refuſed; yet he labours hard, with his uſual candour, to perſuade the reader that, from this refuſal, no preſumption ariſes either againſt Mary's guilt or Elizabeth's juſtice. He pretends that Mary refuſed to anſwer, and was, therefore, not entitled to have Murray's proofs laid before her. Mary never *refuſed* to anſwer; and how could ſhe anſwer to an

accuſation, ſupported by letters alledged by her accuſers to be written by herſelf, without ſeeing thoſe letters? If they were withheld, ſhe could only *affirm* that they were forgeries; but if they were communicated, ſhe pledged herſelf to *prove* them ſo. But ſays Mr. Laing: "the demand of copies without a reciprocal obligation to anſwer to the letters without exception, was merely an oſtenſible pretext to their relevancy, or the competency of the accuſers, and can only ſignify that no direct anſwer was intended to be made." (P. 194.) What does Mr. Laing mean by a *direct* anſwer? Was not Mary entitled, in common juſtice, to make the beſt defence that ſhe could? Was ſhe not entitled to object to the relevancy of the letters, as well as to prove that they were forged, and of courſe that her accuſers were undeſerving of credit? Mr. Laing preſumes that Mary would have made a frivolous defence. We aſk him what right he has to preſume ſo? "If admitted to an audience," he ſays, "her defence would have terminated in the moſt futile pretenſions of her own innocence; the moſt frivolous objections to the production or compariſon of the letters with the former writings." (P. 208.) Again we aſk, what right has Mr. Laing to make ſuch aſſertions? But ſuppoſing that Mary had done all this, was ſhe therefore to be deprived of juſtice? Our author, indeed, ſeems to have ſtrange notions of this virtue; and we ſincerely hope, from that regard we bear for our fellow ſubjects of Scotland, that he will never be made a judge in that kingdom. Our author, when ſeated on the criminal bench, leſt the perſons accuſed ſhould make *a bad defence*, would deny them the means of making *any* defence. And if they inſiſted on thoſe common privileges which law, as well as humanity, ſecures to perſons in their unhappy ſituation, he would tell them that the court had determined otherwiſe, and reprove them for their inſolence. In this manner at leaſt he treats poor Mary. When her commiſſioners make the moſt reaſonable demands, the refuſal of which it is impoſſible to juſtify, Mr. Laing infers that they were only trifling, becauſe they aſked what "they were well aſſured could not be obtained." (P. 162.) And "what they knew would not be granted." (P. 194.) And thus the flagrant injuſtice of the Engliſh Queen is, by "the quibbling of this her Scottiſh advocate," advanced as an argument in proof of her juſtice!

But, in this caſe, all quibbling is evidently uſeleſs. It is perfectly unneceſſary to accompany Mr. Laing through his tedious detail of the different appearances of Mary's commiſſioners, and of Elizabeth's evaſive anſwers to their demands. One ſimple argument is deciſive of the queſtion. Not only the ſubſtantial ends of juſtice, but the very appearance of juſtice demanded that Murray's pretended documents ſhould have been readily, inſtantly, and without waiting for her aſking, communicated to Mary. If Mary had made an improper uſe of theſe documents, Elizabeth and her privy council in the firſt place, and poſterity in the laſt reſort, were judges of her conduct. But to deny her the inſpection of theſe papers for fear ſhe ſhould make

make an improper uſe of them is ſuch an inſult on the common feelings of mankind as is without a parallel. The unſophiſticated ſentiments of the human mind proclaim with irreſiſtible force, that, while copies of theſe letters were retained by Elizabeth; Mary ſhould have been put in poſſeſſion of the originals: why was not this the caſe? One reaſon, and but one, can be aſſigned. Elizabeth and Murray were ſenſible that they durſt not expoſe their cauſe to ſuch a certainty of defeat. Every ſtep in the procedure diſcloſes a new proof of their conſummate villany and of Mary's unheard of wrongs. Had they thought their abominable forgeries to be in no danger of detection, they would not have heſitated, for a ſingle moment, to expoſe them to all the world. But had they known theſe papers to be authentic, they would have forced them upon Mary and her commiſſioners. They would not have allowed a ſingle day to paſs without eagerly preſſing their papers on them, and clamorouſly demanding a refutation of their contents. Inſtead of this, Elizabeth, from time to time, makes the moſt frivolous and impudent excuſes for not communicating them. And at laſt, when all topics of excuſe are exhauſted; ſhe diſmiſſes Murray with theſe pretended proofs, that ſhe may not be harraſſed with any farther applications.

Here then we take our ſtation on ground which we challenge Mr. Laing to diſpute. If he has courage he will diſpute it; but we have not, we acknowledge, much fear on the ſubject. We believe that Mr. Laing would be as ſucceſsful in controverting our concluſion as in an attempt to prove that two and three make ten. Yet, on ſecond thought, we are forced to own that we have here expreſſed ourſelves with rather too much confidence. For this learned hiſtorian is ſuch a maſter of reaſoning that we ſhould not be ſurprized if he undertook to prove that two and three make ten. *He has actually undertaken to prove (what ſeems not leſs difficult) the exiſtence of an acknowledged non entity.* This will, probably, make our readers ſtare; and we do not wonder at their aſtoniſhment. But our aſſertion is ſimply and literally true, as we now proceed to ſhew. The firſt paragraph of Mr. Laing's fourth Chapter contains this very ſingular argument, which deſerves to be written in letters of gold, and which we ſhall, therefore, copy without any abridgement.

"Here then I may ſecurely reſt, and before we proceed to a critical examination of the letters and ſonnets, *let us admit for once, that whatsoever Mary's apologists have asserted is true, and whatever evidence her opponents have produced is false.* Let us admit, with Whitaker, that her adverſaries have produced two caſkets, like the two Dromios, when there was, in fact, but one, which, inſtead of Letters, ſonnets or contracts, contained the jewels of which they had deſpoiled the Queen on her removal to Lochlevin. Let us admit that the letters were not intercepted on the 20th of June, nor Dalgliesh, the ſuppoſed bearer, apprehended till July 18th., becauſe his name is not once mentioned by Throckmorton till then. Let us believe that the firſt idea of the *forgery* originated on the 24th of July, above a month after the date aſſigned for the diſcovery of the letters; that to implicate Mary in the murder of her huſband was then the deſign, but that it

was altered or limited, in a subsequent draught of the letters, to her adultery with Bothwell. *Let us also admit that the letters were forged a third time when produced in the privy council, December 4th,* to the number of four or five, in the Scottish Language, with subscriptions, dates, directions, but (as Mary retained her own signet in Lochlevin Castle,) without the guard or impression of a seal; *that they were forged anew, before the Parliament met on the 15th,* in order to abstract the signatures and directions to Bothwell; and that the same letters, in July 1568, were sent to England as translations from the French, when the idea of a French original first occurred. According to the same author [Whitaker], the French sonnets were then forged; (as were also the contracts in September,) to support the evidence of the adulterous letters, which were produced at York, to the number of five, in their original Scotch, dated half at Glasgow, half at Stirling: but in the interval between the two conferences, they were again forged and produced at Westminster, in the French language, and without any dates. Let us farther admit that their number was still five; as of seven French writings, produced on the 8th of December, there were five letters, the sonnets and contracts; but that others just appeared on the 7th. and were again withdrawn; and that three additional letters were afterwards forged, as eight letters were afterwards published. In short let us allow with Goodall, that a man might easily forge an hundred of the Queen's subscriptions in a single day; with Camden, that Lethington privately intimated that he had counterfeited the Queen's hand more than once; or with Whitaker, that it was almost as easy to execute, and to repeat the forgery, as to assert that the letters were five times forged. *Still, however,* WHEN THESE ASSERTIONS ARE ALL ADMITTED, HER REFUSAL TO ANSWER, UNLESS TO THE RELEVANCY, *when copies had been twice offered if she would return a direct answer to the letters themselves,* CONSTITUTES A FULL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THE SUPPOSED FORGERIES WERE HER GENUINE HAND WRITING, *the authenticity of which she was unable to dispute.*" (Pp. 209—211.)

This is such a singular specimen of reasoning as, we conceive, was never exhibited before. *Though all Murray's papers should be admitted to be flagrant forgeries, yet Mary's refusal to answer made them genuine, and converted them, in the twinkling of an eye, into her own hand-writing!* What cannot omnipotent genius effect? It can metamorphose absurdity into sense, and reconcile the most glaring contradictions, as easily as comment on an old song, or publish an old manuscript! It is natural to ask Mr. Laing again what he means by *a direct answer to the letters?* The proper answer, we suppose, would have been to prove that they were not written by Mary. How was this to be done but from the letters themselves? Even *copies*, in this case, were of small utility for Mary's defence. But neither copies nor originals were even put in her power; and Mr. Laing infers that the letters were genuine because she did not return an answer which she never had the means of returning! We shall draw a very different inference, which we think rather better founded than Mr. Laing's; and we say that "the scandalous conduct of Murray and of his friend Elizabeth, in refusing to communicate to Mary the pretended original letters, *constitutes a full acknowledgment that these originals were forgeries, the authenticity of which it was impossible to maintain.*"

(To be continued.)

The Plays of Philip Maſſenger, in four Volumes, with Notes critical and explanatory. By W. Gifford, Eſq. 8vo. G. and W. Nicoll. 1805.

WHEN we took up this work, we took it up with the idea of finding that part of it which conſiſts of the notes, like thoſe notes which have ſo generally accompanied the modern editions of our ancient writers, and eſpecially of our great poet—notes where every thing is to be found but what the reader wants—where obſcure paſſages are explained into greater obſcurity, and incorrect phraſes made more incorrect by conjectural amendment. Neither did the high opinion we entertain of the editor's abilities deliver us from this apprehenſion, as in the variorum editions of Shakeſpear, we ſee the mania of criticiſm diſgracing many names who ſtand higheſt in literary eſtimation. We find a Warburton, a Johnſon, a Blackſtone, making obſervations and propoſing alterations that would not be tolerable in a boy of ten years old.

But very different indeed is the complexion of the work before us now. As an editor, Mr. Gifford has ſpared no pains in examining and collating the old editions, to bring forward the real words of the poet, in the place of what fanciful and taſteleſs criticiſm has ſubſtituted for them; and when the incorrectneſs of the old copies has made conjectural alteration abſolutely neceſſary, it is always done ſo, as to mark the hand of a man of genius and ability, and offered at the ſame time with that diffidence which diſtinguiſhes the man of real ſcience from the raſh and ignorant empiric.

Mr. Gifford has prefixed to this edition an eſſay on the writings of Maſſenger, by Dr. John Ferriar, written in 1786; and every play is followed by a judicious criticiſm and analyſis from the pen of his learned friend, Dr. Ireland, which do the higheſt honour to his ability and diſcrimination.

Before we proceed to examine the edition, and the notes, we ſhall firſt make ſome obſervations on Mr. Gifford's introduction.

Mr. Gifford very juſtly reprobates the inaccuracy of the preceding editions of Maſſenger, and ridicules the vain boaſtings of the two laſt editors, Meſſrs. Coxeter and M. Maſon, (eſpecially the latter), who, with the boldeſt aſſertions of ſuperior ſkill in arranging the text, have ſhewn themſelves, among all the commentators, *facile principes* in error and abſurdity. We feel what the author ſays of the general practice of annotators ſo juſt, that we ſhall lay it before our readers.

"I come now to the notes. Thoſe who are accuſtomed to the crowded pages of our modern editors, will probably be ſomewhat ſtartled at the comparative nakedneſs of mine. If this be an error, it is a voluntary one. I never could conceive why the readers of our old dramatiſts ſhould be ſuſpected of labouring under a greater degree of ignorance than thoſe of any other claſs of writers; yet, from the trite and inſignificant materials amaſſed for their information, it is evident that a perſuaſion of this nature is uncommonly prevalent. Cuſtoms which are univerſal, and expreſſions "familiar

as houſehold words" in every mouth, are illuſtrated, that is to ſay, overlaid, by an immenſity of parallel paſſages, with juſt as much wiſdom and reach of thought as would be evinced by him who, to explain any ſimple word in this line, ſhould empty upon the reader all the examples to be found under it in Johnſon's Dictionary!"

It is the common fault of tranſlators and editors to be wantonly laviſh of their praiſe of the author they are illuſtrating. From this idle partiality Mr. Gifford is entirely free; and when he ſays, that he undertook his preſent taſk for the purpoſe of enabling the author to take his place on the ſame ſhelf, not indeed with Shakeſpear, but with Johnſon, Beaumont, and his aſſociate Fletcher, we think he gives him leſs than his due. Few, very few, of Johnſon's dramas are now read; and for conduct of fable, delineation of manners, and harmony of language, Maſſenger is much ſuperior to Beaumont and Fletcher. But this triumvirate had ſo got poſſeſſion of the public mind at the time Maſſenger wrote, that it was looked on as a kind of literary treaſon to put any other name in competition with it; and we find theſe lines in a copy of congratulatory verſes ſent to our poet:

> "I know you'd take it for an injury,
> And 'tis a well-becoming modeſty,
> To be parallel'd with Beaumont, or to hear
> Your name by ſome too partial friend writ near
> Unequall'd Johnſon."

The Eſſay of Dr. Ferriar is ſtrongly tinctured with the partiality we have alluded to, when he ſays, "Maſſenger is an author not often much inferior, and ſometimes nearly equal, to Shakeſpear." Becauſe the nature of our old drama, the conſtruction of the fable, and the idiom of the language, threw a general colour over all theſe contemporary dramatic poets, to draw any compariſon as to general poetic merit between Beaumont and Fletcher, and Maſſenger, and *one* of the greateſt, perhaps *the* greateſt, original poet that ever exiſted, from a reſemblance ariſing from ſuch circumſtances, is ſurely beyond the ſpan of ſober criticiſm. Dr. Ferriar proceeds to confirm his opinion, by comparing detached paſſages of the two poets. We have followed him through theſe quotations, and think every one of them proves the contrary to his hypotheſis: but we ſhall not take up our pages with the compariſon; for, did they not, ſtill the reſult would be nothing; for no man can be ſo blind to the faults of Shakeſpear, and the beauties of Maſſenger, as not to ſee that many detached paſſages may be produced from both, in which the latter will be evidently ſuperior to the former: but if this be adopted as any criterion of general merit, Thomſon and Akenſide may be put in competition with Milton.

We ſhall now proceed to make a few obſervations on the notes, which occurred to us on a careful peruſal of them. In a note on a paſſage in the Unnatural Combat, Mr. G. obſerves, that "Marſeilles, or, as Maſſenger ſpells it, Marſellis, is conſtantly uſed by him as a triſyllable, which in fact it is." This fact is ſo true, that at this moment

ment every draper in London puts Marcella waiſtcoats, in his printed ſhopbills, for waiſtcoats made of Marſeilles quilting.

In a note on another part of the ſame play, it is obſerved, that to *pull or pluck down a ſide* was an alluſion to a party at cards; but it was alſo applied to any other game where the want of ſkill in one of the party was injurious to his own ſide. Roger Aſcham applies it to an unſkilful archer. We will quote the paſſage, as there is a note on it by the editor of Aſcham that may fairly ſtand by the ſide of the notes of M. Maſon, Coxeter, and Stevens. Aſcham ſays, "Other that never learned to ſhoot will be as buſy as the beſt; but ſuch a one commonly *plucketh down a ſide*, and crafty archers which be againſt him will be both glad of him, and alſo ever ready to lay a bet with him." This the ſagacious commentator both corrects and explains; he alters *a ſide* to *aſide*, and then ſays, "*To pluck down aſide;* I believe, is to ſhoot on one ſide into the ground."

This note on the Duke of Milan is ſo juſt, that, though it implicates our great poet, we muſt accede to it;—

"In the management of preparatory hints, Maſſenger ſurpaſſes all his contemporaries. In Beaumont and Fletcher, the end ſometimes forgets the beginning; and even Shakeſpear is not entirely free from inattentions of a ſimilar nature. I will not here praiſe the general felicity of our author's plots; but, whatever they were, he ſeems to have minutely arranged the component parts before a line of the dialogue was written."

A note that almoſt immediately follows this deſerves our particular notice.

"Nothing more ſtrongly marks the poverty of the ſtage in thoſe times, than the frequent alluſions we find to the ſize of the actors, which may be conſidered as a kind of apology to the audience. It is not poſſible to aſcertain who played the part of Mariana, but it was, not improbably, Theophilus Bourne, who acted Paulina in *the Renegado,* where an expreſſion of the ſame nature occurs. Domitilla, in *the Roman Actor,* is alſo little; ſhe was played by John Hunnieman. I do not condemn theſe indirect apologies; indeed, there appears to be ſomething of good ſenſe in them, and of proper deference to the underſtandings of the audience. At preſent, we run intrepidly into every ſpecies of abſurdity; men and women, unwieldy at once from age and fatneſs, take upon them the parts of active boys and girls; and it is not only in a pantomime that we are accuſtomed to ſee children of ſix feet high in leading ſtrings!"

We have ſeen this lately carried to an exceſs of abſurdity that wants a name. We have ſeen parts of lovers and tyrants acted by a child: we have ſeen theatres crowded, and applauding, with almoſt frantic enthuſiaſm, a ſcene (we mean in the play of the Mountaineers) where a boy, unarmed, took one of the largeſt actors on the ſtage, armed with an enormous ſcymeter, by the throat, threw him down, and put his foot on him; and this in the metropolis of the Britiſh empire in the 19th century!

On

On a paſſage in the Renegado, it is obſerved, that *fire* muſt be read as a diſſyllable, to complete the verſe. The ſame obſervation is, in another place, made on the word *heir*, though Mr. Gifford ſays he does not know how it can be done. In our review of Mr. Mitford's Eſſay on the Harmony of Language, we remarked, that every long vowel, when followed by an *r*, had the ſhort ſound of *u*, as in *cur*, added to it. We pronounce *fire* exactly as we do *higher*, and *heir* as we do *player*. The moſt faſtidious critic in rhymes, not even Mr. Gilbert Wakefield himſelf, were he alive, would object to them as rhymes; and yet ſurely *player* and *higher may* be pronounced as diſſyllables, though we allow not with very good effect.

The courſe of our progreſs has brought us to the Parliament of Love, a play of Maſſenger's, now firſt given to the public from a MS. of Mr. Malone, of which Mr. Gifford ſays,

"I have already mentioned my obligations to Mr. Malone for the uſe of the manuſcript, with permiſſion to inſert it in the preſent edition, of which it forms no inconſiderable ornament: it is here given with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity, not a word, not a ſyllable, being altered or omitted, except in one or two inſtances, where the inadvertence of the old copyiſt had occaſioned a palpable blunder, of which the remedy was as certain as the diſcovery was eaſy.

"It would not have required much pains, or the exertion of much ingenuity, to ſupply moſt of the chaſms occaſioned by the defect of the manuſcript, which are here pointed out by ſhort lines: but it ſeemed the ſafer method to preſent them as they ſtood. The reader may now be confident that all is genuine, and exerciſe his ſkill in filling up the vacant ſpaces, in a manner moſt conſonant to his own opinion of the drift of the author. He muſt not flatter himſelf with the hope of further aids, for unleſs another manuſcript of this play ſhould be diſcovered, (of which there is little probability,) no ſubſequent reſearches will add to what is now before him. Such, unfortunately, is the decayed ſtate of the preſent, that with every precaution which the moſt anxious concern could ſuggeſt, it crumbled under the inſpection: a repetition, therefore, of my labours, which I ſcarcely think will be lightly undertaken, will produce nothing but diſappointment; ſince many lines, and fragments of lines, which are faithfully copied in the ſucceeding pages, will be found in it no more.

"I cannot entertain a doubt but that this curious relick will be peruſed with uncommon intereſt; at leaſt, with all that perfect novelty can give: ſince it is highly probable, that not a ſingle page of it has been read by any perſon now in exiſtence."

The lovers of our ancient drama are under much obligation for the labour of Mr. Gifford. Though the play does not rank with the firſt of Maſſenger's productions, it certainly poſſeſſes many beauties; and the happineſs of conjecture when it is hazarded, and the modeſty with which it is declined when the ſucceſs of it is doubtful, in the reſtoration of this mutilated fragment, fully juſtify the opinion of Mr. Gifford's ability as an editor, which we gave at the beginning of our review of this work.

In

In this play we find this extraordinary paſſage:

> " Perillus' brazen bull, the *Engliſh rack*,
> The German pincers, or the *Scotch* oil'd boots,
> Though joined together, yet come ſhort of torture,
> To their full merit."

Here we have the two diviſions of Great Britain, marked κατ' ἐξοχην for their inſtruments of that diabolical cruelty, which we can now hardly believe to have exiſted in this country, and that at an æra (the age of Elizabeth) which we are apt to contemplate with veneration.

In the text of the firſt ſcene of the Great Duke of Florence, this edition reads,

> " Their houſhold Lars *whom* they believed had power," &c.

On which is the following note:

> " Mr. Maſon chooſes to read of his own authority,
> " Their houſhold Lars *who* they believed, &c."

But if it be allowable to correct a grammatical error, M. Maſon is right here. The relative is not governed by *they believed*, which is a parentheſis, but is the nominative caſe to *had power*.

The account of the dance called Lavolta is ſo curious, that we give the whole note.

" *A light* lavolta *with her.*] What the dance here alluded to is, I cannot tell, nor can I find an explanation of the word in any dictionary.—COXETER and M. MASON.

" That's a pity! Dictionaries, generally ſpeaking, are not the places to look for terms of this kind, which ſhould be ſought in the kindred writings of contemporary authors. *Lavolta* (literally, *the turn*) was a dance originally imported, with many others, from Italy. It is frequently mentioned by our old writers, with whom it was a favourite; and is ſo graphically deſcribed by Sir John Davies, in his *Orcheſtra*, that all further attempts to explain it muſt be ſuperfluous:

> ' Yet is there one, the moſt delightful kind,
> A lofty jumping, or a leaping round,
> Where, arm in arm, two dancers are entwin'd,
> And whirl themſelves in ſtrict embracements bound.'

" Our countrymen, who ſeem to be lineally deſcended from Siſyphus, and who, at the end of every century, uſually have their work to do over again, after proudly importing from Germany the long-exploded traſh of their own nurſeries, have juſt brought back from the ſame country, and with an equal degree of exultation, the well-known *lavolta* of their grandfathers, under the mellifluous name of the *waltz!*"

Lance-prezado.—For the explanation of this word, Mr. G. quotes the *Soldiers' Accidence.* " The loweſt range and meaneſt officer of an army is called the *lance peſado* or *preſado*, who is the leader or governor of half a file." The lance-peſado, in our old armies, when the flower of the troops were cavalry, was a horſe-ſoldier, who, on his horſe

horſe being killed, joined the infantry, and had then the loweſt degree of command given him, receiving his name from his weapon. At this day, when a private ſoldier is appointed to act as corporal *pro tempore*, he is called a *lance corporal*

In a note on The Picture, on the erroneous pronunciation of the name Eubŭlus, Mr. Gifford obſerves, that Maſſenger, though a ſcholar, pronounces Eubulus much as Shakeſpear would have done; but the fact is, that, long after the time of Shakeſpear, Greek was univerſally pronounced according to the accentual marks. The preſent mode of reading is mentioned by Weſt, in his Pindar, as an improvement then juſt adopted at Eton. We find Cleomēnes *paſſim* in the play of Dryden, who was a ſcholar, and Ἕνεκα pronounced as it is accented, in a college exerciſe of Prior.

After the play of the Fatal Dowry, beſides the judicious criticiſms of Dr. Ireland, the compariſon of that play with the Fair Penitent of Rowe, from Mr. Cumberland's Obſerver, is added; where the inferiority of the copy to the original is clearly pointed out. It is ſomething ſingular, that, while Rowe ſo boldly plundered the incidents of Maſſenger, he ſhould have taken ſo little of his language. This is the only inſtance pointed out by Mr. Gifford.

> "And let theſe tears, an emblem of our loves,
> Like cryſtal rivers individually,
> Flow into one another, make one ſource
> Which never man diſtinguiſh, leſs divide."—MASSENGER.

> "Are you not mixed, like ſtreams of meeting rivers,
> Whoſe blended waters are no more diſtinguiſh'd,
> But roll into the ſea one common flood?"—ROWE.

In a note on the City Madam, Mr. Gifford obſerves, that *waiſt-ſeateer* was, in the language of our old plays, "a cant term for a ſtrumpet of the loweſt kind." It was uſed in this ſenſe ſo late as the time of Thomas Brown, of facetious memory, who applies it, in his Dialogues of the Dead, to the eleven thouſand virgins who were ſaid to have accompanied St. Urſula.

In a note on A Very Woman, Mr. Gifford, in oppoſition to Mr. Stevens, rightly explains *an end* by *perpetually, without intermiſſion*. To the examples he brings from our old writers, and from the dedication of the Divine Legation of Moſes, may be added the common phraſe of the hunter; *running an end* is applied to a hare, when ſhe perſiſts in running forward, without doubling or making a ring.

The remark, that by *jewel* our old writers meant not ſo much a ſingle precious ſtone, as a trinket formed of ſeveral, is perfectly juſt. During the civil wars in the ſeventeenth century, the Houſe of Commons frequently voted a ſum of money to a ſucceſsful General to buy him a jewel.

We ſhall conclude our obſervations by again congratulating the public on this valuable edition of the works of a poet, who the more he is known the more he will be admired, and who, though we can by

no

no means allow any compariſon with Shakeſpear, is certainly in moſt reſpects equal, and in many much ſuperior to Beaumont and Fletcher. We might notice a few inſtances, but they are very few, where Mr. Gifford runs into the error of other commentators, in explaining what does not require explanation; as, for inſtance, the note on *calvered ſalmon*, which is now as common in every fiſhmonger's ſhop as crimped ſcate. But the general character of theſe notes is, that they are exactly what notes ſhould be on an author ſometimes obſcure and ſometimes mutilated.

A ſhort Statement of ſome important Facts relative to the Election of a Mathematical Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Edinburgh; accompanied with Original Papers, and Critical Remarks. Third Edition. Pp. 140. Cadell and Davies. 1805.

THOUGH this publication may ſeem at firſt ſight to be only of local importance, yet it was to be expected that it might poſſeſs ſomewhat of general intereſt from the celebrity of the Univerſity to which it refers, the interference of the preſbytery of Edinburgh on the ground of certain metaphyſical notions incorporated, as they pretended, with the national creed, and, finally, from the reputation of the Profeſſor who has ſtood forth as the advocate of the newly elected mathematical Profeſſor, and of the intereſts of the Univerſity. This expectation is not diſappointed. The Short Statement branches out into general queſtions of the firſt importance in philoſophy as well as into the intriguing ſpirit which is incident to all bodies of men, even divines not excepted, and into ſeveral particulars which ſerve to contraſt the preſent ſpirit of Scotland with that of the times of the covenant, and the lords of the congregation. A portion of that ſpirit was aſſumed by a ſmall faction, and that too one noted for an oppoſite ſpirit, for their own purpoſe, but immediately ſubdued by the general voice of the church and the nation.

THE UNIVERSITY of Edinburgh having, on the 30th January, 1805, been deprived of one of its ableſt ſupporters and brighteſt ornaments, by the death of the late Dr. John Robiſon, a very general ſolicitude was felt, not only by his colleagues, but by all who take an intereſt in the proſperity of that city as a ſeat of learning, that his place ſhould be ſupplied by ſome perſon qualified to ſucceed to ſuch a predeceſſor. The right of election is veſted in the Lord Provoſt, magiſtrates, and town council of Edinburgh. A ſufficient opportunity was afforded for candidates in every part of the iſland to bring forward their pretenſions; and a determination was openly announced by the chief magiſtrate (Sir William Fettes, Bart.) to be guided in his choice by no conſideration but the comparative merit of the competitors and the weight of recommendation which they ſhould ſeverally claim. The firſt candidate who appeared was the Rev. Thomas Macknight, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, who had been occaſionally

ſionally employed by Mr. Robiſon as an aſſiſtant. Mr. Macknight's aim was to hold both his parochial charge and the profeſſorſhip. The pretenſions of Mr. Macknight were countenanced by a perſon of great political weight in the councils of Edinburgh, Mr. Roger Ranken, late convenor of the trades, and tailor to his Majeſty. Mr. Stewart alarmed, as well as many others of his colleagues, at theſe circumſtances, reſolved to addreſs himſelf directly to the chief magiſtrate. At the ſame time the contents of his letter ſhew that he was not actuated by any wiſh to exclude from the Scotch univerſities thoſe miniſters of the church of Scotland, whoſe literary attainments, or taſte for the ſciences, might lead them to prefer the duties of an academical life to thoſe connected with the exerciſe of their clerical functions. After mentioning ſome circumſtance tending with great force to impreſs his mind with a peculiar concern for the proſperity of the Univerſity, he demonſtrates to his Lordſhip, the provoſt, the diſadvantageous and pernicious conſequences to be apprehended from uniting profeſſorſhips with eccleſiaſtical livings. The conſiderations briefly ſtated by Profeſſor Stewart were ſeconded, at greater length, and with great ability by Profeſſor Playfair. Among a variety of other remarks, very cloſe to the purpoſe, Mr. P. obſerves—

"That a Profeſſor of Mathematics, in the Univerſity, will have a great deal more to do than merely to give lectures. He will dedicate a large portion of his time, to his own improvement, to the ſtudy of thoſe diſcoveries that have been made, and that are continually making, over all Europe; and he will ſeek to extend the bounds of ſcience by new and original inveſtigations. This is the only way of diſcharging his duty, ſo as to improve knowledge, and to do credit to the Univerſity and himſelf. The Profeſſor who takes this view of the matter, and is a real lover of ſcience, will not feel much deſire to have more work put into his hands, or to have the number of avocations increaſed. Indeed it is the man who is the beſt qualified to be a profeſſor of mathematics who will find the duties of his office the fulleſt occupation for him, and the more he is fitted to diſcharge them well the leſs leiſure he will find for other purſuits."

The different candidates had enjoyed an opportunity of collecting whatever teſtimonies they were able to procure, when the town council of Edinburgh elected Mr. John Leſlie, author of "An Experimental Enquiry concerning Heat," and for which he had received Count Rumford's prize for the beſt eſſay on that ſubject, by the unanimous reſolution of the council of the Royal Society of London.

Reports had already been propagated againſt Mr. Leſlie's principles by the friends of Mr. Macknight, and their faction, in the Preſbytery of Edinburgh. But, a day or two before the election, a diſcovery was made of a very dangerous doctrine inculcated in a note ſubjoined to his "Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat;" a doctrine which, it was ſaid, involved all the Atheiſtical principles of Mr. Hume's philoſophy. The paſſage is this:

"Mr. Hume is the firſt, as far as I know, who has treated cauſation in a truly philoſophical manner. His 'Eſſay on Neceſſary Connexion,' ſeems a clear

clear model of accurate reaſoning. But it wanted only to diſpel the cloud of myſtery which had ſo long darkened that important ſubject. The unſophiſticated ſentiments of mankind are in perfect union with the deductions of logic, and imply nothing more at bottom, in the relation of cauſe or effect, than a *constant and invariable sequence.* This will diſtinctly appear from a critical examination of language."

"If," ſays Mr. Stewart, "Mr. Leſlie, in the foregoing extract, had qualified the firſt ſentence by ſaying, that Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Neceſſary Connexion (ſo far as it relates to phyſical cauſes and effects merely) is a model of clear and accurate reaſoning, the ſlighteſt objection could not have been made to his aſſertion. But it was of phyſical cauſes alone that Mr. Leſlie could be ſuppoſed to ſpeak. His argument is directed againſt the unphiloſophical ſuppoſition of the agency of ſome inviſible INTERMEDIA to account for the phenomena of gravitation, a ſuppoſition by the way which has always been conſidered hitherto as one of the moſt dangerous weapons of the Atheiſt; and after remarking that ſuch theories ſerve only to torture the imagination, without obviating or leſſening the difficulty, he concluded with the following very juſt and ſtriking reflection, 'It is a remarkable and inſtructive fact in the hiſtory of philoſophy, that impulſion ſhould have been at one period the only force that was admitted. The motion of a falling was certainly not leſs familiar to the ſenſes than that of a ſtone which is thrown: but in the latter caſe the contact of the hand was obſerved to precede the flight of the projectile; and this circumſtance, which ſeemed to fill up the void, ſatisfied the imagination. Gravitation founded like an occult quality; it was neceſſary to aſſign ſome mechanical cauſe; and if there were no viſible impulſes to account for the weight of a body, might not that office be performed by ſome ſubtle inviſible agent.' Such was the ſway of metaphyſical prejudice that even Newton, forgetting his uſual caution, ſuffered himſelf to be borne along. In an evil hour he threw out thoſe haſty conjectures concerning æther which have ſince proved ſo alluring to ſuperficial thinkers, and which have, in a very ſenſible degree, impeded the progreſs of genuine ſcience."

Mr. Leſlie, the moment after he received intelligence of an intended meeting of the miniſters of Edinburgh to oppoſe his election, inſtantly tranſmitted a letter to the Rev. Dr. Hunter, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, in which he declares that the note in queſtion (above ſtated) "referred entirely to the relation between cauſe and effect, conſidered as an object of phyſical inveſtigation, being a more full illuſtration of ſome reaſonings in the text, in oppoſition to the unphiloſophical theories which attempt to explain the phenomena of gravitation, &c. by means of inviſible æthers." The ſentiments expreſſed by Mr. Leſlie received Profeſſor Hunter's approbation. But the miniſters of Edinburgh remonſtrated againſt the meaſure of proceeding to the election of a Profeſſor of Mathematics till the advice of the miniſters of Edinburgh ſhould be regularly received, alleging that they poſſeſſed, in the election of Profeſſors, a right of AVISAMENTUM.* The miniſters alſo ſet forth in their remonſtance,

* "On this queſtion it was determined by the Supreme Civil Court of Scotland, that notwithſtanding this right of AVISAMENTUM, which alſo had become

monſtrance, "that being at preſent denied the exerciſe of their legal privilege they are not officially informed reſpecting the candidates for the vacant chair in the Univerſity; but they had learned from report, and from many members of the Town Council individually, that one of thoſe candidates is Mr. John Leſlie, author of "An Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat," and they do hereby more particularly remonſtrate and proteſt, in the moſt ſolemn manner, againſt *his* being elected to the ſaid profeſſorſhip, becauſe the ſaid Mr. Leſlie has avouched to the world, and endeavoured to ſupport by argument, an opinion calculated to undermine the foundation of all religion, both natural and revealed. That the miniſters in bringing forward this moſt ſerious charge, refer to a note which Mr. Leſlie has ſubjoined to his foreſaid Inquiry.

"From which words," being part of the note, the miniſters proceed, "it is evident, that Mr. Leſlie having, with Mr. Hume, denied *all ſuch neceſſary connexion between cauſe and effect*, as implies an operating principle in the cauſe, has of courſe laid a foundation for rejecting all the argument that is derived from the works of God, to prove either his being or attributes."

This aſſertion, or allegation of the miniſters, being the great ground work of their battery againſt Mr. Leſlie, is attacked by Mr. Stewart with all the ſubtlety of diſtinction, the force of reaſoning, and the weight of authority. And it is this which forms indeed the greater part of the work in hand, that will draw the attention of ſcholars, and perhaps preſerve this pamphlet in the library of ſome judicious collectors, as a curious monument of the relation between religion and philoſophy in the early part of the 19th century.*

The fallacy of Mr. Hume's doctrine concerning cauſe and effect does not, Mr. Stewart juſtly obſerves, lie in his premiſes, but in the concluſion which he draws from them. There is an uniform connexion between what we call *cauſes* and effects, but no *neceſſary connexion*, no connexion the want or even the contrary of which would involve an abſurdity. What then? becauſe things are not bound together by any cement that we can diſcover, does it follow that they are not cemented, not bound together at all? No, they are held together by the relation, the agency of that ſtupendous and incomprehenſible Being which launched them into exiſtence, and continues them ſtill in all their mutual dependencies, relations, and motions. Thus the dependence of the univerſe on the will, the volition of the Deity is much more ſenſible and cloſe, according to the ſyſtem of Hume, adopted by Leſlie, than according to the *intermedia* philoſophers and the miniſters of Edinburgh. Are the inveſtigations of philoſophers then precluded by this ſyſtem? No: but they ſhould be directed not to *efficient* but to *natural* cauſes—to the order that takes place in the

become obſolete, the miniſters had not any right of interdict or negative on the queſtion.

* The prevailing ſyſtems of philoſophy, whatever they be, influence religious creeds and commentaries, and even ſyſtems of medicine.

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of events, reſults, or productions—in ſupport of the ſyſtem which rejects all inviſible *intermedia* as *vibrating æthers*, &c. Mr. Stewart produces the authority of the great father, or reſtorer of ſound philoſophy, Lord Bacon, a whole cohort, as it were, of Engliſh divines, whoſe religious notions were not more orthodox than their philoſophical tenets were ſound, as Dr. Barrow, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Butler, Biſhop of Durham, Dr. Berkeley, Biſhop of Cloyne, Dr. Stephen Halé, Dr. Peter Brown, Biſhop of Cork, Dr. Waring, Lucaſian Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Cambridge, whoſe zeal for the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity was not "*inferior to that of any one of Mr. Leſlie's opponents*,"* Malebranche, Dr. Reid, Profeſſor Robinſon in his Mechanical Philoſophy, &c. &c. His own reaſoning did not need, but is certainly moſt powerfully ſeconded by ſuch ſupporters. It is ſomewhere ſaid in the Scripture, that even the wicked are made "to praiſe God," or words to that effect. Even Mr. Hume in the hand of Providence has become the inſtrument of bringing back men from occult qualities, vortices, and inviſible *intermedia*, to a ſenſe of their immediate dependence on the Deity. The doctrine of Mr. Hume, on the queſtion of Cauſe and Effect, is in theology *orthodox*, and that of the miniſters of Edinburgh irrefragably convicted of the moſt abſurd as well as pernicious heterodoxy.

Carr's *Northern Summer.*

(Concluded from p. 59.)

MR. CARR remarks that the Ruſſians are enthuſiaſtically attached to their ſaints and their churches; and notices a ſaying current in Ruſſia not very honourable to the inhabitants of *this* iſland; "that whilſt the Ruſſians build their churches firſt and their towns afterwards, the Engliſh never think of a temple until they have erected their own dwellings." It would be very well if they thought of it even then, but we are concerned to ſay, this is not often the caſe.

The followers of the Greek church, however, it appears, uſe their dead ſaints better than their living prieſts; for whilſt "they would devote their lives" to the former; "they give black bread" to the latter. Confeſſion is in uſe in the Greek church, as the following anecdote will prove. "A prieſt came to hear the confeſſion of a great man. 'Holy father,' ſays the count, 'have you a good memory?' 'Yes.' 'Then you remember what I told you at my laſt confeſſion; ſince that I have had the ſame temptations from without; the ſame weakneſſes from within; and here is the ſame number of rubles." We heartily wiſh that Mr. Carr had quoted his authority for this anec-

* Among thoſe opponents were not a few whoſe zeal for theſe doctrines, on the preſent occaſion, appeared altogether ſurpriſing.

dote, for a Roman Catholic lady, now at our elbow, positively declares it cannot be true; as the priests never take money for confessing their penitents. In vain we urge that the Greek church may differ from the Roman Church in this particular; or that the rubles might be given to the priest to be distributed for charitable uses, as alms and oblations are given at the administration of the sacrament. She insists it cannot be, and that the story must be a fabrication. We call, therefore, upon Mr. Carr to support his own veracity; and upon such of our readers as have any knowledge of the practice of the Greek and Roman Churches on this point, to communicate that knowledge to us.

In matters of *Police* too Mr. Carr draws a comparison between the Russians and the English not very favourable to the latter; and as his sentiments on this subject are very similar to our own, we shall transcribe them.

"It would be well for the safety and tranquility of the inhabitants of London, and more particularly of its immediate neighbourhood, if its police were more *extended, swift,* and *powerful.* In this respect we are assuredly inferior to most nations. I am aware that arbitrary governments have, hitherto, displayed the most perfect systems of police; but is this the reason why the genius and constitution of a *free* one cannot admit of its extending domestic protection to its subjects? Is civil liberty incompatible with preventive policy? Is the freedom of the country gone, when murderers and robbers cease to be free? Or is it to preserve our chartered privileges, that a band of superannuated watchmen, who, to protract their becoming an additional burden upon the poor-rate, beyond the ordinary era of eleemosynary aid, are helmeted in flannel night-caps, and with a *rattle* and a *lanthorn,* admirable equipment for *second childhood,* and *eyes dim with age!* are sent forth to guard the lives and property of the inhabitants of the most crowded, populous, and wealthy city in the world? To find fault is an easy and an odious office. But a traveller, like a bee, should never be upon the wing without bringing home some sweet to encrease the honey of his native hive. Neither at night, nor by day, are the streets infested by women of the town; they live in a quarter by themselves, and I believe are not very numerous; some of them are Polish, of course handsome; some Germans, of course fascinating; and some, and the most of them, fair and frail wanderers from the upper parts of Finland, which, although the portion of the province that we saw was so destitute of every thing like beauty, is said to possess many pretty faces and good persons amongst the females. If it be true, as Mr. Justice Colquhoun's register asserts, that the prostitutes of London amount to fifty thousand, I should not suppose, from all that I could learn, that the frail sisterhood of Petersburg exceeds a tenth of their number. Where these unhappy beings abound, it is always a compliment to the chastity of the purer part of the sex. There was some portion of sagacity in the remark made by a poor little knight wanderer, in a city on the continent which shall be nameless, when a traveller, who pitied and relieved her distress, observed, that he was surprised to see so few of the sisterhood in such a capital. "Alas, sir," said the unfortunate, "we cannot live for the virtuous part of our sex." One morning presented a very singular spectacle. A number of well dressed women, walking in pairs,

pairs, faſtened by the arm to each other with cords with their band-boxes in their hands, and each couple attended by a police officer, were very quietly and decorouſly marching to the Emperor's cotton mills, which are correctional houſes of induſtry for ladies of this deſcription. There were no repining looks amongſt them, not a pouting lip, ſo great in general is the conſtitutional ſubmiſſion to the law in the north. Upon enquiry, I found that a man had been violently ill-treated in the haunts of theſe Idalian goddeſſes, and that upon the affair being repreſented to the Emperor, he ordered three hundred of them to be marched off for a few months, as above mentioned. How the liſt was filled up, whether by ballot, or promiſcuouſly, I know not.

When we ſaid that Mr. Carr's ſentiments were ſimilar to our own we did not mean to extend our remark beyond his obſervations on police in general, and on the *watchmen* in particular. We are very far indeed from acceding to the juſtice of the very ſtrange notion, that the abundance of proſtitutes is a compliment to the chaſtity of the virtuous; and we think there is much more of flippancy and impertinence than of ſagacity in the ſaying of the "poor little night wanderer."

In the fourteenth chapter there is a detailed account of the circumſtances which preceded and occaſioned the aſſaſſination of the Emperor Paul. It, in moſt reſpects, coreſponds to the particulars which we received ourſelves from Ruſſia, and which were briefly noticed in our review at the time. As, however, they tend to throw conſiderable light on that dark tranſaction, and as they preſent the character of Paul in a different point of view from that in which it has hitherto been conſidered, long as it is, we ſhall tranſcribe it for the information of our readers.

"It is with deep regret that I approach the delicate and awful ſubject of this chapter. Humanity would gladly cover it with the pall of oblivion; but juſtice to the memory of an unhappy monarch, and to the chief of the auguſt family of Ruſſia, demand a candid though careful developement of the events which preceded the fall of the laſt Emperor. The original ſource of my information is from one who beheld the cataſtrophe which I am about to relate, whom I can neither name nor doubt; a cataſtrophe which is too near the period in which I write, not to render an unreſtrained diſcloſure of all the particulars with which I have been furniſhed, unfair if not imprudent. The cauſes that firſt created thoſe well known prejudices which Catherine II. cheriſhed againſt her ſon, have periſhed with her; but all the world knows, that, during the many years which rolled away between the Grand Duke's arrival at the age of maturity and his elevation to the throne, his auguſt mother never admitted him to any participation of power, but kept him in a ſtate of the moſt abject and mortifying ſeparation from the court, and in almoſt total ignorance of the affairs of the empire. Although Paul, by his birth, was generaliſſimo of the armies, he never was permitted to head a regiment; and although, by the ſame right, grand Admiral of the Baltic, he was interdicted from even viſiting the fleet at Cronſtadt. To theſe painful privations may be added, that when he was recommended, that is *ordered*, to travel, during his abſence Catherine ſeized and ſent to Siberia one of his moſt cheriſhed friends, becauſe ſhe diſcovered

that he had informed her ſon of ſome inconſiderable ſtate affair. Thus Paul beheld himſelf not only ſevered from the being who gave him birth, but from all the ordinary felicities of life. The preſſure of his hand excited ſuſpicion; peril was in his attachment, and in his confidence guilt and treaſon. He could not have a friend, without furniſhing a victim.

"A gentleman nearly connected with me, now no more, a man of talent and acute obſervation and veracity, had ſeveral years ſince the honour of ſpending a ſhort period at the little ſecluded court of Gatchina, upon which, as the dazzling beams of imperial favour never ſhone, the obſerver was left in the tranquillity of the ſhade, to make a more calm, ſteady, and undiverted ſurvey. At this time, Paul diſplayed a mind very elegantly inclined, and without being brilliant, highly cultivated, accompliſhed and informed, frank and generous, brave and magnanimous, a heart tender and affectionate, and a diſpoſition very ſweet, though moſt acutely and poignantly ſuſceptible: his perſon was not handſome, but his eye was penetrating, and his manners ſuch as denoted the finiſhed gentleman. In his youth he was ſeen by the bed-ſide of the dying Panin, the hoary and able miniſter of Catherine, and his tutor, kiſſing and bathing his hand with tears. As an evidence of his intellectual vigour, let the elaborate and able ukaſe, by which he ſettled the precedence and proviſion of the imperial family, unqueſtionably his own unaſſiſted compoſition, be referred to. He loved his amiable princeſs, and his children, with the moſt ardent, the moſt indulgent fondneſs, and it was the labour of their love, as well as of his ſervants, who were devotedly attached to him, to requite his affections and graciouſneſs, and to endeavour to fill up with every endearing, every ſtudied attention, the gloomy chaſm which had been formed by an unnatural and inexplicable neglect; but this chaſm was a bottomleſs abyſs, upon the brink of which his wounded ſpirit was ever wandering! Paul poſſeſſed a high martial inclination, and, reflecting that he might one day mount the throne of a military empire, he made the art of war the principal object of his ſtudies; but neither this purſuit, ſo copious, ſo intereſting, nor the endearments of thoſe who ſurrounded him, could expel from his mind the ſenſe of his injuries. He beheld himſelf, the ſecond perſonage and the deſtined ruler of the empire, poſtponed to the periodical favourite of his mother, the miniſter of her unbounded voluptuouſneſs, not unfrequently elevated to the preſidency of the Hermitage from the ranks, with no other pretenſions than vigorous health and a mighty frame; whilſt, on the other hand, the bleeding ſhade of his father was for ever, in his morbid imagination, pointing to his wound, and whiſpering revenge. Thus exhiled from the heart of his mother, is it a matter of ſurpriſe that he ſhould exclude her from his own?

"Catherine more than once obſerved, that her ſon would not long occupy the throne after her deceaſe; and it has been the faſhion to ſay, that her alienation from him was juſtified by the events which ſucceeded her death. With this prophetic ſpirit, ſhe devoted all her care to the education of her grandſons, Alexander and Conſtantine, and exerciſed all the powers ſhe poſſeſſed towards the conſummation of her prediction. She foretold that the flower which ſhe had planted would wither early: ſhe ſhook it till every bloſſom fell, and ſhaded it ſo, that the dew of Heaven ſhould never viſit it more: ſhe preſſed and pierced the delicate and ardent mind of her ſon until ſhe ſubverted it. Was it then a proof of inſpiration, to prognoſticate the brevity of his reign over an empire, the hiſtory of which

which has too often and fatally proved, that however despotic its government, and there is not one under heaven more absolute, a cautious and dexterous cultivation of the interest, feelings, prejudices, and affections of the people, is inseparable from the safety of the ruler?

"A short time before her demise, Catherine committed to P——Z——, her last favourite, whom she highly esteemed, a declaration of her will, addressed to the senate, purporting that Paul should be passed over in the succession, and that the Grand Duke Alexander should mount the vacant throne. As soon as the favourite was acquainted with the sudden death of the Empress, he flew to Pavlovsk, about thirty-five versts from the capital, where Paul occasionally resided, whom he met on the road; and, after a short explanation, delivered up to him this important document. Paul, charmed with his zeal and loyalty, preserved him in all his honours and fortunes, whilst a general and rapid dispersion, to all points of the compass, instantaneously succeeded amongst the members of the *male seraglio* of the Hermitage. The Emperor ascended the throne without difficulty, but a total stranger to his subjects. One of the first measures of his reign displayed, in a very singular manner, the native goodness of his heart, under the clouds that rapidly began to overshadow it, in an act of piety towards his murdered father, whose remains he removed from the church of St. Alexander Nevski, called the monastery; and having exhibited them in great funeral state, he consigned them to the sepulchre of Catherine II., in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. The latter part of this extraordinary transaction has often induced me to think that Paul did not believe that his mother issued the order for the assassination of his father. At this eccentric solemnity, he compelled Count Alexey Orloff, and Prince Baratynski, under whose hands the unhappy monarch is said to have perished, to stand on each side of the body as it lay in state, and afterwards to follow it to the tomb as the principal mourners.

"Not long after this event, his mind began occasionally to display the most fearful symptoms of distraction; but when his reason was restored, the hapless Emperor never failed to endeavour, with the most affecting sensibility, to repair the ruin and havoc which his derilium had occasioned. The deposed Stanislaus, the broken-hearted King of Poland, partook alternately of his beneficence and severity; but with what demonstration of respect and genuine grief did the Emperor attend the obsequies of this last of the Sarmates? On that gloomy occasion, he commanded in person the guards who assisted at the funeral; and uncovering himself, with the most affecting emotions, saluted the coffin as it passed. To the memory of the hoary and heroic Suvaroff, who fell a broken-hearted victim to the distraction of his Imperial master, in periods of agonized and compunctious reflection, he raised a colossal statue of bronze, in the vast area behind Benskoi's palace, opposite to Romantzoff's monument; and, on the days when he reviewed his troops there, he used to order them to march by in open order, and face the statue, which he said represented one of the greatest and bravest generals of his own or any other age.

"Notwithstanding the important service which P——Z—— had rendered him, the Emperor could never separate him, in his mind's eye, from the caresses of his mother, and speedily became disgusted with him; spoke of him with great asperity to his friends, and at length, converting the bounty of Catherine into a robbery, he denounced him as a defaulter to the Imperial treasury of half a million of rubles; and, convinced of the

juſtice of the allegation, proceeded, without loſs of time to ſequeſter the vaſt eſtates which belonged to him and to his two brothers. Driven to deſperation by ſuch conduct, one of the ſufferers, the ſecond brother, one day boldly walked up to the Emperor upon the parade, and, with manly eloqueuce, repreſented the injuſtice of his meaſures. Paul received him without anger, heard him without interruption, reflected, and reſtored the property: but the original diſguſt rapidly returning, he ordered P——Z——to reſide upon his eſtate, to which he ſubmitted for a conſiderable time. But the mind of the exile was too ardent to endure ſecluſion; ambitious, bold, active, and enterprizing, he determined upon releaſing himſelf from the unjuſt conſtraint impoſed upon him by his ſovereign, the delirium of whoſe mind now frequently burſt forth with all the fury and deſolation of a convulſed volcano. Meſſrs. Otto, Sieyes, Talleyrand, who at that time formed a diplomatic trio, or rather were ſpies, at the court of Peterſburg, with the dexterity of talent, and the ſubtility of Frenchmen, reſolved to turn the gathering ſtorm to the advantage of their own country, by means which, extending beyond their calculation and their wiſhes, finally and rapidly led to the overthrow of the Emperor. Under their tuition, a French actreſs was introduced on the boards of the French theatre at Peterſburgh, and placed in ſuch ſituations of allurement, that the eye of the Emperor could not but notice her. The ruin of domeſtic happineſs furniſhed theſe politicians with the means of their ſucceſs. A French actreſs was deſtined to eſtrange the Emperor from his family, and to create a temporary and terrible change in the affairs of Europe. Madam Chevalier poſſeſſed that ſtyle of face which, without being regularly handſome was more ſweet, expreſſive, and captivating, than the exact ſymmetry of a finiſhed beauty. Her perſon was ſmall, but delicate, and rather *en bon point*: her manners were of the higheſt order, and enchanted every one who approached her. The Emperor was fond of muſic: Madame Chevalier excelled upon the harp, and ſung to it ſome ſweet and crafty verſes, compoſed by one of her three employers, and which ſhe herſelf had ſet to muſic; the ſubject of which was, the martial ſkill, valour, and generoſity, of the Emperor. She had not ſpread her wicheries long, before an evening was appointed for a private gratification of the muſical taſte and paſſion of the Emperor. This Syren very ſoon became the ſole idol of his ſhattered mind, which ſhe moved according to the direction of her ſecret principals, until the Emperor withdrew himſelf from his alliance with Auſtria, recalled Suvaroff and his army covered with glory, crowded the roads to Siberia with Britiſh ſubjects, and filled with terror and conſternation the Exchange of the Britiſh empire. I mean not to enumerate all the calamities which followed: they were too ſignal not to be widely known, too recent not to be well remembered; and, from their very nature, inconteſtably proved the abberration of thoſe faculties which could alone, by their preſence, render the Emperor reſponſible for all the miſery, diſmay, and ruin, which threatened the very exiſtenc of the empire. P——Z——reſolved upon availing himſelf of the influence of the fair favourite, to whom he addreſſed himſelf with all the inſinuation of perſon, manners, wit, and money: having engaged her in his favour, he made her acquainted with Count K——, a man who, from having been about the perſon of Paul in the menial capacity of a valet, at laſt obtained a high place in his affection, diſtinguiſhed honour, and great wealth. The more firmly to bind K——to his intereſt, P——Z——feigned an honourable paſſion for the daughter of the former,

former, who was, like all the ſudden favourites of fortune, much pleaſed at the proſpect of an alliance with a very diſtinguiſhed family. Count K—, and Madame Chevalier, conceived many plans for prevailing upon his Majeſty to reſtore Z——to his favour. At length, one evening when ſhe had tranquillized the mind of the Emperor, and excited in him an appearance of gaiety by the vivacity of her wit, and ſome of her moſt ſucceſsful ſongs, ſhe artfully inſinuated that P——Z——was the moſt unhappy man alive in being deprived of the Emperor's favour, and of the power of promoting the intereſt of one of the greateſts geniuſes that ever mounted the Czarian throne, to whom he was moſt inviolably attached. The Emperor pauſed, and expreſſed ſome doubt of the truth of the ſtatement; but upon her reaſſuring him of its ſincerity, accompanied by ſome of thoſe little blandiſhments which no woman ever knew how to diſplay with more finiſhed addreſs than Madame Chevalier, Paul granted her petition, and recalled Z——to the reſidence, where he flew with the celerity of a courier, and threw himſelf at the feet of the Emperor, by whom he was gratiouſly received, and from whoſe preſence he with drew to preſent his fair advocate with the ſtipulated reward, a magnificent aigrette of diamonds, valued at ſixty thouſand rubles. Whatever private pique Z——might have cheriſhed againſt his imperial maſter, I believe that it was wholly loſt in his review of the deteriorated and dreadful condition of the Empire, and in thoſe awful meaſures of reſtoration which were afterwards reſorted to. Z——gradually and warily unfolded his mind to K——, who as cautiouſly entered into his views, until their confidence was completely eſtabliſhed, The reſult of their deliberations was, that, to ſave the empire, it was neceſſary that the Emperor ſhould be removed. They next prevailed upon Count P——, the governor of the city, and Count P——, a very young nobleman, but of conſiderable family intereſt, the ſon of the celebrated general, Count P——P——who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Turkiſh war, and alſo the Prince Y——, and ſome other perſons of great rank and conſequence. All of theſe noblemen were actuated by no other motive, than to prevent the final ruin of their country, and for this purpoſe they determined to place in peril their lives and their fortunes.

"In their conferences, which were managed with admirable diſcretion, it was reſolved that Paul ſhould die; and, like Cæſar, it was deſtined that he ſhould periſh in the ides of March, on the day of the feſtival called Maſlaintza.

"I think I hear the voice of humanity exclaim, "Why not proviſionally remove the unhappy Monarch from the throne?" Alas! The conſtitution of Ruſſia poſſeſſes none of thoſe mild and beneficent proviſions, which endear our own conſtitution to us a thouſand and a thouſand times. When the ruler is once mounted on the throne, an abyſs opens below, and the deſcent from the laſt ſtep is into eternity. I am endeavouring to illuſtrate motives, not juſtify them; the record is before another tribunal! It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve, that the auguſt family of Paul were wholly unacquainted with the meditated blow.

"The Emperor, from an averſion he had taken to thoſe palaces, which formed the favourite reſidence of Catherine, reſolved upon building a palace for himſelf. The gorgeous magnificence of Zarſko Zelo, and of the winter palace, and all the Oriental voluptuouſneſs of the Hermitage, were hateful to him; indeed, to ſuch an elevation had his abhorrence of theſe

places attained, that he had determined to reduce them to the duſt, that only

"——The blackneſs of aſhes ſhould mark were they ſtood."

"His fate, which was faſt approaching, prevented the accompliſhment of this irretrievable act of derilium. The Emperor and his family reſided, at the time when the confederacy had reſolved upon his removal, in the new palace of St. Michael. It is an enormous quadrangular pile, of red Dutch brick, riſing from a maſſy baſement of hewn granite; it ſtands at the bottom of the Summer Gardens, and the loſty ſpire of its Greek chapel, richly covered with ducat gold, riſing above the trees, has a beautiful appearance.

"As Paul was anxious to inhabit this palace as ſoon after he was crowned as poſſible, the maſons, the carpenters, and various artificers, toiled with incredible labour by day and by torch-light, under the ſultry ſun of the ſummer, and in all the ſeverity of a polar winter, and in three years this enormous and magnificent fabric was completed. The whole is moated round, and when the ſtranger ſurveys its baſtions of granite, and numerous draw-bridges, he is naturally led to conclude, that it was intended for the laſt aſylum of a Prince at war with his ſubjects. Thoſe who have ſeen its maſſy walls, and the capaciouſneſs and variety of its chambers, will eaſily admit that an act of violence might be committed in one room, and not be heard by thoſe who occupy the adjoining one; and that a maſſacre might be perpetrated at one end, and not known at the other. Paul took poſſeſſion of this palace as a place of ſtrength, and beheld it with rapture, becauſe his Imperial mother had never even ſeen it. Whilſt his family were here, by every act of tenderneſs endeavouring to ſoothe the terrible perturbation of his mind, there were not wanting thoſe who exerted every ſtratagem to inflame and encreaſe it. Theſe people were conſtantly inſinuating, that every hand was armed againſt him. With this impreſſion, which added fuel to his burning brain, he ordered a ſecret ſtair-caſe to be conſtructed, which, leading from his own chamber, paſſed under a falſe ſtove in the anti-room, and led by a ſmall door to the terrace.

"It was the cuſtom of the Emperor to ſleep in an outer apartment next to the Empreſſe's upon a ſopha, in his regimentals and boots, whilſt the Grand Duke and Ducheſs, and the reſt of the Imperial family, were lodged at various diſtances, in apartments below the ſtory which he occupied. On the tenth day of March, O. S. 1801, the day preceeding the fatal night, whether Paul's apprehenſion, or anonymous information, ſuggeſted the idea, is not known, but conceiving that a ſtorm was ready to burſt upon him, he ſent to count P——, the governor of the city, one of the noblemen who had reſolved on his deſtruction: "I am informed, P——," ſaid the Emperor, "that there is a conſpiracy on foot againſt me; do you think it neceſſary to take any precaution?" The Count, without betraying the leaſt emotion, replied, "Sire, do not ſuffer ſuch apprehenſions to haunt your mind; if there were any combinations forming againſt your Majeſty's perſon, I am ſure I ſhould be acquainted with it." "Then I am ſatisfied," ſaid the Emperor, and the governor withdrew. Before Paul retired to reſt, he unexpectedly expreſſed the moſt tender ſolicitude for the Empreſs and his children, kiſſed them with all the warmth of farewell fondneſs, and remained with them longer than uſual; and after he had viſited the centi-

nels

nels at their different posts, he retired to his chamber, where he had not long remained, before, under some colourable pretext, that satisfied the men, the guard was changed by the officers who had the command for the night, and were engaged in the confederacy. An hussar, whom the Emperor had particularly honoured by his notice and attention, always at night slept at his bed room-door, in the anti-room. It was impossible to remove this faithful soldier by any fair means. At this momentous period, silence reigned throughout the palace, except were it was disturbed by the pacing of the centinels, or at a distance by the murmurs of the Neva, and only a few lights were to be seen distantly and irregularly gleaming through the windows of this dark colossal abode. In the dead of the night, Z——and his friends, amounting to eight or nine persons, passed the draw-bridge, easily ascended the stair-case which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when the faithful hussar, awakened by the noise, challenged them, and presented his fusee: much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan. Z——drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awakened by the noise, sprung from his sopha: at this moment the whole party rushed into his room; the unhappy Sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to entrench himself in the chairs and tables, then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life, declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms which they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders, without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window: in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would have only put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort he very severely cut his hand with the glass; and as they drew him back he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that not withstanding the massy walls, and thick double folding-doors, which divided the apartments, the Empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death. Whilst the Emperor was thus making a last struggle the Prince Y——struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor; Paul recovering from the blow, again implored his life; at this moment the heart of P——Z——relented, and upon being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, "We have passed the Rubicon: if we spare his life, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!" Upon which he took off his sash, turned it twice round the naked neck of the Emperor, and giving one end to Z——, and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes. What occurred after their departure can be better conceived than depicted: medical aid was resorted to, but in vain, and upon the breathless body of the Emperor fell the tears of his widowed Empress and

and children, and domeſtics; nor was genuine grief ever more forcibly or feelingly diſplayed than by him on whoſe brow this melancholy event had planted the crown. So paſſed away this night of horror, and thus periſhed a Prince, to whom nature was *severely* bountiful. The acuteneſs and pungency of his feeling was incompatible with happineſs: unnatural prejudice preſſed upon the fibre, too finely ſpun, and ſnapped it.

> 'Tis not as heads that never ache ſuppoſe,
> Forgery of fancy, and a dream of woes;
> Man is a harp, whoſe chords elude the ſight,
> Each yielding harmony, diſpoſ'd aright;
> The ſcrews revers'd (a taſk which if he pleaſe
> God in a moment executes with eaſe),
> Ten thouſand thouſand ſtrings at once go looſe,
> Loſt, till he tune them, all their power and uſe.'
>
> COWPER.

The ſun ſhone upon a new order of things. At ſeven o'clock the intelligence of the demiſe of Paul ſpread through the capital. The interval of time from its firſt communication to its diffuſion over every part of Peterſburg, was ſcarcely perceptible. At the parade Alexander preſented himſelf on horſeback, when the troops with tears rolling down their rugged and ſun browned faces, hailed him with loud and cordial acclamation. The young Emperor was overwhelmed, and at the moment of mounting the throne of the moſt extenſive empire under heaven, he was ſeen to turn from the grand and affecting ſpectacle, and weep.

"What followed is of very ſubordinate conſideration; but perhaps it will be eagerly aſked, to what extremity did the avenging arm of juſtice purſue the perpetrators of the deed? Mercy, the brighteſt jewel of every crown, and a forlorn and melancholy conviction, that the reigning motive was the ſalvation of the empire, prevented her from being vindictive. Never upon the threatre of life was there preſented a ſcene of more affecting magnanimity; decency, not revenge, governed the ſacrifice. P—— Z——was ordered not to approach the imperial reſidence, and the governor of the city was transferred to Riga. As ſoon as Madame Chevalier was informed of the demiſe of her imperial patron, ſhe prepared, under the protection of her brother, a dancer, for flight, with a booty of nearly a million of rubles. A police officer was ſent to inſpect and report upon her property: amongſt a pile of valuable articles, he diſcovered a diamond croſs of no great intrinſic value, which had been given by Peter I. to a branch of the Imperial Family, and on that account much eſteemed; it was to recover this that the officer was ſent, who obtained it, after the moſt indecent and unprincipled reſiſtance on her part. Paſſports were then granted to Madame Chevalier and her brother. Thus terminated this extraordinary and impreſſive tragedy."

At the beginning of the next chapter Mr. Carr pays a tribute of juſtice to that gallant officer and accompliſhed gentleman, Sir John Borlaſe Warren; and ſpeaks of the noble family of the Polignacs, whom he met at Sir John's hotel, with a feeling that does him honor; and of the Corſican Uſurper with that becoming indignation which convinces us, that he has ſubdued thoſe falſe impreſſions which he had

had received reſpecting that ſanguinary tyrant, during his reſidence in his capital, which we had occaſion to reprobate in our review of his "Stranger in France."

"It was impoſſible for an Engliſhman to viſit Peterſburgh when I did, without feeling a juſtifiable national pride in finding his country repreſented by one of her moſt diſtinguiſhed naval heroes, who, to the frankneſs and ſincerity ſo peculiar to that character, unites the graceful attractions of the moſt courteous and poliſhed manners. From the intrepid miniſter, and his elegant and enlightened lady, I experienced that urbanity and attention, which eminently diſtinguiſhed their conduct, and endeared them to the Ruſſian court, and to their countrymen. The Emperor, in his private circles, has often extolled the nautical ſkill and undaunted valour of Sir John Borlaſe Warren, and honoured him with his friendſhip. In no period of thoſe political ſtorms which have ſo long ſhaken, and ſtill continue to convulſe, the continent of Europe, has the cabinet of Ruſſia manifeſted a more propitious and cordial diſpoſition to the cauſe and intereſts of Great Britain, than during the diplomacy of the gallant admiral.

"The houſe of embaſſy, a noble manſion, in the Engliſh line was fitted up with great taſte, and the hoſpitality which prevailed in it was truly *Ruſſian.* The parties which aſſembled there were very ſelect and agreeable. Amongſt the moſt frequent viſitors I met the Duc de Polignac and ſeveral of the members of that illuſtrious houſe, who, from the higheſt rank, and an influence equal to that of their ſovereign, have been caſt into the regions of the north, by the terrible tornado of the French revolution, where, in the ſenſibility and munificence of the Emperor, they have found protection.

"The noble fortitude of the Polignacs, and particularly the heroic and affecting eloquence of one of the brothers before the tribunal of Bonaparte, created at this period a ſtrong ſenſation in the public mind, and in no part of the world more forcibly than at Peterſburgh. In another age, when paſſion and prejudice ſhall repoſe in "the tomb of all the Capulets," the calm inveſtigating hiſtorian may perhaps, but in better language, deſcribe their crime, as I have ever conſidered it, a conſpiracy of Bonaparte againſt himſelf, to enable him to aſſume the imperial purple."

While our traveller remained at Peterſburgh, he was ſo fortunate as to be introduced to the juſtly celebrated Doctor Guthrie, a man of great learning, extenſive information, and varied accompliſhments, who is equally loved and reſpected by all who have the honour of his friendſhip.

"It was with great pleaſure that I availed myſelf of an introduction to the venerable Doctor Guthrie, phyſician to the Noble Land Cadet corps, a gentleman of the moſt amiable manners, a philoſopher, and well known to the world for his various ſcientific and literary productions, and particularly for being the editor, as he has modeſtly announced himſelf, of the letters of his deceaſed lady from the Crimea, whither ſhe went, but in vain, in ſearch of health. It is very generally believed, that the Doctor very largely contributed to this able and beautiful work, which, from fondneſs to the memory of the departed, he is anxious ſhould be conſidered as her own.

"I found the Doctor protected, by his philoſophical knowledge, from one of the moſt ſultry days I ever experienced. He was in a little ſtudy built

built of wood, raiſed upon piles in a little meadow. Inſtead of his ſummer windows being open to admit the air, they were all cloſed and faſtened without; his ſervant occaſionally moiſtened the branches of the trees, that were ſuſpended over the building, with water from a garden-engine; and to prevent, as much as poſſible, the admiſſion of the flies, the entrance was through an outer door, and an inner one of gauze, and in the centre of the room ſtood a tub filled with ice; by theſe means the Doctor, whilſt every other perſon was languiſhing and panting with heat, enjoyed a cool and delightful atmoſphere. His collection of Siberian minerals, gems, and precious ſtones (amongſt which is a beautiful ribbond agate) from various parts of the Ruſſian empire, and a variety of marine fowls from the Ruſſian archipelago, are very curious and intereſting. I here ſaw a fine ſpecimen of the encauſtic, or wax-painting, the art of which was diſcovered a few years ſince in Herculaneum, by a ſoldier accidentally holding a flambeau to an apparantly naked wall, when the action of the heat created, to his aſtoniſhment, a beautiful landſcape, by reviving the encauſtic colour in which it had been painted. The Doctor alſo obligingly ſhewed me an opera which was compoſed by the late Empreſs, in which, with great poetical ſpirit and genuis, ſhe has deſcribed the founding of Moſcow and the habits and cuſtoms of the Ruſſians. The words of many of the ſongs were adapted to old Ruſs tunes, and others were ſet to muſic by Sarti. Of this Imperial production only four copies were ever printed; as ſoon as they were ſtruck off, the preſs, the types of which were made at Paris, was broken. Independent of his merited reputation, the Doctor has two other reaſons ſufficient to make any philoſopher proud and happy: he is the father of two lovely daughters; the eldeſt is lady Gaſcoigne, who, to the charms of youth and beauty, unites the moſt elegant accompliſhments and captivating manners. So high was report in her favour, and ſo little can ſhe be known with impunity, that I felt a ſullen ſatisfaction in learning that ſhe was upon a viſit to her friends in Scotland whilſt I was at Peterſburgh; the other daughter is a lovely girl, purſuing her ſtudies in the Convent des Demoiſelles.

"On account of his long and faithful ſervices, the Doctor was ennobled by Paul, who always retained a great partiality for him, even during the temporary diſguſt which he felt againſt his countrymen: he is honoured with a hat and feathers, and the rank of a general. It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve that, in a military government like Ruſſia, military rank precedes every other."

The account of a memorable fête given by the diſtinguiſhed favourite of the Empreſs Catherine to that Princeſs, at the Taurida Palace, which he had received as one of the magnificent proofs of her Imperial bounty, is at once ſo characteriſtic of the ſpirit of Prince Potemkin, and ſo curious in itſelf that we cannot forbear to extract it.

"Soon after Prince Potemkin's return from the conqueſt of Crim Tartary, under the influence of a gloomy prepoſeſſion that it would be the laſt time that he ſhould have it in his power to pay due honour to his imperial benefactreſs, he reſolved upon giving a banquet, which, in modern Europe and Aſia, ſhould have no parallel. What the expences attending it amounted to, were never known, but they muſt have been prodigious. For ſeveral

several months previous to the gala, the most distinguished artists were invited from distant countries to assist in its completion. The grand outline was designed by the Prince, and so various as well as vast were the parts, that not one of the assistants could form any previous idea of the whole of it. In the general bustle of preparation, the following anecdote, that proves the natural taste of Potemkin's mind, is related: He had ordered a statue of Catherine to be formed of alabaster, which he intended should be raised upon a pedestal, in a temple of precious stones, in the winter-garden; for the motto upon its entablature he wrote: "To the Mother of my Country, and to me the most gracious." In his design, the artist had extended the hand and elevated the sceptre, in the formal style of our Queen Anne's appearance in wax-work; the critical eye of this Prince, although he has been termed, and in some instances justly, a splendid barbarian, in a moment perceived the deficiency of grace in the attitude, and ordered the sceptre to be inclined: the artist retired to another room in chagrin, and exclaimed, "This great savage has more taste than I have, who have been brought up in the lap of the Arts." Upon giving another direction, the artist stared, and remonstrated upon the enormous sum which it would cost: "What! Sir," said Potemkin, "do you affect to know the depth of my treasury? Be assured it stands in no need of your sensibility." After which his orders were obeyed without any reference to expenditure.

"Nothing could exceed the public sensation which this fete excited. At length the evening arrived when the Prince was to appear in all his pomp and glory, before his fond and adored sovereign. The walls of these splendid apartments were most richly and beautifully illuminated, and decorated with various exquisite transparencies; and the stairs, hall, avenues, and sides of the rooms were lined with officers of state, attached to the household of the Prince, and servants, in the most costly dresses, and magnificent liveries. The orchestra exceeded six hundred vocal and instrumental musicians, and announced the entrance of the Empress and her court, richly attired, by a grand overture and chorus, which reverberated through the colonnades and saloons. Potemkin conducted his Imperial visitor to an elevated chair glittering with gold and diamonds: midway between the columns were boxes gilt with pale gold, and lined with green silk, filled with spectators in gala dresses. The festivity commenced with a dance of youths of both sexes, habited in white, and covered with pearls and jewels, at the head of whom were the present Emperor and the grand duke Constantine his brother. After the dance, and the most costly refreshments, the party repaired to the threatre, at the other end of the palace, where an occasional piece, composed in honour of the Empress, was performed, in which all the powers of singing, acting, dancing, dress, scenery, and decorations, were displayed. Upon the conclusion of the drama, the audience rose, and as if impelled by magic, the benches, touched by springs, moved and formed into tables and little seats, which were almost instantaneously covered with the richest viands, served up in gold and silver. The curtain again rose, and discovered a hall of mirrors, from which descended globular lustres of crystal, and a table appeared covered with the rarity of almost every region, splendidly served in gold; and at the head, upon a throne gilded and glittering with precious stones, sat the Empress surrounded by her court, the most brilliant in Europe. Such were the arrangements in this place, that every one could see and be seen. In the colossal hall were spread tables filled with delicacies and the most costly wines, and at the head

head of it was a prodigious maſſy ciſtern of ſolid ſilver, containing ſterlet ſoup, which is ſaid alone to have coſt ten thouſand rubles. During this ſplendid repaſt, in every room the ſofteſt muſic was heard, which rather enlivened than reſtrained the current of converſation. Univerſal decorum and hilarity prevailed; every wiſh was anticipated, every ſenſe was gratified.

"The banquet was followed by a ſucceſſion of magnificent exhibitions, and the Empreſs did not retire till midnight. As ſhe proceeded to her carriage, it was obſerved that ſhe appeared much affected by the homage which had been paid to her, encreaſed, perhaps, by the tender remembrance of departed hours; and as ſhe turned to bid the Prince adieu, ſhe could ſcarcely ſupport herſelf: at this touching moment, Potemkin fell upon his knees, and covered her hand with his tears and kiſſes: it was deſtined that he ſhould never more behold her under that roof, and his mind ſeemed to be fully poſſeſſed of the idea. A ſhort time afterwards, as he was proceeding from Yaſſy to Nicolaief, he was ſeized with a violent cholic, which it is ſuppoſed was produced by his ſingular irregularities; he alighted from his travelling carriage, ſupported by his nieces, with difficulty reached a bank on the ſide of the road, and expired in their arms. His remains were interred with magnificent honours, at Cherſon, on the banks of the Dnieper, and a ſplendid mauſoleum was raiſed to his memory by the order of her czarian majeſty.

"The diſlike which Paul ever bore towards Potemkin, principally on account of his being the favourite of his imperial mother, induced the Emperor, during the dreadful ſubverſion of his mind, to order the body of the Prince to be raiſed and expoſed, and the mauſoleum deſtroyed. A lady whom I met, and who was obliged, during this fearful period, to take refuge in the Crimea, beheld the ruins of the tomb, and the remains of the Prince expoſed to the birds of the air.

"To what trifles do many perſons owe their elevation: Potemkin was indebted for his honours and fortunes to a *feather*. In the revolution which gave the late Empreſs ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, ſhe appeared at the head of the Iſmail of guards, when Potemkin, a young officer in the cavalry, perceiving that ſhe had no feather in her hat, as ſhe appeared on that momentous occaſion *en militaire*, rode up to her and preſented his. This extraordinary man experienced, in early life, a diſappointment of the heart, which ſo frequently forces the mind out of its proper ſphere, and unſettles it for ever. Potemkin ruſhed into the field of battle, and in ſearch of death obtained glory. The cruel fair one ſtill rejected him, notwithſtanding his ſcars and honours, became violently ſmitten with an ugly old man, whom ſhe married, and hated for ever after."

There are many other curious particulars related of this extraordinary man, which our limits forbid us to tranſcribe. Indeed we have already ſo far exceeded our uſual bounds in the copiouſneſs of our remarks, and the multiplicity of our extracts from this entertaining work, that we muſt bring our account of it to a cloſe. But we cannot conclude without tranſcribing one other ſhort paſſage, exhibiting a new mode of checking the circulation of revolutionary principles.

"Catherine put down a ſect ſtill more formidable, and by the following whimſically wiſe manner, ſaved her people from the baneful contagion of French

French principles. During that revolution, which portended ruin to all the ſacred eſtabliſhments of all nations, when in England Pitt trampled out the brightening embers, and ſaved his country from the devouring flames, a group of miſchievous emiſſaries from France arrived at Peterſburgh, and began, in whiſpers amongſt the mob, to perſuade the poor droſhka driver, and the ambulatory vender of honey quaſs, that thrones were only to be conſidered as ſtools, and that they had as much right to ſit upon one of them as their empreſs: Catherine, concealing her real apprehenſions, availed herſelf of the powers with which ſhe was clothed, without ſhedding a drop of blood. She knew ridicule to be, in able hands, a powerful weapon, and reſolved to wield it upon the preſent occaſion. One evening the police officers were ordered to ſeize all theſe illuminated apoſtles of liberty, and bear them away to the lunatic aſylum, where the Empreſs had directed that their heads ſhould be ſhaved and bliſtered, and their bodies well ſcoured by aperient medicines, and kept on meagre diet; this regimen was continued for fourteen days, when their confinement terminated. The common Ruſſians had heard of their fate, and really believing that they had been inſane, neglected and deſerted them upon their re-appearance in the city with ſhorn heads, hollow eyes, and ſunk cheeks, and all the ſtriking indications of a recently bewildered mind. If this mild and ingenious project had failed, Catherine would have let looſe all the energy of power, and for this purpoſe ſhe rapidly cauſed to be built that vaſt edifice, now uſed for the marine barracks, which ſhe deſtined for a ſtate priſon."

We had noticed ſome defects in this volume, with the intention of particulariſing them; but we ſhall content ourſelves with ſuggeſting to the author the neceſſity of impoſing ſome reſtraint on the brilliancy of his imagination, as frequently diſplayed in an affected and a bombaſtic ſtyle, equally remote from dignified eloquence and from claſſical purity. The very title of his book exhibits a ſpecimen of this defect. We had alſo remarked ſome inconſiſtency in his notions of *ſlavery*; for while he expatiates on the *evils* of ſlavery, he repreſents the Ruſſian ſlaves, in many inſtances, as enjoying all the comforts, and even all the luxuries of life, thus affording a very ſatisfactory confutation of his own argument. But we have loſt our reference to this paſſage, and to another in which he ſtates the number of proſtitutes at Paris to be leſs than that of the ſame deſcription of women in London; a ſtatement notoriouſly contrary to fact. It is ſufficient, however, to notice theſe points to induce the author to reconſider them; and his work is ſo intereſting as to be well worth the trouble of correction; for which we doubt not, an opportunity will ſoon be afforded him, by a call for a new edition.

A Voyage round the World, in the Years 1800, 1801, 1802, *and* 1804; *in which the Author viſited the principal Iſlands in the Pacific Ocean, and the Engliſh Settlements of Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland.* By John Turnbull. In three Vols. 12mo. Pp. 740. Philips. 1805.

THE ſpirit of navigation and diſcovery which burſt forth in Europe at the concluſion of the fifteenth century, and which ſhone forth with ſo much luſtre and ſucceſs, in our own country, in the glorious

glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, has been happily revived in the reign of his preſent Majeſty, with increaſing ſplendour. Diſcoveries have been made of new countries in the great Pacific Ocean, where the eaſe, and, we may ſay, the pleaſure attending colonization, form a ſtriking contraſt with the difficulties and the dangers, the privations and ſufferings, of various kinds, with which our forefathers had to ſtruggle, in Virginia and New England. By theſe recent diſcoveries a variety of new and moſt intereſting objects is preſented to various deſcriptions of men: to the mercantile adventurer, new ſources of commerce; to thoſe who pant after the poſſeſſion of independence, a ſoil that courts the hand of induſtry, and ever pours its bounty ſpontaneouſly; and to the philoſopher, ſubjects of ſpeculation which add to the ſtores of ſcience phyſical and moral. The map of human nature has been unfolded more and more. The ſtate of ſociety among the *Aborigines* of America could not have appeared more ſingular and ſurpriſing to their firſt viſitors from Europe, three hundred years ago, than that of the inhabitants of New Holland, and the numerous iſles in the South Seas, to the enlightened philoſophers of the nineteenth century. Though many voyages to theſe parts have been publiſhed, the field of obſervation is ſo vaſt and various, that new accounts, if drawn from nature with judgment and taſte, are ſtill read with avidity. The voyage under review ranks among that number. Mr. Turnbull has ſenſibility to receive intereſting impreſſions, judgment to ſelect, and probity to relate with fidelity the facts and occurrences which came under his notice, and attracted his attention.

Mr. Turnbull, whilſt ſecond officer of the Barwell, in 1799, with the firſt officer of that ſhip, had every reaſon to ſuppoſe, from their own actual obſervation, that the Americans carried-on a moſt lucrative trade to the north-weſt of that vaſt continent*. Strongly impreſſed with this perſuaſion, they reſolved, on their return home, to repreſent it to ſome gentlemen of well-known mercantile enterprize. They approved of the ſpeculation, and loſt no time in preparing for its execution. Having obtained the neceſſary permiſſion of the Eaſt India Company, they proceeded to Portſmouth, in a new ſhip, in the latter end of May; and having there joined their convoy and the Eaſt India fleet, finally left England on the firſt of July, to puſh their fortunes in regions but little frequented by Europeans. They ſoon reached the iſland of Madeira, "that garden of the world." Having touched at Brazil, and the Cape of Good Hope, where we are entertained with manners, cuſtoms, and occurrences, they proceed on their voyage, and, through Bankes's Straits, arrive at Port Jackſon, in Botany Bay, being the third veſſel that had ever attempted this paſſage. It was reſolved, that Mr. Turnbull ſhould remain here, to diſpoſe of the cargo, whilſt the Captain ſhould proceed in the veſſel

* The grammatical conſtruction here points to CHINA: but Mr. Turnbull muſt mean the Continent of AMERICA.

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on the north weſt ſpeculation. Mr. Turnbull being now a reſident, *pro tempore*, in Botany Bay, enjoyed a favourable opportunity of giving ſome attention to the nature and circumſtances of this ſo often mentioned, but little known, ſettlement. One characteriſtic of the colony, and which ſtruck Mr. T. with peculiar force, was this:

"That it is almoſt the only ſettlement in the world in which the reſidence of Europeans has produced abſolutely no change in the manners or uſeful knowledge of the natives." "The inhabitants of Otaheite (as Mr. T. mentions afterwards) have adopted our fiſhing-hooks, acknowledged the ſuperiority of our tools, and almoſt univerſally laid aſide their implements of bone. The Sandwich iſlanders are in many reſpects ſtill more advanced in the knowledge and uſe of European commodities. It is not ſo with the natives of New Holland: they have gained nothing in civilization ſince their firſt diſcovery."

The town of Sydney, the capital of the colony, and the ſeat of government, is deſcribed. An account is given of its population, the civil government, and general character of the ſettlers. "Nearly one half of the whole population, both men and women, are Iriſh convicts, many of whom were tranſported thither for ſeditious practices." Mr. Turnbull is of opinion, that if an enemy were to make their appearance in any force that ſhould promiſe effect, this part of the convicts, at leaſt, would join them. There is indeed one ſecurity, Mr. T. obſerves, againſt any attack of this nature—"the little value of the ſettlement to the conquerors;" but if New South Wales is nothing in itſelf, like Malta it may have a relative importance. "The multitude of law-ſuits and litigations in this colony exceed all proportion to its population. There were not leſs than three hundred capiaſes, ſummonſes, and executions, to be brought forward at the next ſitting of the civil court, and the fees of office to the provoſt were ſaid to amount to nearly three hundred pounds." Mr. T. ſuppoſes, that this "may appear ſtrange." To moſt readers we preſume it will appear quite natural, and what was to be expected.

"The Aboriginal inhabitants of this diſtant region are, beyond compariſon, the moſt barbarous on the face of the earth. The reſidence of Europeans (as had been before noticed) has here been wholly ineffectual. The natives are ſtill in the ſame ſtate as at our firſt ſettlement. Every day are men and women to be ſeen in the ſtreets of Sydney and Paramatta, naked as in the moment of their birth. They ſtill perſiſt in the enjoyment of their eaſe and liberty in their own way, and turn a deaf ear to any advice on this ſubject.

"Is this to be imputed to a greater portion of natural ſtupidity than uſually falls to the lot of ſavages? By no means: if an accurate obſervation, and a quick perception, of the ridiculous, be admitted as a proof of natural talents, the natives of New South Wales are by no means deficient. Their mimicking of the oddities, dreſs, walk, gait, and looks of all the Europeans whom they have ſeen, from the time of Governor Philips downwards, is ſo exact, as to be a kind of hiſtoric regiſter of their ſeveral actions and characters. Governor Philips and Colonel Groſs [ſhould not this be

Grose?] they imitate to the life; and to this day, if there be any thing peculiar in any of our countrymen, Officers in the Corps, or even convicts, any caſt in the eye, or hobble in the gait, any trip, or ſtrut, ſtammering, or thick ſpeaking, they catch it in the moment, and repreſent it in a manner which renders it impoſſible not to recognize the original. They are, moreover, great proficients in the language and Newgate ſlang of the convicts, and in the caſe of any quarrel are by no means unequal to them in the exchange of abuſe.

"But this is the ſum total of their acquiſitions from European intercourſe. In every other reſpect, they appear incapable of any improvement, or even change."

This incapacity in the New Hollanders, Mr. T. does not impute to any unuſual portion of ſtupidity, becauſe they are found to be admirable mimicks; for he preſumes that "a quick perception of the *ridiculous* muſt be admitted as a proof of natural talents. Certainly a quick perception of the *ridiculous* (ſo nearly allied to the exerciſe of reaſon) muſt be admitted as a proof of quick talents. But does the mimicking of thoſe ſavages, in every other reſpect ſo ſtupid, intractable, and indocile, proceed from the *ſenſus ridiculi* (which the celebrated profeſſor Hutchinſon conſiders as an original principle in human nature, as well as a moral ſenſe, a ſenſe of beauty, &c.) and not rather, like that of apes and parrots, from what appears ſingular, peculiar, marked, or ſtriking? In the town of Perth, about forty years ago, there was a man of the name of Lenox, who was deaf and dumb, and certainly had the appearance, at leaſt, of ſtupidity; yet *Dumbie* Lenox, as he was called, was a moſt excellent mimic. There was not any perſon of note in the town, that might not immediately be recognized from *Dumbie* Lenox's imitation of his gait, manner, and general appearance. Mimicry depends on the ſenſes and pliability of the organs, not on the intellect. When the New Hollanders ſhall become better reaſoners, they will be worſe mimics.

The account that is given by our author of the means and modes of life, the ways, or arts in peace and war, and general character of the New Hollanders, as well as of the inhabitants of the Society and Sandwich iſlands, &c. is in perfect conformity with the narratives of Capt. Cook and other voyagers: but he has noticed and recorded many curious particulars which they have not mentioned, and which probably did not fall under their obſervation. They are all of them great cheats, liars, beggars, and thieves: even the royal families, kings and queens, princes and princeſſes, not excepted. Their principal ſubſiſtence, as has been obſerved by every viſitor, is drawn from the ſea and rivers; and hence the ſea-coaſt is much better inhabited than the interior.

"When a dead whale is caſt on ſhore, they (the New Hollanders) live ſumptuouſly, flocking to it in great numbers, and ſeldom leave it till the bones are well picked. Their ſubſtitute for bread is a ſpecies of root, ſomething reſembling the fern. It is roaſted and pounded between two ſtones, and being thus mixed with fish, and perhaps ſome other ingredients, conſtitutes

ſtitutes the chief part of their food. They have oyſters of an extraordinary ſize, three of them being ſufficient for any ordinary man."

"The general cauſes of quarrels among the natives of Botany Bay appear to ariſe from jealouſy of their women; and one mode of retaliation is, ſeizing on and raviſhing them, which, we preſume, is not ſo grievous a ſuffering there as it would be in Europe."—"The quickneſs of their eye and ear is equally ſingular. They can hear and diſtinguiſh objects which would eſcape an European. This circumſtance renders them very acceptable guides to our ſportſmen in the woods, as they never fail to point out the game before any European can diſcover it. They ſleep beneath the canopy of heaven for their covering. In wet weather they retreat to the caverns in the rocks, and remain there, having lighted fires at the mouth, till the tempeſt is diſpelled. They are ſaid to be terribly afraid of viſions and apparitions. Their canoes, compoſed of the bark of trees tied together in ſmall ſplinters, are the moſt miſerable that it is poſſible to conceive. They are actually half full of water; and nothing but the buoyancy of the materials could prevent them a minute from ſinking. In this crazy craft, a whole family may frequently be ſeen a-fiſhing. A fire of embers is uſually in the midſt of the veſſel, and the fiſh they catch is thus dreſſed, or rather half-warmed, in the ſame inſtant in which it is caught."

On the firſt ſettlement of the colony at Botany Bay, all intercourſe was much impeded by their jealouſy of their new viſitors.

"It was not without many friendly advances, and ſome artifice, that the Governor could in any degree appeaſe them, or induce them to venture among the ſettlers. One of their chiefs, Bennelong, a warrior of great repute, was caught by a very ſingular expedient. Having taken a liking to a ſailor's jacket, it was offered to him without heſitation, and a ſailor ordered to aſſiſt him in putting it on. The fellow obeyed, and by putting the back of the jacket on front, contrived to hamper the arms, and effectually ſecure the ſturdy ſavage."

Mr. T. heard another ridiculous anecdote, the truth of which "he does not abſolutely [*too abſolutely*, he ſays; but *abſolute* admits not of any degrees] aſſert, though the ignorance of the natives, he obſerves at the ſame time, renders it not incredible.

"Some fiſh belonging to the ſailors of a ſhip in the harbour, boiling in a camp-kettle over the fire on ſhore, ſome of the natives obſerved them with a look of deſire, and, watching their opportunity, ſlily put in their hands to take one out; and being thus, as it were, caught in a trap, betook themſelves to flight, with looks full of equal terror and aſtoniſhment, and roaring, like ſo many wounded bulls. I can the more readily believe this, as I know from experience, that, except in their mimicry, they can ſcarcely connect two ideas together."

Therefore, as above obſerved, excellence in mimicry is not a proof of excellent natural talents. While we do not in every inſtance agree with our candid author in his concluſions, we greatly reſpect his ſtrict regard to truth, in his narration of matters of fact. If it had been his object to prove, from the admirable mimicry of thoſe ſavages, that they had good natural parts, he would not have inſiſted ſo much on

their extreme ſtupidity in other reſpects. He ſtates facts, leaving theories to others; though he ſometimes ſuggeſts hints for the exerciſe of reflection.

The curioſity of knowing the character and circumſtances of newly-diſcovered ſavages is ſcarcely greater than that of knowing the light in which our own character and circumſtances are viewed by them. The following anecdotes, therefore, of Bennelong, the chief already mentioned, are introduced into this narrative with taſte and judgment.

"Whilſt Bennelong was in England, he was preſented to many of the principal nobility and firſt families of the kingdom, and received from many of them preſents of clothes and other articles, which a ſavage of any other country would have deemed almoſt ineſtimable. It was not ſo, however, with Bennelong. He was no ſooner re-landed in his own country, than he forgot, or at leaſt laid aſide, all the ornaments and improvements he had reaped from his travels, and returned, as if with increaſed reliſh, to all his former loathſome and ſavage habits. His clothes were thrown away, as burthenſome reſtraints on the freedom of his limbs, and he became again as complete a New-Hollander, as if he had never left his native wilds. Indeed the ſame obſervation holds good with reſpect to the reſt of his countrymen; for though they are continually craving clothes, it is but very ſeldom that they appear in them a ſecond time.

"It cannot, indeed, be denied that Bennelong is ſomewhat advanced beyond his countrymen in European acquiſitions, for he can occaſionally converſe with eaſe and even intereſt. The names of Lady Sydney and Lady Jane Dundas are often in his mouth; and he appears juſtly grateful for the favours received from theſe his fair patroneſſes. It is not unpleaſing to liſten to his relations of the wonders ſeen by him during his abode in England. One incident, in particular, he relates with all the ſatisfaction of a favourite ſtory: that being at the houſe of a very reſpectable gentleman, and ſurrounded with numberleſs viſitors of curioſity, an old gentleman, unmoved amidſt the general eagerneſs, took no further notice of him than beſtowing on him a ſingle glance, and then helped himſelf bountifully to a pinch of ſnuff, and requeſted the company to paſs the bottle, which had for ſome time been quite neglected. This apathy and inflexible gravity ſeem to have made more impreſſion on the mind of Bennelong than all the wonders and glitters of dreſs that he had ſeen that evening; and from the pleaſure he takes in relating this incident, he no doubt conſiders the old gentleman as one of the wiſeſt men in the company, or perhaps in England. Bennelong (who is his countrymen in epitome) is ſo addicted to drinking, that he would ſcarcely ever be ſober if he could obtain ſpirits; and whenever intoxicated, he is intolerably miſchievous.

"A gentleman of great humanity made the trial of cultivating a young native boy and girl, beginning with them from their infancy, juſtly thinking that his early commencement gave the beſt promiſe of ſucceſs.

"They were accordingly ſtrictly and anxiouſly attended, and ſupplied with food, clothes, and every thing either neceſſary to the comfort, or to the forming of them to European habits. No ſooner, however, on their advanced age, were they reſtored to their free choice, and liberty of action, than, throwing aſide all their European improvements, and rejecting with diſdain all the habits of civilized life, they returned to their countrymen, and

and preferred even the ſaming of a ſavage life to all the plenty and comparative luxury of a civil ſociety. Numberleſs are the other examples of the ſame kind; indeed ſo many as almoſt to induce a concluſion, that a New Hollander is phyſically incapable of civilization. The New Hollanders are wholly without any form of government, or any family or individual whom they acknowledge as their king or chief.

" Parturition here ſeems excepted from the general curſe. The women, in a few hours after their delivery, return to the performance of their domeſtic duties. Whilſt the female child is in its infancy, they deprive it of the two firſt [the firſt two] joints of the little finger of the right hand; the operation being effected by obſtructing the circulation, by means of a light ligature. The diſmembered part is thrown into the ſea, that the child may be hereafter fortunate in fiſhing. They have alſo a cuſtom of extracting from the male children, about the age of puberty, one of their front teeth."

Mr. Turnbull, departing from Port Jackſon, proceeds to Norfolk iſland, the beauty and fertility of which, as well as of two ſmaller adjacent iſlands, known by the name of Philips and Nepean, are deſcribed. At Norfolk iſland, he was informed by a letter from his companion, the Captain of the ſhip, that the North-Weſt ſpeculation had entirely failed, and that he had in conſequence returned to Port Jackſon; that, under theſe circumſtances, he had come to a reſolution to try Baſs's Straits, and endeavour to make up a cargo of ſkins, as their licence from the Eaſt India Company compelled them to viſit China.

The following ſingular ſtory of a fugitive, beſides that it is amuſing in itſelf, contains ſome intereſting local deſcription.

" As the Captain (whoſe name is not mentioned) returned from his voyage to the North-Weſt, he was compelled, by the neceſſity of recruiting his ſtock of freſh water, to ſtop at one of thoſe ſolitary iſlands with which the ſurface of the South Sea is every where ſtudded, and not one half of which, however fertile and beautiful, have any other inhabitants than the uſual ſea-birds. After the watering was completed, the boat was diſpatched to another part of the iſland, abounding in the cocoa nut and cabbage tree, which, for the convenience of gathering the fruit, they had begun to cut down. They were all in the uſual ſpirits of men who touch at land after the long confinement of a ſea voyage, when their mirth was interrupted by a moſt hideous noiſe. The ſound approached, exclaiming to them, in horrid exclamations, and good Engliſh, as they thought, to deſiſt. The whole party were now panic-ſtruck. Perſuaded that it could be nothing but a ſupernatural being warning them from his ſacred domain, and that inſtant death, or ſome horrible puniſhment, would attend their diſobedience; a council of war was held on the ſpot, and, after ſome *pros* and *cons*, it was finally agreed to ſtand by one another, and not to take to their heels till the enemy appeared. The ſpectre at length advanced, in appearance a ſavage, and reproached them for their unprovoked treſpaſs on his premiſes. The party were at length convinced that their monſter was no other than a man, who, according to his own account and conjectural reaſoning, had been left on the iſland by a ſhip about four months before. The reader will readily conclude, that he had not received this puniſhment for his good behaviour. His beard had not been ſhaved ſince the firſt moment of his landing. His

raiment was all in rags, and his flesh as filthy as a miner who had never appeared above the surface of his mother earth.

" The first enquiry, of course, was, how he came to be left on the island, with every probability of perishing: a question to which he could return no very satisfactory answer. The next question was, as to his mode of living, to which he replied somewhat more intelligibly; that the principal article of his subsistence was the cocoa nut, fish, and land and sea crab; that one time he had the good fortune to kill a wild hog, but, for want of salt to preserve it, he could make it last but two days.

" After some farther intercourse, some of the party accompanied him to what he called his house, which was built in a particular shape, three posts being sunk in the ground, and inclined towards each other, so as to form a complete half of a regular bisected cone. The roof was doubly and trebly matted over with the leaves and smaller branches of the cocoa-nut tree; but the house altogether appeared more like a dog-kennel than a suitable abode for a human being. The household furniture consisted of an old trunk, a dirty flock bed, an axe, a pocket knife, a butcher's steel, and four gun flints. In this situation, four hundred miles from any human being, and at almost an immeasurable distance from his native country, this fellow appeared so contented with his condition, that he seemed to have no wish to depart. When a proposal was made to him to accompany our men to the ship, he paused for some time, and at length made a demand for wages, which, as expressive of indifference, would doubtless have justified them in leaving him to his fate. At length, however, he suffered himself to be persuaded, but still seemed to consider the convenience mutual, or rather that we were the obliged party.

They could never procure from him any satisfactory account as to the cause of his being left on the island; but they never entertained any doubt, that it was no slight crime that could provoke his Captain and his comrades to such an exemplary punishment. Indeed his subsequent conduct was such as to justify this conjecture; for, instead of any gratitude to his deliverers, he was found to be such a mover of sedition amongst the ship's company, that, for the preservation of good order in the ship, it was thought prudent to leave him at Port Jackson."

Our voyagers, leaving Norfolk island with a fair wind, proceeded to Otaheite, where they were visited by the chiefs and missionaries.

" The King being very desirous to obtain some of our ava, that is, spirituous liquors, we gratified him with a small quantity, which was handed down to him in a cocoa-nut shell in his canoe. On receiving the present, he said aloud ' My ty te tata, my ty te pohie—Very good men, very good ship.' We afterwards learned, that his Majesty was somewhat too much addicted to the use of such liquors, and that he would go all lengths to procure them. His father Pomarie was not yet returned from an expedition against his enemies in another part of the island. It may be necessary here to observe, that, by the laws of Otaheite, the son, immediately on his birth, succeeds to the dignity of his father, the father, from that instant becoming only administrator for his child. Oloo therefore was king, and Pomarrie, his father, regent.

" Nothing, in the way of presents, was so acceptable as fire arms. No other kind of present could be made acceptable, even to the Queen Dowager Edeoh. Whatever was offered to her, cloth, looking-glasses, scissars, even

even axes, ſhe rejected with diſdain, making us underſtand that ſhe was as capable as any man in the country of making uſe of fire-arms. We had indeed been informed by the Miſſionaries, that ſhe was not leſs expert as a warrior than as a politician. We therefore explained, that the articles we had preſented to her, were ſuch as would have been eagerly preferred by our fair countrywomen, and concluded by giving her a muſket, with which ſhe was perfectly ſatisfied."

Our voyagers were alſo viſited by the regent Pomarie—

"Who deſired to be accommodated with a bed, as well for himſelf as for a ſupplementary wife, who attended him in the double capacity of a miſtreſs and ſervant. It was his practice to be fed by this lady, or ſome other truſty attendant, when in company with ſtrangers; as, according to the cuſtoms of Otaheite, he would have diſgraced himſelf by carrying his hand to his mouth. We found, however, afterwards, that he was not ſo ſcrupulous on ſhore, on this point of etiquette. During the afternoon, that he might ſee how much I conſidered myſelf honoured by becoming his tayo* (or particular friend) I ſhewed him all poſſible attention, and in perſon waited on him as his ſervant. His queſtions were as numerous, and for the moſt part as inſignificant as uſual: though ſome of them argued a greater ſtrength of mind, and a more warlike propenſity. He enquired of us repeatedly, if any of us were acquainted with the art of making gunpowder; and, as he had learned from the mutineers of the Bounty, that it was a compoſition, and not the farina of a vegetable, as ſuppoſed by other ſavages, he demanded to be informed of its component parts, and whether they might not be found in the ſoil of Otaheite? Was my Royal Maſter a longer man than him? Had he a comely countenance? Was his dreſs elegant?—and ſundry other particulars reſpecting her Majeſty, and the ladies of rank in our country. Such was the curioſity of Pomarie and his female attendant, that the whole afternoon was employed in minutely examining every object around them. They were particularly ſtruck with the ſight of two American negroes in our ſhip's company, both of whom were of a complexion uncommonly dark, and had ſhort woolly hair. The Otoheitans ſeemed to think the deep colour of the ſkin was produced by painting, as they at different times tried to rub it off.

"The Otaheitans, like other ſavages, are paſſionately fond of muſic. Every feature of their face, and member of their body, bears [not bear] teſtimony to its impreſſion; no inconſiderable arguments of their ſenſibility and ſocial affection.

"One day we had Edeoh and her favourite chief (to whom ſhe had been attached ſince ſhe parted from Pomarie) to dine on board; not that they cared for our food, dreſſed after our own manner, but becauſe they knew that unleſs they ate with us, they could hope for none of our ava and tobacco, for which they both ardently longed. The effects of the liquor on the two gueſts were very different; for while the man became mad and furious, the poor Queen Dowager appeared ſilly and childiſh. She burſt into tears, and trembled with fear, as her companion grew outrageous and deſperate. Juſt

* When they become Tayos, or particular friends, they exchange names. Mr. Turnbull, for example, was called Pomarie; Pomarie, Turnbull.

at this time, Pomarie came on board to have ſome work done at our forge, and hearing the noiſe below, was touched with compaſſion for Edeoh, his former conſort; but, unwilling perſonally to interfere, he beckoned to me to go down, and endeavour to arrange matters, without his appearing to know any thing of the buſineſs. This was done: but it was only by a promiſe of a little more ſpirits, on condition that peace ſhould be reſtored, that the fury of the ſavage could be reſtrained from breaking out in ſome deſperate act.

Leaving Otaheite, they arrived at Huaheine.

"While we lay off the mouth of the harbour, we were agreeably ſurprized at the approach of a large double canoe, as carrying a pendant and red flag. We concluded that the King, the Admiral, or ſome other great chief, was on board: but when the canoe came along ſide, we diſcovered that the ſtranger was no other than one of our former ſhipmates, a half-witted reſtleſs fellow, who had for ſome time paſt reſided in the iſland.

"Indeed there does not occur a greater difficulty to all European ſhips in the South Seas than that of keeping their crews together: ſuch is the ſeduction of that life of indolence, and careleſſneſs, which the ſeveral iſlands hold out: the beauty of the country, particularly that of Otaheite, and ſtill more the facility with which the neceſſaries of life may be procured, are temptations too powerful to ſailors exhauſted with the fatigue of ſuch a long voyage. Add to this, the women: and the difficulty of reſtraining our ſeamen againſt ſo many attractions will excite no farther ſurprize."

By the advice of their ſhipmate whom they found at Huaheine, they left that iſland, and proceeded to the knaviſh and treacherous ULITEA, where a plan was concluded between a number of convicts (whom they had been obliged, from the deſertion of many of their men, to take on board as part of their crew at Botany Bay) and the chiefs, for cutting the veſſel from her anchors, letting her drive on ſhore, murdering the ſhip's company, and making prey of the ſhip. Hoſtilities enſued between the Engliſh and Uliteans, aided by ſome deſerters: but all difficulties and dangers being happily ſurmounted, our countrymen were enabled to make their eſcape from Ulitea. Paſſing by the iſlands of Bolobolla and Mouna, in which laſt they had ſome intercourſe with the natives, they bade adieu, for the preſent, to the Society Iſlands.

(To be concluded in our next.)

An Eſſay on the Principle and Origin of Sovereign Power. By a Dignitary of the Church. Tranſlated from the French, with a Preface and Appendix. 8vo. Pp. 298. 7s. Hatchard. 1805.

THE French revolution, and the uſurpation of the throne of France by Napoleon Buonaparté, appear to have given riſe to this publication, which the author divides into two parts. In the firſt of theſe, conſiſting of four chapters, he enters into a refutation of the hypotheſis of a ſtate of nature anterior to ſociety, and of a primitive compact;

compact; and in the ſecond, he endeavours to point out and trace the firſt, or the original ſtate of ſociety. He endeavours to inveſtigate and aſcertain theſe three points, whether civil ſociety aroſe from a primitive convention between men independent of all reſtraint from authority; whether ſuch a ſtate of natural independence has ever exiſted; and whether ſuch a ſtate is even poſſible; attempting, in the firſt part of his performance, to prove, 1ſt, That from the hypotheſis of ſuch a ſtate ſyſtems are derived moſt deſtructive both to ſociety and to the intereſts of religion; 2dly, that the hypotheſis itſelf is not ſupported by any hiſtorical facts; 3dly, that it is atheiſtical, reflecting on Divine Providence, and contrary to revealed truths; 4thly, that it is repugnant to reaſon, even unenlightened by revelation. And, in the ſecond part, he labours to eſtabliſh the doctrine, that the rights of ſovereigns are conſecrated by religion; that their authority emanates from a divine ſource, proceeding from God himſelf; and attempts to trace this emanation in the very ordinances of nature themſelves.

In the firſt chapter of the firſt part, he combats, we think ſucceſsfully, the doctrines of Hobbes, Monteſquieu, and Rouſſeau, ſo far at leaſt as they relate to the ſuppoſition of men exiſting in an independent inſulated ſituation, or ſtate of nature, prior to every kind of ſociety. After entering into a particular examination of their opinions, he draws a compariſon between their principles in the followings words:

"In decompoſing, or analyſing the nature of man, Hobbes, with much acuteneſs of diſcrimination, ſaw that his vicious propenſities, when unreſtrained by the laws of ſociety, inclined him to diſturb general harmony. This is a truth but too well evinced by experience. This author has concluded, that, previous to the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, the ſtate of nature was a ſtate of anarchy: a falſe concluſion, becauſe man is a being eſſentially ſociable, and becauſe man has never lived in a ſtate of nature prior to ſociety, and out of, and diſtinct from a ſtate of ſociety.

"Monteſquieu and Rouſſeau have attacked the principle laid down by Hobbes. They have remarked, that God could not place man in a ſtate of warfare, where natural laws could not be diſpenſed, nor operate: So far, they reaſoned juſtly. But they ſubjoin, that man exiſts in peace with his kind, in the ſtate of nature anterior to that of ſociety. Here, equally with Hobbes, they reaſon erroneouſly. For man is born with the propenſities of a fallen and corrupt nature; and a ſtate of nature cannot be ſuppoſed where man, independent of all authority, would not be a prey to his own paſſions, and at war with his fellow-creatures.

"Why have theſe writers on either ſide of the queſtion, fallen into error? It is becauſe they have not perceived, that ſociety is the natural ſtate of man, at once a reaſonable, and corrupt being. Society developes his reaſon, by ſituating him in a ſtate of mutual relations with his kind: and ſhe reſtrains his paſſions, by ſubjecting him to a governing authority. In a word, the ſyſtem of Hobbes is abſurd, becauſe in conſidering man, *such as he is*, ſince his fall, he places him in a ſtate of nature ſubject to no authority, and abandons him to the fury of his vicious and unruly inclinations. Monteſquieu and Rouſſeau, on the contrary, ſuppoſing man, *what he is not*, conclude, that his paſſions are the very cauſe of ſociety, and that he would not poſſeſs

poſſeſs them in the ſtate of nature, or at leaſt, that they would not incline him more to evil than to good. Now, this hypotheſis will not accord with the ſtate of degradation and loſs of moral principle to which ſin has reduced his will and general habits; a ſtate which even the heathen philoſophers have ſuppoſed."

In the ſecond chapter, he has recourſe to the book of Geneſis to ſhow, that the hypotheſis of men's having exiſted individually, ſeparately, and independently, in an inſulated ſituation and condition, prior to any ſort of ſociety, and having removed, for the ſake of mutual ſupport and convenience, from that ſtate into the ſocial, in virtue of an original or primitive compact formed or entered into by them in that ſituation, is not ſupported by any hiſtorical facts. We readily allow that this aſſertion is not only true, but that the truth of it is eſtabliſhed by hiſtory both ſacred and profane, as well as by obſervation and experience. Men never did nor ever can exiſt but in ſociety, for which they are formed by nature. But ever ſince there have been men, there have been quarrels, which have rendered an attention on their part to ſelf-preſervation, even in the ſimpleſt forms or ſtages of ſociety, abſolutely neceſſary. As in ſcience, however, no ſuppoſition is admiſſible, that is either contrary to demonſtrable truth, or repugnant to certain and well-known data, ſo the hypotheſis of "man fallen from the clouds, abandoned to himſelf, and without education, antecedent to the formation of any ſociety," is a fiction that ought not to be granted, even to writers on law and natural rights, becauſe it is inconſiſtent with reaſon, which ſhews us, beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, that ſociety is neceſſary for the propagation and preſervation of the ſpecies; with revelation, which informs us, that man was not only created male and female, as it was not good that Adam ſhould be alone, but was alſo commanded to be fruitful and multiply; with hiſtorical facts, with experience and obſervation, which have always found men, in even the rudeſt and moſt ignorant ſtate, in ſome ſort of ſociety or other; and with the deſires, weakneſſes, and wants of human nature, which all conſpire to render man naturally prone to ſociety, as abſolutely neceſſary for his happineſs, ſecurity, and preſervation. At the ſame time we cannot ſubſcribe to his opinion, that the ſtate of nature is a ſtate of civilization, and that the ſavage ſtate is fartheſt removed from the ſame; for we cannot help regarding thoſe forms of the family-ſtate of ſociety, that are moſt ſimple, as approaching neareſt to the ſtate of nature.

He ſeems to think that civilized ſociety exiſted in greateſt perfection when Adam and Eve were in a ſtate of innocence; that civilization, with a knowledge of religion, the arts, and ſciences, gradually diminiſhed as their deſcendants ſeparated themſelves to a greater and greater diſtance from them, till men loſt all juſt and proper ideas of the Supreme Being, as well as an acquaintance with the arts of life, and degenerated into a ſtate of ignorance, ſavageneſs, and barbariſm, which, in his opinion, is in the extreme oppoſite to that of nature. We on the other hand conceive, that no fair or reaſonable concluſions or inferences

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can be drawn from the degree of civilization and knowledge, which our firſt parents enjoyed in paradiſe, with regard to the natural ſtate of man fallen and corrupt as he now is. In contemplating the ſtate of nature, we muſt take man as he really exiſts at preſent, without attempting to view him as that being, which we are told he originally was.

There are alſo ſome other poſitions of this author, which we cannot admit; ſuch, for inſtance, as theſe; that the ſavages in America have a police, councils, and forms of government, and that the heads of families have the power of life and death. For they have no regulations among them, even for the puniſhment of murder, which is the greateſt crime that can be committed in ſociety. In ſuch caſes, retaliation is the only principle of action among them; and that is frequently for a conſiderable length of time delayed. Every family, without conſulting any other, follows the bent of its own inclination; and this muſt neceſſarily be the caſe, whilſt they continue to ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing and hunting. The head of a family neither claims nor exerciſes the power of life and death. The mere attempt to exerciſe ſuch a power would generally prove fatal to him. They are as fond and careful of their children, in their helpleſs and infant ſtate, as people in more advanced ſtages of ſociety are, and even more ſo. Parental authority among them is accompanied with no coercion, but is exerciſed with the greateſt lenity and mildneſs. They ſeldom even reprove their children, and never or very rarely indeed chaſtiſe them. And as to their war-councils, it is as neceſſary for all the heads of families to be preſent at them, as for the warriors and young men fit for acting as ſuch, who generally attend when they can, are animated to warlike exploits by the ſpeeches of their war-chiefs, and are invited to accompany them on their expeditions, which they ſometimes do, and ſometimes not, as they themſelves think proper. The very women and children are not excluded from their meetings, if they chooſe to attend. We agree, however, with the author in this poſition, that there never was nor could be *a primordial compact entered into by men living prior to the forming of it individually, ſeparately, and independently of one another.* It will be but fair, however, to communicate to our readers his ſentiments on theſe points in his own words.

"The firſt deſcendants of the original parents of mankind, we ſee, lived in civilized ſociety. It muſt be confeſſed, that others who removed to ſituations diſtant from the country of their anceſtors, have become barbarous and almoſt ſavage. What inference are we to draw from this, to cauſe it to bear on the ſuppoſitions of the publiciſts? It is, that all the nations from Noah downwards, who had preſerved the ſame language, the ſame ſocial relations, and who had brought to perfection the ſciences and arts, would not have been in a ſtate of nature. It would have been the poſterity of Japheth, who, in the wild foreſts of unenlightened Europe, would have ſought the ſtate of nature to live in it, till they might deem it eligible to relinquiſh

relinquiſh it, to return to a ſtate of civilization by the formation of a ſocial compact.

"Nevertheleſs, ſome authors have endeavoured to reconcile this hypotheſis with hiſtorical facts. "When under the ſocial compact," ſays a modern writer, "our forefathers did not ſay, ſimply, We muſt be governed. They ſaid, We wiſh to have ſuch a certain ſpecies of government, and, immediately, raiſed Pharamond on their bucklers." This writer quotes injudiciouſly. Does he imagine that our anceſtors had not been governed prior to this period? They had rulers, prieſts, and religious worſhip; they had laws, ſince the Salic laws exiſted before Pharamond's time. In a word, they had a government; whether an ariſtocracy, or a democracy, it matters not. They had a ſovereign. It is by his will, that the people, in purſuance of eſtabliſhed forms, aſſemble and chooſe a king. If the government becomes legitimately monarchical, this is alſo effected by the intervention of the ſame authority that has hitherto ruled, and which reſigns the power into the hands of the new ſovereign. Find out, prior to Pharamond's time, the primordial compact among the French. I ſuſpect its original exiſtence cannot be aſcertained, and that hiſtory does not record the period of its formation.—D. APPENDIX.

"The ſuppoſition of men altogether independent, and relinquiſhing their woods to form a political conſtitution, involves a ridiculous abſurdity. The very ſavages of America do not live in a ſtate of anarchy. Let us ſuppoſe that a legiſlator undertakes to preſent to them a code of laws. If they accept of it, we are not to conclude that the primitive compact has raiſed a ſovereign to the throne. The ſovereignty and the government had a prior exiſtence, becauſe they had a police, rulers, and councils that regulated the common affairs of the people: a form of government, unqueſtionably, ſimple, but proportioned to their wants, and not giving riſe, like ours, to various complicated intereſts involving political and contentious diſcuſſions. "The European contemplating only the forms of government peculiar to his own country, at firſt, regards the nations of North America, as ſavages ſcattered among the woods. He is, afterwards, not a little ſurpriſed at finding a ſenate with whom he can negotiate, and warriors prepared to oppoſe his enterpriſes. This ſenate is compoſed of the heads of families, who are, actually, independent ſovereigns, having, in their reſpective families, the power of life and death." (Ferguſon.)

"It is taking an unfair, and deceiving view of the ſubject, to term a conſtitutional charter, a Magna Charter, or a bill of rights, which among ſome nations originated in conventions that expreſſed the public will in a formal manner, a primitive compact. The origin of ſovereignty is by no means to be found in ſuch conventions: for they exhibit nations who had already been ſubject to laws. Theſe conventions could not have been legitimate and regular, but, by the concurrence of a pre-exiſting authority that directs men's minds to that particular object of reform or political change, which it may be expedient to introduce into the ſtate. Lycurgus was a king, before he became a legiſlator. Athens had laws before the times of Solon.

"Let us not confound two things very diſtinct in their nature; a *primordial contract* which men ſuppoſed independent of all authority might enter into, and an *accidental convention* formed by a nation of long ſtanding. The one would be an eſſential change operated in the ſtate of primitive man, become

become ſocial. The other is but a modification of that ſocial ſtate which he has always enjoyed as his natural ſtate. Here, it is a nation thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that changes its conſtitution, and under the name of the *people* we are to underſtand the whole body politic, the head, and its members, the ſovereign and his ſubjects. Nothing is effected but by the will of the rulers of the ſtate acting in concert with members conſtituting it. Under the other conſideration of the ſubject, there would be no ſocial body politic. It would be an aggregation of men poſſeſſing all, the ſame rights. The ſtate of ſociety they adopt, would be the unconſtrained effect of their volition that would not deſtroy their right to the independence they would hold from nature. This compact, founded on original independence, would be binding on them while its conditions were literally fulfilled; but ſhould one of the contracting parties violate theſe, then the original right of independence would recur in its fulleſt force. Under theſe ſuppoſitions, it is by the election on the part of the people, that kings now reign; now, equally as they did at the period of the primitive contract. The people might ſay to them at all times, *You do not accompliſh the object of your inſtitution, we no longer owe you obedience.* Under the oppoſite hypotheſis, the ſubject always remains a ſubject, during, and after the convention, as he was previouſly, and ſubmits to the laws legiſlated for his benefit. It is, then, evident, that the two compacts in queſtion have in their nature, nothing of a common import. A convention ariſing from circumſtances, formed by a people * to reform their government, is either legitimate, or is not legitimate †. It is legal, if its proceedings and its convocation are ſanctioned by the concurrence of the conſtituted authorities of the ſtate. It is illegal, if it aſſembles and acts by an inſurrection of the people againſt the prince, or the rulers who are inveſted with power. It is, undoubtedly, poſſible that a conſtitution, thus viciouſly formed, and of unſanctioned origin, may maintain itſelf. But let us not miſtake this poſition; if the laws promulgated under ſuch a convention, during a revolution, become, ſubſequently, obligatory on a nation, and if a new power aſſumes the right of ruling over the people, it is not to the illegal and uſurped authority of this convention that this is to be attributed; it is to be aſcribed to that preſcriptive authority which length of time gives to eſtabliſhments, by a ſanction they could not derive from any will of a revolted people. The laws of this preſcription, as they relate to the ſovereignty, will be the object of an important article in this work."

"* I ſuppoſe that the Poles, in the end of the laſt century, would have ſucceeded in the deſign they had of changing their conſtitution. The ſame conſtituted authorities who had, till that period, placed the crown on the head of an elected king, would have tranſmitted an hereditary right to the dynaſty whom they might have called to the throne. We muſt, doubtleſs, not confound the *diet of Poland, with the ſovereign people of Rouſſeau.*"

"† I have no fear or heſitation in ſaying it. The treaties of peace which acknowledged the independence of Holland, and of the United States of America, were, by no means, tranſactions between two powers poſſeſſing equal rights. Until the period of the ſignature of theſe reſpective treaties, there was only one ſovereign relatively concerned. It was, in one caſe, the king of Spain who relinquiſhed his rights over Holland; and in the other, the king of England, who agreed not to exerciſe his any longer, on the Continent of America. The two republics, only at theſe reſpective periods, commenced poſſeſſing ſovereign authority."

In

In the third chapter he proceeds to prove, that the hypotheſis of a ſtate of nature anterior to ſociety is atheiſtical, reflects on providence, and is contrary to revealed truth. We readily allow, that this hypotheſis is contradictory to the account which Moſes has given us of the origin of man; but we cannot regard the mere fiction of ſuch a ſtate, for the purpoſe of illuſtration, as atheiſtical; and we do not think, that he has ſucceeded in his attempt to prove it ſo. We cannot ſubſcribe to his aſſertion in page 62, that the origin of government is intimately connected with revelation; for though the Scriptures give us an account of the origin of man, they have no where preſcribed an original form of government for him. The only ſort of government, that we know of, which revelation ever preſcribed, was the Theocracy delivered to the Iſraelites by Moſes. And we muſt alſo reject his poſition in page 65, that the American ſavage is in the oppoſite extreme to a ſtate of nature.

The author, though a dignitary of the church, does not in this chapter ſtick cloſe to his text, which is to prove, "that reaſon alone is armed and guarded againſt the ſuppoſition of a ſtate of nature, and of a primitive compact." We are clearly of opinion, that the hypotheſis of a ſtate of nature antecedent to all ſociety, and of a ſocial compact entered into by men in ſuch a ſtate, for the purpoſe of quitting it, is altogether chimerical, and repugnant both to reaſon and the nature of man. Not ſatisfied with this, however, he attempts, through a deficiency of correct diſcrimination, to eſtabliſh others, that have no direct connection with it, and glances at doctrines, which he lays down more particularly in the ſecond part, and which we will take particular notice of, as we entirely diſapprove of them. Before we enter into an examination of them, however, it is proper to preſent them to our readers in his own words.

"Man is a ſocial, and corrupt being. Nature has formed for his benefit ſociety regulated by peculiar laws; but his untoward paſſions, perpetually, diſturb the peaceful repoſe which this ſtate is calculated to afford. It is in order to reconcile theſe ſtrange contradictions of the human heart, that God has, from the beginning, ſubjected him to a ruling power, and has not left the inſtitution of government to the hazardous deciſion of human deliberations. Society was, originally, compoſed of two individuals, and, by an extenſion of the idea, the ſame radical principle ſtill holds. Already ſubordination exiſted between them; the woman is made ſubject to the man. Children are produced by their union. The father of the family is, naturally, the chief of this riſing ſociety. Here, we perceive the order eſtabliſhed in the world, from its formation, in the authority of one man over his kind, and this authority comes from God."

And, in page 99, ſpeaking of the publiciſts, he expreſſes his ſentiments in the following words:

"They have not conſidered the parental power, excepting in the actual ſtate of ſociety where its authority ſcarcely extends beyond the infancy of children. Imagining that its functions ceaſed, at the ſame period, in the ſtate of nature, they laid it down as a principle, that man arrived at years of diſcretion,

diſcretion, becomes independent of natural right, by his own natural right. That opinion is evidently falſe. The authority of the parent, under the law of nature, is not abrogated when his children are of age, but only aſſumes a different character, and is modified conformable to the new relations eſtabliſhed among the various branches of the family.

" This truth appears evident on comparing the government of nature, or original government, with the various political conſtitutions that exiſt in the world, and on diſcovering that they have been modelled on this ſimple original form. For we are not to ſuppoſe that the different forms of government known to us, are of human invention. If they are natural, it is in as far as they are founded on the government of nature. Let us mark the changes which it has undergone, or might have undergone. It commenced by an unmixed and abſolute monarchy, tempered only by the religious ſentiments of the father, and by his affection for his children. The children themſelves having become the heads reſpectively, of a particular family, or aſſociation, under the ſuperintendance of the common parent, were, of courſe, eligible to take their ſeats in the great council of the general clan. Thus, the government would be a monarchy tempered by ariſtocracy. On the demiſe of the chieftain, I ſuppoſe that his ſons, inſtead of ſeparating, have agreed to govern together, all the particular, or private families, or ſocieties, of which each was a head. In this caſe, the form of government would be an ariſtocracy. Let us again ſuppoſe, that their immediate heirs ſucceed them in the exerciſe of this ſpecies of power, and after them, again, their children and grand-children, continuing by common conſent, to carry on ſtill the government in common. The conſequence would be, that the number of thoſe governing, becoming almoſt equal to that of the governed, the government would degenerate into a democracy *, of all forms the moſt turbulent on account of the confuſion which reigns in the ſupreme council of the nation, into which all the citizens are admitted, without diſtinction.

" Thus, all the forms of government eſtabliſhed in the world, are natural. Were they not ſo, they could not ſubſiſt. Thus, that gradation of ranks and ordinances of juriſdiction conſecrating political law, for the good of

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" * Here, as in all human affairs, what is leaſt perfect, is found to involve extremes. In deſpotic governments, under which obedience muſt be blind and implicit, as in the caſe of children in infancy, and before they grow up, it is to be feared that the minds of the people may become debaſed by an abject ſubjection; and that the prince may forget that he is the father of his ſubjects, ſeeing that the diſtance ſeparating them is immenſe, and that his ſenſe of religious obligation oppoſes but a feeble check to his paſſions. At the other extremity of the ſocial chain, democracy is, in general, the very worſt form of government, becauſe the paſſions which are too much reſtrained in a deſpotic government, are here, in a ſtate of fermentation, raging with ungovernable fury. A multitude of wills of equal efficacy, and ſovereign in power, are admitted, in the formation of a law; and by this very means, the wiſe object which nature had in view by the eſtabliſhment of a natural inequality between mankind, is, in ſome meaſure, defeated. Democracy is every where an abſurdity, except in the caſe of a people, of ſmall weight in the political ſcale, among whom, properly ſpeaking, it is but a reunion of the different authorities of the heads of families."

ſociety,

ſociety, and that ſcale of inequalities always terminating in the ſupreme authority, are conformable to nature, and nature is the model after which God has been pleaſed that human inſtitutions ſhould be faſhioned. How, then, has it been ſuppoſed that every thing moſt excellent in political order, that is to ſay, an authority where deciſion in all appeals is final, is not to be found in the organization of natural order? How happens it not to have been perceived, that in the ſtate of nature, as in the political ſtate, mankind could not enjoy their reſpective rights, their liberty, and their property, but from the exiſtence of this authority, and that God has actually eſtabliſhed it? He prolonged for centuries, the lives of the patriarchs of old, in order that the *political* government which united the different families, might be *naturally* eſtabliſhed, without any violent commotions. To confer on the chiefs of the riſing ſociety a more venerable and reſpectable character, he made them the depoſitaries of his holy religion. He joined, and lodged in their hands, the eccleſiaſtical and ſovereign powers; and he united the religious, and the natural and political authorities. All theſe truths are founded on nature alone, and are, therefore, evident, even ſuppoſing for a moment, that we are as little acquainted with the hiſtory of the early ages, as the heathens whoſe accounts are involved in fabulous obſcurity. But their confirmation admits not of a doubt, when we find facts corroborating our ideas, and when we perceive political governments *properly ſo called*, formed, originally, within, and ſpringing immediately from the government of nature."

Theſe are the aſſumptions and deductions on which he endeavours to eſtabliſh the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, of the divine indefeaſible rights of ſovereigns, that they are accountable to God, and to him only, for their conduct, and that their ſubjects have no right to examine or diſcuſs it, and much leſs to oppoſe or reſiſt it; and ſo forth.*

He aſſerts that, at the formation of the world, God conferred authority on one man over his kind. This aſſertion, however, is not ſupported by revelation. God did not beſtow on Adam, even in a ſtate of innocence, an abſolute authority or controul over thoſe that ſhould deſcend from him, or even over Eve herſelf. For Moſes tells us, that he created man male and female, and gave *them* dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moved on the face of the earth. Their dominion or authority, then, appears to have been originally joint and equal; and it was not till after the fall that God informed Eve, that her deſire ſhould be to her huſband, and that he ſhould rule over her. Her ſubordination, then, ſeems to have been part of the puniſhment annexed to her diſobedience. But we are no where told, that Adam ſhould rule over their deſcendants, or that any command or authority was given him for that purpoſe. That it was not the intention of the Supreme Being that he ſhould, is manifeſt from this circumſtance, that his offſpring ſoon ſeparated themſelves from him, and became totally independent of him, thinking and acting for themſelves: and as their offſpring again began to multiply, they became ſo completely ſeparated, that ſome of them went by one denomination, and ſome by another; for we are told, that when men began to multiply on the face of

of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men that they were fair, and took them wives of all which they choſe.

Even before the fall, however, our firſt parents were commanded to be fruitful and multiply. For fulfilling that commandment, an union between the ſexes was neceſſary. The very nature of man then pointed out, and led to ſuch an union, even in a ſtate of innocence. Without it, the human race would ſoon become extinct. From it proceed families, and family governments. But every connexion between the ſexes that is not the reſult of violence, whether it be of a tranſient or temporary nature, or laſting and for life, is founded on conſent, agreement, or compact. It matters not as to this queſtion, what the ceremony is by which they are united, or whether any be made uſe of at all. The union itſelf muſt ariſe from conſent, agreement, or compact. Family ſociety, which was certainly the firſt form of human aſſociations, and family government, then, originated in connexions founded on the conſent and agreement of thoſe who entered into them, and pointed out to them by the law of nature. Every marriage, and even every agreement between a man and a woman to live together for a longer or ſhorter ſpace of time, is a ſort of compact. All family ſociety, therefore, was, and is founded on conſent or compact.

Parents naturally have, and muſt have, authority and controul over their children in their infancy. This is abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation in their helpleſs ſtate, and for their growing up to maturity. But when they reach the age of reaſon and diſcretion, and are capable of acting for themſelves, and forming families of their own, they are by the law of nature emancipated from that authority, and are no longer under it but by their own conſent. This is exactly the caſe with the ſavages in America, moſt of whom are in a much ſimpler ſtate of ſociety than that of the patriarchs. They learn as they grow up the means and arts of ſubſiſtence employed and practiſed by their parents: but when they are capable of marrying and acting for themſelves, they are under no reſtraint whatever from parental authority, but go whitherſoever their inclinations lead them, in ſearch of ſubſiſtence for their own families. The deſire of life and ſelf-preſervation, which is the firſt or primary deſire of nature, on which our deſire of happineſs, as well as every other deſire, is grafted, compels them to ſeparate and do ſo; for, according to their mode of life, many of them in a body could not find ſubſiſtence in one place, or even in ſeveral near and adjoining places. Their ſeparation, therefore, is dictated by the law of nature itſelf, which at the ſame time conſtitutes independence and freedom of action, and renders them neceſſary, limiting the period of parental controul to the age of reaſon on the part of the offspring. The ſame principle or cuſtom prevails among the ſettlers in North America, and regulates the conduct of the parents and children towards one another. The father exerciſes authority over, and claims the ſervices of his ſons till they reach twenty-one years of age, who generally obey and render their ſervices to him till

they arrive at that age, when they conſider themſelves as their own maſters, as emancipated from parental authority and controul, and at perfect liberty to act for themſelves. The ſame is the caſe with the daughters till and after the age of eighteen.

Beſides its being impoſſible for different families aſſembled together in the rude and ſimple ſtages of ſociety, to find ſubſiſtence for any length of time in one place, particularly in the hunting and fiſhing ſtate, ſtrife, diſcord, and diſſention would ſoon ariſe among them. The ſame obſervation holds good with regard to the paſtoral or patriarchal ſtate of ſociety. Theſe conſiderations united induced Abram and Lot, his brother's ſon, after they had gone into Egypt together, lived in it together, and come out of it together, to ſeparate by mutual conſent and agreement, and each take his own tract of country for the ſupport and convenience of his family and flocks: and ſo far was Abram from claiming any controul or ſuperiority over his nephew in the buſineſs, that he left it to Lot to make his own choice. Neither the law of nature, indeed, nor revelation, gives one man a right to rule over another without his own conſent. The patriarchs had their bond-men and bond-women. But the Indians have no ideas either of ſervitude or ſlavery: they have their hunting and fiſhing grounds from cuſtom and conſent; and infractions of their reſpective claims to theſe have given riſe to moſt of their diſputes and quarrels. Different independent tribes of them, compoſed each of ſeparate, diſtinct, and independent families, have ſometimes confederated for the purpoſes of ſelf-preſervation and mutual defence. This was the caſe with the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and with others.

As the union of the ſexes formed family-ſocieties, ſo the deſire of ſelf-preſervation and ſecurity gave riſe to political confederations among them; and the legitimate origin of both is conſent, agreement, or compact.

Our author attempts to derive from the family-government, as emanations from God, monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, but takes no notice of ſuch mixed governments as ours, having an irreconcileable diſlike to every thing like compact or election. He does not ſeem to underſtand the nature of civil inſtitutions, or to have a clear idea of the circle in which political ſocieties generally revolve. No pure royalty, ariſtocracy, or democracy can ever laſt long, as each of them tends naturally to that vicious extreme to which it is nearly allied. Thus, royalty has a tendency to degenerate into deſpotiſm; ariſtocracy, into oligarchy and oppreſſion; and democracy, into ſavage violence, and the government of the multitude. It cannot, therefore, be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that they emanated from the Deity; for thoſe governments, in fact, are beſt calculated for duration and the ſecurity of the ſubject, which are partly compoſed of all the three, and have their parts ſo adjuſted, as to be kept by mutual counteraction in their juſt poſitions, and prevented from degenerating into the vicious extremes that are natural to them. Such were the governments of Sparta, Carthage, and Rome, each of which laſted for many ages: and ſuch is the government of this country.

Man,

Man, in an advanced and civilized ſtate of ſociety, is under many reſtraints, that he is not ſubject to in a ſimpler one. Subject to theſe reſtrictions, whether they be naturally of a moral tendency or not, he muſt exerciſe his rights; and he is to look for their limits and boundaries in the laws and regulations of the community he lives in.

A Collection of Songs, Moral, Sentimental, Inſtructive, and Amuſing. The Words ſelected and reviſed, by the Rev. James Plumptre, M. A. Fellow of Clare Hall. *The Muſic adapted and compoſed* by Charles Hague, Muſ Doc. and Profeſſor of Muſic in the Univerſity of Cambridge. Large 8vo. Pp. 200. Price, on common Paper, 12s. on finer Paper, 16s. Cambridge, printed; Rivingtons, London. 1805.

IN a long "Introductory Letter" to Dr. Hague, Mr. Plumptre details the motives which led him to make this Collection of Songs; and thoſe motives are certainly honourable to his feelings, and to his principles, both as a man, and as a miniſter of the goſpel.

"As the clergyman of a pariſh, I muſt own it is not a matter of indifference to me, what ſongs are ſung at the feſtive meetings. I know from experience the effect which ſinging has upon a company of perſons, even of education, and of a ſerious turn; what muſt it then be upon perſons of no education, guided almoſt entirely by paſſion and example? Were a clergyman to preach, with the energy and eloquence of a Horne, or a Jones, againſt the ſin of drunkenneſs, if the ſong, the following evening, aided by liquor and company, were to be, "True Joy is drinking," or "All get drunk if you wiſh to be happy," it would, I fear, go far, very far, to do away any good impreſſions which the ſermon might have left.

"I wiſh, therefore, Sir, that you would furniſh us with a Collection of Songs for ſuch occaſions, which ſhall be at once cheerful, inſtructive, and innocent. Such are, no doubt, to be found; though I fear they are not ſo numerous as might be wiſhed and expected. Our ſingle ſongs being many of them drinking, hunting, or ſailors' ſongs filled with oaths, or love ſongs full of impiety and nonſenſe; and thoſe of our operas often being upon the ſame ſubjects, and often forming a part of the narrative, or dialogue of the drama, are not fit for ſelecting as independent ſongs; but yet I can point out ſome that I think are unexceptionable, and others which may be made ſo with only a little correcting.

"It is ſaid of our countrymen, that they will not ſing till they are half drunk; and, indeed, ſuch are the ſongs uſually ſung, that no man in his ſober ſenſes can ſing them; but ſongs of the deſcription I mean might be made a part of an evening's amuſement for company where no drinking was going forward.*

* "Some years ago, at the ſuggeſtion of a friend, I accompanied him to a catch-club of ſome eminence. I had heard much of the delights of ſuch meetings. As ſoon as dinner was over, all the company ſtood up, and *non nobis* was ſung. I wiſh I could always ſee grace ſaid at the tables of even ſerious people with ſo much attention and ſeeming devotion. After this the catches and glees began, and the bottle moved round! the ſinging—I mean the words of the ſongs—growing worſe and worſe, till that which began with *non nobis*, ended like the orgies of Bacchus.

"We are told by St. Paul,—ſtart not, Sir, at my quoting ſuch frequent and ſuch high authorities; the ſubject is of conſequence, and I wiſh to ſupport my own opinions by thoſe of abler, better, and higher authority than my own —St. Paul orders, (Cor. x. 31.) that 'whether we eat or drink, or whatſoever we do, we ſhould 'do all to the glory of God.'— 'Religion, then, is to guide us by its good precepts, and to govern all our actions. Our lives are made up of actions. One action ſucceeds another, and yet in all this courſe of actions, there is hardly one, trifling as we may think it, which has not its faulty extreme, and which we may not make either right or wrong. In ſhort we may turn almoſt every action of our lives into religion, by giving it a religious motive, and acting with a view to pleaſe God.'—'Nothing ſeems to have leſs of a religious caſt about it, than eating and drinking; and yet the text plainly aſſerts, that we may turn eating and drinking to the glory of God—that is, if we eat and drink under ſuch rules of temperance as the Scriptures give us, and *practiſe* theſe rules *with a view to pleaſe God*, we may make even eating and drinking acts of religion.'——(Gilpin's Sermons, Vol. I. Serm. XVI.)

"Thus religion is not only to be brought into the neceſſary buſineſs and concerns of life, but 'it is to be brought into our *pleaſure* alſo, and he, who is really a Chriſtian, muſt be a Chriſtian in his very diverſions.'

"By this criterion, then, let us try ſome of our favourite ſongs, and ſee how they will ſtand the teſt. I do not mean our worſt ſongs; but ſuch as ſome, who paſs for ſober good people, will not be aſhamed to ſing."

Mr. P. then quotes a paſſage from Mrs. More's works, being part of a dialogue "On the Duty of carrying Religion into our Amuſements," in which the lady firſt conſiders that ſpecies of ſongs "of which the words are decent and the principle [is] vicious;" but unfortunately ſhe has ſelected a ſong, as her firſt inſtance, of at leaſt a *doubtful* tendency, and which certainly is one of the worſt which ſhe could have choſen for the ſupport of her argument. We do not recollect all the words of this ſong, but the two lines of it which ſhe quotes in proof of the juſtice of her poſition, are all that we have any occaſion to conſider. Theſe are—

> "Since life is no more than a paſſage at beſt,
> Let us ſtrew the way over with flowers."

It is to the laſt line only that Mrs. More objects, and her objection is founded on the *aſſertion* that it conveys the following meaning; "Your ſong ſays, becauſe life is ſhort, let us make it merry. Let us divert ourſelves ſo much on the road that we may forget the end." Now, to *our* minds, it certainly does not convey any ſuch meaning; nor do we ſee why, becauſe a traveller ſtrews his way with flowers, he muſt of neceſſity loſe ſight of the end (or object) of his journey. In order to prove her caſe Mrs. More ſhould have ſhewn that flowers are ſynonimous with ſinful pleaſures; but this would have been a taſk ſomewhat difficult of performance; and, we ſuſpect, indeed, that in her reſearches for this purpoſe, ſhe would have found that the general uſe and application of the term, or figure, whether in poetry or in proſe, would have ſanctioned an inference almoſt in direct oppoſition to that which ſhe has drawn from it in the preſent inſtance. We do not *recollect* a ſingle inſtance in which '*flowers*' have been uſed in a bad

bad or doubtful ſenſe, by any writer of authority—though we do not mean to aſſert that they may not have been ſo uſed; but it is ſufficient for the ſupport of *our* objection, that their general application, and their obvious meaning too, are of an oppoſite nature; nor does the preceding line of the ſong juſtify the ſuppoſition that the writer himſelf employed the word in the ſenſe here affixed to it. In our apprehenſion the flowers of life can only with propriety be conſidered as thoſe innocent and rational enjoyments and recreations which are entirely compatible with, and, indeed, frequently ariſe out of, a conſcientious diſcharge of our duty. Of religion, we are told, "her ways are ways of *pleaſantneſs*," and what can contribute more to the pleaſantneſs of a way than to ſtrew it over with flowers? It will not be denied, that truth and wiſdom may go hand in hand, and where the former quits the latter for a different companion, ſhe will find her way ſtrewed not with *flowers* but with *thorns*. We have ſaid thus much on a ſubject (on which much more *might be* ſaid) becauſe we think that the objection of Mrs. More to the lines in queſtion is faſtidious and hypercritical, and therefore injurious to the general tenour of her argument, which is laudable and good; and alſo becauſe it has a *tendency* to caſt a gloom about religion, which, unqueſtionably, does not belong to her, and which is highly injurious to her cauſe. The other inſtances adduced by her are appoſite and forcible; and with her concluding reflection it is impoſſible not to concur.

"Such ſongs, therefore, as tend to promote levity, thoughtleſſneſs, looſe imaginations, falſe views of life, forgetfulneſs of death, contempt of whatever is ſerious, and neglect of whatever is ſober, whether they be love-ſongs, or drinking-ſongs, will not, cannot be ſung by any man or any woman who makes a ſerious profeſſion of Chriſtianity."

It is a truth, and one highly diſgraceful to the age in which we live, that ſongs of this deſcription are thoſe which are the moſt generally ſung. Hundreds of them might be pointed out, but the taſk is too diſguſtful, nor would it be proper to perform it. But we cannot omit this opportunity of reprobating, in the ſtrongeſt terms, one of the moſt popular ſongs of the preſent day. The *ſtory* of it is the ſeduction of a young lady by a military officer, which leads her to commit an act of Suicide; her *ghoſt* then appears to her ſeducer; a dialogue enſues, in which *ſhe* informs him, that the parſon would not bury her on account of her *frailty*, and aſks him for money to *bribe* the ſexton; he gives her money, and, in concluſion, ſhe ſteals his *breeches*. This ſtory is told in the moſt ludicrous manner; and the ſong, introduced in one of our new farces, is heightened by that ſpecies of buffoonery which our modern actors ſeem to think the ne plus ultra of the hiſtrionic art, and contributes ſo highly to the *amuſement* and *inſtruction* of the audience, *women and girls* as well as men and *boys*, that they never fail to beſtow on it the moſt unbounded applauſe, and to call loudly for its repetition. Now let any ſerious, ſober, Chriſtian reflect, but for a moment, on the tendency of ſuch a ſong; not only in familiarizing young minds with ſcenes of profligacy and vice, which can-

not be too carefully ſcreened from their view; but in teaching them to conſider as an object of indifference, nay of *mirth*, a crime, a ſin which they ought ever to regard with abhorrence and diſguſt. Sorry are we to add, that we have heard—though, we hope, it is not true—that this beaſtly ſong which violates all decency, virtue, and religion, and which has neither ſenſe, wit, nor humour to recommend it, has been thought a fit ſubject for tranſlation into a dead language, by a clergyman of the Church of England—*Horreſco referens!*—and is actually ſung in the *polite* circles, as they are termed, as well as by the middle and lower claſſes of ſociety. We truſt, however, that the Lord Chamberlain, a nobleman, leſs diſtinguiſhed by his rank than by his virtues, leſs honoured by his elevated ſituation, than by his regular diſcharge of every religious and moral duty, will interpoſe his authority ſo far as to prevent its introduction, henceforth, on the ſtage. How a *woman* who has any pretenſions to virtue, or even modeſty, can ſit patiently to hear ſuch vile ribaldry, it is difficult to conceive; what, then, muſt be thought of thoſe women who not only ſit patiently to *hear* it, but who openly *enjoy* it, and publicly expreſs their *approbation* of it? No one can be ignorant of the effect even of the mere *contemplation* of vice; the conſequence of viewing it with *approbation*, then, may eaſily be anticipated; from *applauſe* to *imitation* the progreſs is eaſy and natural; and when *ſeduction and ſuicide* have become objects of *mirth* to the thoughtleſs and the gay, it is no wonder that *proſtitution* and *adultery* ſhould be openly courted and ſanctioned by the great and the proud, or that they ſhould be allowed to ſtare decency and virtue out of countenance. Having ſhewn what ſongs are *improper*, Mr. P. next proceeds to point out what are *proper*.

"Of theſe, in the firſt place, I would inſtance ſuch as teach us to 'fear God and honour the King:" ſuch as teach us to reverence God either in his word or works. Theſe we ſhall find in our Oratorios, particularly thoſe compoſed by Handel, and in the ſhorter poems of our moſt pious authors; and which, if not already ſet to muſic, might be adapted to ſuch tunes, the words of which might not anſwer our purpoſe. Alſo loyal and patriotic ſongs—ſongs on the ſeaſons, circumſtances, incidents, objects, and characters of rural life—ſoldiers' and ſailors' ſongs—ſome few drinking ſongs—ſongs on the paſſions, ſuch as friendſhip, love and marriage, contentment, and ſongs which contain any generous ſentiments, or give inſtruction in any way.

"The old common-place nonſenſe of Strephon and Chloe, and Amaryllis and Daphnis, I would wiſh to explode; and have the characters, manners, and ſentiments more nearly allied to the preſent exiſting circumſtances of rural life I am afraid likewiſe that I ſhall object to all *derry downs*, and *toll de rolls*, as unmeaning impertinence. The laſt line of a verſe ſhould contain ſome valuable ſentiment or point, and to repeat this is to enforce the ſentiment; but a chorus of derry down is merely an apology for noiſe and riot.

"We ſhall frequently meet with a ſong the general tendency of which is moral, but which is, at the ſame time, diſgraced by ſome improper alluſion, ſome profane oath or curſing, or ſome mixture of heatheniſm. I ſhould, in ſuch a caſe, have no ſcruple whatever of altering it: to do ſo may perhaps

perhaps incur the cenſure of ſqueamiſhneſs from ſome, and of impertinence and conceit from others: but, with me, the cauſe of morality and piety is paramount. I would not only wiſh for my own writings to contain—

'No line, which, dying, I would wiſh to blot;'

But I would thank the friend who would point out to me any paſſage the tendency of which might be bad, and think he had done me a real and a laſting kindneſs.

"If beings in the other world are conſcious of what is going forward in this, and ſhould ſee the tendency, the ravages, which ſome of the writings they have left behind them are making among the morals of their fellow creatures, they muſt deem every endeavour to impede the progreſs of the ſpreading poiſon an act of kindneſs, as it is an act of duty. I know it is ſaid that oaths, particularly in our ſoldiers' and ſailors' ſongs, are characteriſtic; and that if we do not make them ſwear, they will ceaſe to be ſailors' ſongs. I hope *all* ſailors and ſoldiers do not ſwear, and I would rather copy the beſt originals; or, like a flattering painter, leave out their deformities; and, as Goldſmith ſays of Mr. Cumberland,

'Draw men as they ought to be, not as they are.'

"But the queſtion is not about characteriſtic, but propriety, and if the thing is wrong, no plea of character can ſanction it. Perhaps many a youth, who had otherwiſe been ſober and pious, has learnt to ſwear from ſuch characteriſtic and otherwiſe pleaſing ſongs: let our ſong writers think on this!!

"On the ſubject of heatheniſm I would wiſh to refer you to Mr. Jones's admirable "Reflections on the growth of Heatheniſm, among modern Chriſtians, in a Letter to a Friend at Oxford, humbly recommended to the Conſideration of all thoſe who are entruſted with the EDUCATION of YOUTH." I cannot, however, forbear quoting two paſſages directly touching our preſent ſubject. After remarking, 'in the ages before the reformation, the ſubject of the ornamental arts, which are now ſo univerſally taken from the heathen mythology, were then generally borrowed from the Holy Scripture, and had ſome pious relation to the doctrines of Chriſtianity;' he ſays further, 'I ſhall not ſtop here to diſpute which of theſe two ſources, Paganiſm or Chriſtianity, will furniſh the beſt ſubjects for poets, painters, and ſculptors to work upon: but I cannot help obſerving, that the general ſtate of religion and manners may be judged of by the ſtyle and taſte adopted in the ornamental arts. There might be a faulty ſuperſtition, with a mixture of ſimplicity bordering upon ignorance, in the works of former ages; but the ſtyle of them ſhewed that Chriſtianity was the religion of the country, and that the ſeveral particulars of the ſacred hiſtory were then held in honour, as the objects moſt worthy to be offered for admiration, and recommended by all the efforts of human ingenuity.

"This was certainly the perſuaſion of thoſe times: but in the preſent age the public taſte can ſeldom find any thing but heathen matter to work upon: from which it is natural to infer that heatheniſm is in better repute than formerly; and thence it will follow that the public regard to Chriſtianity, and all that relates to it, is proportionably declined."

After ſhewing how heatheniſm has gained the aſcendancy in the ornaments even of our churches, in gardens, our places of public amuſement, in the ſciences, in politics, in morality, he proceeds,

"But in poetry the ſervility of Chriſtians is moſt notorious of all. Here they follow as implicitly as if the heathen muſes had deprived them of their wits. If any machinery is to be introduced, it muſt all be according to the heathen model, by a law as invariable as that of the Medes and Perſians. But it ſhonld be conſidered, that when a heathen poet made uſe of his divine machinery he only ſpoke to be believed, introducing ſuch powers into his verſe as he profeſſed to worſhip in proſe. After he had been offering ſacrifices in the temple of Minerva, it was natural for him to bring her in to the aſſiſtance of his hero; but when a Chriſtian moraliſt does the ſame, propoſing a pattern of virtue on the heathen plan for the purpoſes of education, he goes out of his way to adopt what he knows to be abſurd in itſelf as it is contrary to his profeſſion. If there is a natural oppoſition between truth and falſhood, we are now as irrational in betraying a partiality to the profane objects of heatheniſm, as the heathens themſelves would have been, had they ſhewn the like regard to the ſacred objects of the Bible; only with this difference, that they would have taken up what was better than their own, whereas we incline to that which is worſe: their choice would have brought them nearer to God, ours brings us nearer to the devil. How ſtrange would it have been, if, while their temples were dedicated to Venus, to Mars, and to Bacchus, their gardens had been adorned with ſtatues of Moſes and Aaron, the walls of their houſes painted with the deſtruction of Sodom, the overthrow of Pharoah, the delivery of the two tables at Mount Sinai, and ſuch like ſubjects of ſacred hiſtory! Who would not have inferred in ſuch a caſe, that their temples were frequented out of form, while their inclinations were toward the law of Moſes, and the god of the Hebrews? The heathen prieſts would never have been ſilent on ſuch an occaſion: they would have exclaimed againſt this double-faced diſaffection, and have given the alarm againſt all that were guilty of it, as perſons ready to apoſtatize from the religion of their anceſtors. But, alas! no heathens were ever found to be thus inconſiſtent: they were faithful to their profeſſion, and with one mind abominated every thing that was Jewiſh, for the relation it bore to the Jewiſh worſhip; always railing againſt their nation as low and contemptible, and their religion as fooliſh and ſuperſtitious. We alſo ſhould be as ſincere in our profeſſion as they were in theirs, and expreſs our averſion againſt folly and profaneneſs wherever they occur, unleſs our intellects were vitiated with falſe wiſdom from the common forms of education. To take little things for great, and great things for little, is the worſt misfortune that can befal the human underſtanding. The machinery of heatheniſm appears great to ſcholars, becauſe it has been deſcribed by great wits of antiquity with great words and muſical verſes; and being offered very early to the mind at ſchool, there is a natural prepoſſeſſion in favour of it. But is there really any thing great in the character of Æolus ſhutting up the winds in a den? In Vulcan, the blackſmith, hammering thunderbolts with his one-eyed journeymen? In Neptune, a man living under water like a fiſh, and flouriſhing a pitchfork to ſtill the raging of the ſea? If theſe things are taken literally, according to that poetical character in which the ancient writers uſed them, and in which only they are adopted by the moderns, they are ſo mean and ridiculous, that when the heathens were preſſed with them after the commencement of the goſpel, they could find no way of upholding their dignity, but by reſolving them into their phyſical character; that is, by accommodating them to the powers and operations of nature, to which they alluded with a ſort of myſtical reſemblance."

To

To theſe truly admirable reflections of that ſound politician and divine, the Chriſtian Sage of Nayland's peaceful groves, ſome judicious obſervations of the pious Dr. Watts are ſubjoined, who conceived the happy notion of turning ſome of the beautiful productions of the heatheniſh world to Chriſtian purpoſes; and even of enliſting the licentious Horace into the ſervice of religion. We think the following ſo excellent a ſpecimen of this new mode of *converſion*, that we tranſcribe it with pleaſure. It is a paraphraſe of the two laſt ſtanzas of Ode xxix. Book 3.

"THE BRITISH FISHERMAN.

"Let Spain's proud traders, when the maſt
Bends, groaning, to the ſtormy blaſt,
Run to their beads with wretched plaints,
And vow and bargain with their Saints,
Leſt Turkiſh ſilks or Tyrian wares
Sink in the drowning ſhip,
Or the rich duſt Peru prepares,
Defraud their long-projecting cares,
And add new treaſures to the greedy deep.

"My little ſkiff that ſkims the ſhores,
With half a ſail and two ſhort oars,
Provides me food in gentler waves:
But if they gape in wat'ry graves,
I truſt th' Eternal Pow'r, whoſe hand
Has ſwell'd the ſtorm ſo high,
To waft my boat and me to land,
Or give ſome Angel ſwift command,
To bear the drowning ſailor to the ſky."

"Such," continues Mr. Plumptre, "are my views in this work. In ſuch an undertaking, however, there will be many difficulties to encounter. By profane people, we ſhall be branded as Methodiſts; and by Methodiſts, probably, as profane. And, perhaps, if we can but incur this cenſure, we ſhall not be very far from that happy medium, that [which] is ſo deſirable, but ſo difficult to attain. That we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to hit it exactly, would perhaps be an unreaſonable hope. By ſome we may be charged with trifling. For a Profeſſor of Muſic, and a clergyman, to compile a *Book of Songs* for the lower claſſes, may be thought *infra dignitatem*: but I hope, Sir, I ſhall ever think, to promote the cauſe of *morality* the beſt uſe of *learning* *. 'Abilities of every kind,' ſays Biſhop Horne, 'are never ſo well employed as in the ſervice of him who gave them;' and to 'condeſcend to men of low eſtate,' (Rom. xii. 16.) perhaps requires more true greatneſs of ſoul, than 'minding high things.'"

Whether he incur cenſure or praiſe, will, we perſuade ourſelves,

* We recommend this truly Chriſtian ſentiment to the ſerious attention of the tranſlator of "Miſs Bailey," as well as to the author and to the admirers of that vile compound of ſtupidity and vulgarity. REV.

be

be a matter of indifference to this reſpectable clergyman, only as far as it may affect the ſucceſs of his efforts in the cauſe of morality. The conſciouſneſs of diſcharging his duty—the *mens conſcia recti*—will effectually prevent all unmerited attacks, however violent or ſevere, from diſturbing his repoſe, or from damping the ſpirit of his enterprize.

His obſervations upon what we, who are no muſicians, ſhould term the folly or the coxcombry of muſic and ſinging, ſtrike us as juſt and ſenſible.

"Having mentioned the ſubject of ſinging and articulation, I cannot forbear ſaying a few words reſpecting an impoſition, which you great muſicians and ſingers ſometimes practiſe upon us poor creatures, who enjoy only a plain taſte. I muſt own the firſt thing I look for is good words. Every ſong ſhould be a good poem; if not, it is not worth the muſician's trouble of ſetting to muſic. When this poem is obtained, then I am pleaſed to have the force and beauty of it heightened by all the charms of muſic. But if, when this poem is ſet to muſic, the ſinger does not articulate the words, it might as well not have any; the labour of the poet might have been ſpared, and a ſtring of *fal lal las*, and *lira lira linas*, might as well be the words, as the exquiſite poem of The Roſe, by Cowper, or the divine words extracted by Handel for his Meſſiah. So conſtant is this practice, that the words of the ſongs of our oratorios, concerts, and operas, are always printed, for the auditor to accompany the ſinger with his eye. What ſhould we ſay, Sir, of a preacher, who was obliged to print his ſermon, and diſperſe it over the church, that the congregation might be able to make out the ſentences as he delivered them from the pulpit? So much does this contempt of ſenſe grow upon us, that it is a very common thing to ſee in a lady's muſic book, the muſic, and the words of the firſt ſtanza only written out with it, while the remainder of the ſong, which generally contains the eſſence of it, is thrown by as refuſe. Such perſons, I ſhould ſay, have only 'itching ears;' for it is only the ear that can thus be tickled, not the underſtanding that can be delighted and improved. There is this, however, to be ſaid in their defence, that the words of many ſongs are better thus ſuppreſſed: our ſong-weavers only

> '——— tie up nonſenſe for a ſong;
> Song, faſhionably fruitleſs! ſuch as ſtrains
> The *fancy*, and unhallow'd *paſſion* fires;
> Chiming her ſaints to Cytherea's fane.'
>
> 'NIGHT THOUGHTS, N. 2."

There are no people who encourage this ſhameful "contempt of ſenſe" ſo much as our ſtage-ſingers, who, almoſt invariably, ſacrifice ſenſe, propriety, and truth, to *ſound*: and, ſtrange to ſay, men of this deſcription, with the ſingle recommendation of a good voice, and ſome knowledge of muſic, without any other qualification whatever, are paid moſt extravagantly, and brought forward as *actors*, when they, every moment, violate probability, and inſult the audience, by the moſt ſcandalous inattention to the common buſineſs of the ſcene, and by an exhibition of the moſt flagrant incapacity for ſuſtaining even the moſt

moſt inferior parts, knowing, in ſhort, nothing but how to ſing a ſong, the very words of which they ſcarcely know how to pronounce, while of the *meaning* of them, they are, not unfrequently, totally ignorant. To ſuch an extravagant pitch is this rage for ſacrificing ſenſe to ſound now carried, that even foreigners, who cannot *ſpeak* the language ſo as to render themſelves intelligible, are ſometimes made to ſupport leading characters in our plays. Strange infatuation! Twenty years ago, the public would not have ſubmitted to ſo groſs an inſult to their underſtanding. But *boys*, *automata*, and *dogs*, are the rage of the preſent day!!! In the name of common ſenſe, if ſuch beings as we have deſcribed muſt be engaged, in compliance with the prevailing taſte, let them not be ſuffered to outrage nature, by ridiculous attempts to perſonate other characters; but let them be employed to ſing in concerts and oratorios, in *propria perſona*, where nothing is expected of them but the diſplay of their muſical powers—the only powers, alas! which they poſſeſs.

An extract from Bloomfield's "Farmer's Boy" is ſubjoined to this letter, which is written in a ſtyle and ſpirit, at leaſt great part of it, which we cannot commend. It, indeed, diſplays one of thoſe *falſe views* of life which Mrs. More ſo juſtly condemns; for the evils which he there deprecates exiſt but in his own imagination.

In a *poſtſcript* the editor enters into a judicious criticiſm of Mr. Dibdin's ſongs, to the generality of which he pays a juſt tribute of applauſe; for no writer, that we know of, has written ſo many ſongs as Mr. D. nor ſongs ſo generally conducive to morality and loyalty. He alſo notices ſome objections which had been made to his undertaking, previous to the publication of his work. The chief of theſe is, the inutility of it, as people will ſtill go on ſinging their old ſongs. This is the plea of indolence, or of cowardice: the ſame objection might be urged againſt every plan of improvement and reform; but, certainly, no one can ſay that the attempt will be uſeleſs, until its utility has been put to the teſt; and ſurely it is worth the trial. Beſides, it is the duty of every man to exert himſelf, to the utmoſt of his ability, in promoting the cauſe of religion and virtue; and if he ſuffer his talent to lie uſeleſs, under the pretext that his endeavours to employ it to advantage will prove fruitleſs, he will, aſſuredly, have much to anſwer for.

It is almoſt ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the Songs here given are free from all objection, on the ſcore of their moral tendency. Though written for the lower claſſes, and conſequently in plain and familiar language, many of the original compoſitions have conſiderable merit. Perhaps ſome objection might be made to Mr. P.'s ſong entitled "Gleaning," as it tends to impreſs the poor with a miſtaken notion, that God has given them the right to glean; whereas the fact is, that they have no right whatever to enter upon the land of another, much leſs to take any thing off it; and that the permiſſion to glean may either be granted or refuſed by the holder of the land, every ear of corn in the field being his property, and his alone. This queſtion, about

about which we ſhould have thought there could exiſt no difference of opinion, has been decided in a Court of Law upon an action of treſpaſs. It is certainly of conſequence that ſuch a miſtake ſhould be corrected; in order that the poor may know, that when they are *allowed* to glean, they are *enjoying a favour*, and not *exerciſing a right*. It is needleſs to point out the bad effects of a miſtake of this nature: they are too obvious to eſcape the moſt ſuperficial obſerver. On the *advantages* of gleaning, to the poor, alſo, we have ſome doubts; we rather incline to think, that their time might be employed more profitably to themſelves, and more beneficially to the public; without even taking into our conſideration the almoſt irreſiſtible temptation to pilfer and ſteal, which it holds out to them. We have only thus briefly touched upon the ſubject, in the perſuaſion that the reſpectable editor of this uſeful volume will take it into his ſerious conſideration. We cannot take our leave of him, without exhorting him to continue his efforts, nor without expreſſing a hope that he will fulfil his intention of ſupplying a farther collection of unexceptionable Songs, for the uſe of the higher claſſes of ſociety. In the performance of this taſk, we are convinced that he will find leſs difficulty, than in the execution of that which he has already completed.

Important Diſcoveries and Experiments elucidated on Ice, Heat, and Cold. By the Rev. James Hall, A. M. Jordan and Maxwell. 8vo. Pp. 74.

THIS pamphlet contains curious and important diſcoveries reſpecting the formation and durability of ice, and the practical purpoſes to which theſe may be applied. It appears from due enquiry and experiment—

"That all the ice in the ocean is compoſed of freſh and the pureſt water. Ice, beſides purifying the atmoſphere, and conſequently preventing diſeaſes is abſolutely neceſſary to the production of many, if not all the moſt valuable tribes of fiſhes. It is a fact, though not generally known, that ice, if excluded from the open air, will keep for ages. And that, though ever ſo old, upon being expoſed to the open air will produce as pure, ſoft, and wholeſome water as the day it was congealed. And this will appear, if we conſider air either in the act of freezing or cauſing evaporation and exhalations to aſcend [to aſcend might have been omitted.] That the air which is capable of being highly condenſed, as well as rarefied by an inherent power of its own, in the act of evaporation and exhaling as well as of freezing, rejects all ſaline or noxious particles in the firſt place, and attracts to it all the pureſt particles of water. Hence though rain riſes from the ſea, the ſhowers are never ſalt nor the ſea leſs: for water falling upon the earth forms rivulets; theſe again form rivulets, theſe again rivers, which all run into the ſea. And thus water, after having been carried through the air and purified by it, after having fallen upon the earth and watered it, and performed many important ſervices, returns again to the boſom from whence it was taken, and hence there is probably not one drop

drop more or leſs of water now, than there was at the creation of the world:"

"With regard to the durability of ice, it is well known that, in Spain, where it is taxed, and pays a conſiderable revenue to government, ice, by being covered with chaff, ſtraw, reeds, or any thing, is often carried in carts at noon, under a burning ſun, from cellar to cellar, from city to city, as any other commodity for hundreds of miles, without loſing any of its weight; or even a ſingle drop falling from it. At Conſtantinople too, Arabia and other parts of the Eaſt, nothing is more common than ice being ſold in the market; which, having been brought from the mountains in flannel bags, generally by poor people upon aſſes, often continues whole days under a burning ſun without even the bags that contain it being moiſt; the whole of their art in preſerving it conſiſting in keeping the mouths of the bags ſhut as much as poſſible.

"Need I, as a proof of the durability of ice, mention that, near two hundred years ago, it was carried from Europe to the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, in the Eaſt, to convince the great men there that water, by the action of the air is often turned into a body ſo ſolid that men, horſes, carts, coaches and cannon may be all, at the ſame time, ſeen running on its ſurface? Need I ſhew that logs and planks of wood, after they have been for weeks at Jamaica and months in the torrid zone, have been found frozen and ſticking together? But, to one who reflects, there is no miſtery in this. Theſe having been frozen together, in the holds of the ſhips, before they left the ſhores of America; and other logs and planks happening to have been laid upon them in that ſtate, this circumſtance prevented the open air from affecting them, when they came to warm latitudes; and, it is probable they would, at leaſt in the lower part of the ſhip, have continued ſticking together for years, even in that warm climate, had not the logs and planks above been removed; and, conſequently, a circulation of warm air admitted. The truth is, if you exclude the open air from ice; or any thing impregnated with it, even by ſo thin a body as gauze-paper, if not porous, the ice or frozen object will continue in that ſtate for a long time; perhaps for years. It is the nature of cold to continue; and, by diffuſing its qualities around, never to yield or retire, till heat, its enemy and oppoſite, come immediately in contact with it; or by ſuperior force oblige it to yield. Keep heat; or which is the ſame thing, the open air, which communicates it, even at a hair breadth's diſtance; and cold will keep her place. Put hay, ſtraw, a cloth, or any thing on ice, even in the open field; and when all the ice around has diſappeared, that under the covering will remain. And why? It is not becauſe there is no heat near it? No, the heat was above, below and round about it; but becauſe the covering prevented the open air, to a certain degree, from coming in contact with it. And this ice, when minutely examined, as well as that on the moutains of Siberia, the top of the Alps; or Terra del Fuego, however old, is, and *muſt* from the very nature and eſſence of cold inherent in it, always be found as freſh and good, and poſſeſſing the very ſame qualities as the day it was congealed.

"It is beyond a doubt that Canada in America, is much colder in winter than ſome of the fineſt provinces in England and France, with which it is equal in latitude. The reaſon is obvious. The immenſe foreſts there prevent the ſun from exhaling the ſnow and ice lodged under them ſo ſoon and effectually as otherwiſe he would. And this ice and ſnow, like the vaſt

vaſt heaps of frozen materials, which are ſometimes driven from the frozen ocean, on the coaſts of Iceland, &c. ſhed their influence to a conſiderable diſtance beyond the ſpace they occupy. In thoſe parts of Germany, Denmark, Norway, &c. where there are large foreſts; they know almoſt to a day, when the ſun will acquire ſuch heat and force as will enable him to overcome the ice and ſnow lodged under them, during the winter; and which, till he gathers ſtrength and riſes majeſtic in the horizon, lie concealed and ſecure, deſpiſing his attacks. Why is Germany, Hungary, Poland, &c. warmer now than in the days of the ancient Romans? The anſwer is plain; many thouſand acres, having been cleared of the wood that then covered the country, the ſun has it more in his power in the ſpring to warm and cheriſh the face of the ground. The Hyrcinian Foreſt, mentioned by Cæſar and the Roman authors, covered a great part of Germany, Poland, and Hungary; and ſo extenſive was it, that though ſome of the moſt intelligent inhabitants had travelled through it for ſixty days ſucceſſively, they were able to give but a very imperfect account of its dimenſions. Bring back the Hyrcinian Foreſt, and you will make thoſe parts of Europe, of the ſame latitude, as cold and dreary in winter as Canada; which, at preſent, is not the caſe. Clear away the woods from Canada, excepting clumps, patches, and hedge-rows, which do not obſtruct the rays of the ſun, and you will make the winters there as ſhort and equally pleaſant as in ſome of the fineſt kingdoms in Europe.

"Why are the Germans, Scots, Iriſh, &c. who languiſh under the burning ſuns of Italy and the South, though tolerably ſo at preſent, yet now not ſo brawny, ſtrong, and athletic as in the days of Julius Cæſar? One cauſe, among many is, their immenſe foreſts are in a great meaſure gone; and conſequently, the ſteady bracing air of winter, neceſſarily ariſing from the ſnow, which generally lodged in theſe from the time it fell, or was blown into them, till March or April, and this circumſtance partly accounts for the population of Europe not keeping pace with the removal of the woods. Europe, by having almoſt got clear of the Hyrcinian and other immenſe foreſts, is, no doubt, warmer than it was before this took place, and in this point of view bettered; but the gradual removal of the woods, and conſequent increaſe of heat, has not brought ſuch a gradual increaſe of population as at firſt view one would be led to expect; for though heat may ſtimulate to propagate the ſpecies, and the woods cleared make room for them, yet cold, to a certain degree, is and has always been found favourable to health, vigour, and fecundity."

Mr. Hall having ſhewn that ice, which is the offspring of cold, is always compoſed of the pureſt water, will on being properly covered keep for ages, and however old on being expoſed to the open air, on a little hot water being put into a veſſel containing it, produce as good and wholeſome water, as the day when it was congealed, proceeds to enquire into the uſes pointed out by this part of the œconomy of nature—

"In latitudes where plenty of ice is to be found, where is the propriety of ſhips coming ſo often into harbour for water, when ice hoiſted at any time will ſerve the purpoſe much better, be attended with leſs trouble and expence, and be found leſs cumberſome either on ſhips of war or merchantmen? In the tractleſs paths of the ocean, where no freſh water is

is to be found, ice may be uſed for quenching thirſt, invigorating exhauſted ſtrength, and enlivening drooping ſpirits. The durability and other qualities of ice, is not of more importance to ſea-faring people than to thoſe who dwell upon land. As the winter, or rather Providence generally gives ice enough for ever, in Italy itſelf ice is often to be found in the morning, might not cellars or repoſitories be dug, like ice-houſes and filled with ice in winter, to ſupply the want of water in ſummer? Another, and no leſs important uſe of ice is that of preſerving proviſions in hot and ſultry weather. What utility in the midſt of ſummer might not be derived from a ſtock of ice both at ſea and land, in preſerving meat, &c. freſh, and in preventing the produce of the dairy from becoming ranced? What benefit would it be to the farmer to be able to cool the atmoſpere of his dairy, by throwing in quantities of ice, and how eaſily would he convey it, in a perfect ſtate, to a greater diſtance, by packing it up in frozen water; a circumſtance, which in this age of improvement and learning, cannot in all probability be long over looked. One of the greateſt comforts of the Ruſſian Empire is the facility of preſerving a great quantity of ice in ice-houſes or cellars, during the whole ſummer not a ſingle family in the cities and villages is without ſuch a convenience; which ſerves not merely for cooling liquor at table, but principally for preſerving *beer*, *ale*, and all ſorts of freſh proviſions in the ſummer ſeaſon."

Mr. Hall very judiciouſly obſerves that the example of Ruſſia, and other northern parts, might with the utmoſt eaſe, and ought to be imitated in this country. There are many ſmall families living at a diſtance from market towns, and who are of courſe obliged to kill their own meat, to whom it would be of ſingular utility and advantage.

Mr. Hall diſcovers not a little knowledge of natural hiſtory. He is an ingenious and judicious obſerver; and throughout the whole of his tract diſcerns the hand of Providence: ſo that, it is among the number of thoſe that are or may be called PHYSICO-THEOLOGICAL.

An Eſſay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther—The Work which obtained the Prize on the Queſtion, propoſed in 1802 *by the National Inſtitute of France, "What has been the Influence of the Reformation of Luther on the Political Situation of the different States of Europe, and on the Progreſs of Knowledge." With a Sketch of the Hiſtory of the Church, from its Founder to the Reformation: intended as an Appendix to the Work.* By Charles Villers. Tranſlated, and illuſtrated with copious Notes, by James Mill, Eſq. 8vo. PP. 490. 9s. C. and R. Baldwin. 1805.

WE are obliged, at the outſet of our examination, to differ from the tranſlator of this work. We cannot, as he does, attribute the propoſal of the queſtion, and the approbation of the Eſſay, *ſolely* to "the extraordinary progreſs of reaſon and liberality." We are afraid that the doctrine of perfectibility has not as yet produced all its effects, even in the enlightened National Inſtitute; that a portion of

of human imperfection ſtill remains; and that, if we attribute its approbation of the Eſſay to a *mixed* motive, we do no injuſtice. It is notorious that Buonaparté has done in France what the Reformation of Luther effected in other parts of Europe. The claims held forth by the Pope could never be ſubmitted to by a man who would bear no brother near the throne: he therefore *annihilated* in that kingdom the influence of the Pope and Court of Rome. How pleaſing, then, muſt it have been to Buonaparté, to find that a production had been approved of, and rewarded by *his* Inſtitute, which demonſtrated that an act ſimilar to his own had been highly advantageous to ſociety; and ſurely not leſs pleaſing to the members of the Inſtitute, to have found a happy opportunity of blending, in the moſt fraternal union, the wiſhes of the deſpot with their own extraordinary reaſon and liberality.

Neither can we agree with the tranſlator in thinking, that the queſtion originated with men of the popiſh perſuaſion; becauſe we have good reaſon to believe, that it would be no eaſy matter to rank the majority of the National Inſtitute under any denomination of Chriſtians. Mr. Villers, with proper caution, ſtiles them "an aſſembly of philoſophers." There is, therefore, a fallacy in the ſtatement of Mr. Mill, when he ſays, that "the votaries of popery [the National Inſtitute] by giving the prize to Mr. Villers' Eſſay, declare to the whole world, that this rebellion [the Reformation] was beneficial to the human race." No: it was not the votaries of popery, but an aſſembly of men, who cared not for popery, or the Pope, who, by beſtowing the prize, may be ſaid to have made this declaration. A true child of Mother Church would have conſidered the act as matricide.

We aſk pardon of the author, for having paid our firſt attention to the tranſlator; but as the ſubject was a ſort of prefatory matter, we hope that will plead our excuſe. We proceed now to examine how Mr. Villers has treated the queſtion propoſed by the French Inſtitute.

He divides his ſubject into two parts. In the firſt, after having clearly ſtated the queſtion he is about to diſcuſs, he ſpeaks of the nature of reformations in general, and of that of Luther in particular. He then gives a ſketch of the ſtate of politics, religion, and literature at the commencement of the 16th century, and concludes with conjectures of what would have been the probable ſtate of Europe for ſeveral ages, had not the Reformation taken place.

In the ſecond part, he enters into a more minute detail. He examines the *internal* ſtate of all the principal European powers, as well as their *external*, that is, their relative ſtate with reſpect to each other; and points out the influence which the Reformation had upon each, and upon the whole. The reſult of this critical inveſtigation is, that the Reformation has been advantageous to man, whether we conſider him as an intellectual, political, or moral being. This, we think, he proves by facts and reaſoning, in the moſt clear and ſatisfactory manner. To give a full account of the various topics which come under the

the inveſtigation of the author would lead us far beyond the limits of a Review: for this we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf, and content ourſelves with inſerting a few of his general concluſions, as a ſpecimen of the author's manner.

"*Effects of the moral Impulſe communicated by the Reformation.*—By what has been already advanced in ſeveral parts of this diſcourſe, concerning the nature of the Reformation; the direction of its moral impulſe, and the objects to which it extended, may be eaſily conjectured. The intention of the reformers was, in the beginning, to emancipate themſelves from the deſpotiſm and infallability of the Pope; to depend upon the ſacred books alone for the foundation of their faith; and to overturn the ſcholaſtic doctrine which had become the ſoul, as it were, of the Romiſh theology, and a powerful ſupport of the hierarchy. Hence it follows, that the Reformation, from its very nature, muſt have affected the liberty of thinking, ſo precious to man, and the baſis of his political liberty; his manner of viewing religion and eſtabliſhing its proofs, and his manner of interpreting Scripture; and, in the third place, it muſt have affected philoſophy, and all the ramifications of the tree of knowledge, which proceed from any of thoſe three main branches. Order and perſpicuity require that we ſhould treat of each of theſe articles ſeparately.

"*In regard to the liberty of thought.*—I ſhould conſider myſelf as violating that reſpect which I owe to my judges, and to the enlightened part of the public, if I allowed myſelf to run into a long enumeration of the advantages which the human mind has derived from the unlimited power of exerciſing freely its faculties. Let us only reflect upon the immenſe apparatus of cenſures, of prohibitions, and of inquiſitors which the Romiſh church employed to keep all eyes ſhut, at a time when every new opinion was a hereſy, that is, a crime worthy of the direſt puniſhment, and againſt which all the rigour of the ſecular arm was required, and we ſhall ſhudder at the danger to which the human ſpecies was expoſed before the ſixteenth century. Had not the mind, by the happieſt and moſt extraordinary concurrence of favourable circumſtances obtained, in rapid ſucceſſion, new aids, and freſh fuel to its activity, what would have become of that feeble ſpark of light, which began to ſhine, under the ſyſtem of extinguiſhment and *obſcuration* adopted by the court of Rome? Had not the Greeks of Conſtantinople emigrated towards the weſt; had not Copernicus in the heavens, and Columbus on the earth, extended the boundaries of knowledge; and the art of printing and the reformation of religion proceeded from the boſom of laborious Germany; had not the coloſſal power which bound the conſciences and oppreſſed the minds of men received ſo many ſhocks in rapid ſucceſſion, for how many ages might not the culture of the human mind, and the improvement of the political condition of man, have been retarded! Let us put the queſtion to the ſouthern parts of Germany, to the people of the Two Sicilies, of Spain, and of Ireland. Let any impartial obſerver, after having fairly aſcertained the ſtate of knowledge in thoſe countries, make himſelf acquainted with the degree in which it exiſts in Switzerland, in the two Saxonies, in Holland, and England; the contraſt cannot eſcape him. It is not aſſerted that in the Catholic countries above-named ſuperior men, perſons on a level with the moſt elevated of their age, are not to be found; but they are rare; and only the maſſes of the people in

different countries ought to be compared. True it is that in the close connexion in which the different nations of our little Europe live together, it is impossible that the knowledge existing in one country should not in some degree penetrate into the others. The wall of separation cannot be so raised, cannot be so vigilantly guarded, as to prevent individuals in all from communicating with one another. But undoubtedly on the part of the Catholics no precautions have hitherto been neglected to ward off, as a dangerous disease, the liberal ideas of Protestantism from their boundaries. It was at Rome that the censorship of books was first invented, and the example was religiously followed by the governments devoted to Rome. Leo X. that vaunted protector of the arts, issued, in 1515, severe restrictions against printing and publishing any books translated from the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic. At the same period that, five years afterwards, he fulminated against the Reformation that famous bull which begun; "*Exsurge, Deus, judica causam tuam,*" (Arise, O God, judge thy own cause,) in which Luther and his adherents were attacked with the most terrible anathemas, and in which all men were prohibited indiscriminately from reading any of their books whatsoever, and on what subject soever they might treat; at that very moment, I say, this pontiff did not blush to publish, in the name of Jesus Christ, a bull in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto, threatening with excommunication those who should find fault with them, or obstruct their sale. What was to be expected from such a spirit as this, from such an abuse of things, violently converted into things sacred, nay thrust into the place of the very oracles of heaven itself! France, the most enlightened of all the Catholic countries, more enlightened than several Protestant countries, and in which popery never reigned with unlimited sway, in spite of all its efforts to confirm its hold and to introduce the inquisition—France itself, in which even a species of half reform existed, under the title of Gallican liberties, was not entirely exempted from that system of extinguishment. In Spain, in Italy, and Austria, the prohibitions and censures went much farther; and in those countries still impose many shackles on the liberty of writing and thinking. Several of the governments in the south of Germany renew from time to time those salutary regulations against the reading of books written by *heretics*, or bold speculators."

"The maxim of the middle ages is yet preserved in those countries in all the vigour in which it is possible to preserve it in the present times; "to retain the minds of men on certain subjects in complete stupidity; to keep them as much as possible empty, that they may be afterwards filled with any thing which is found agreeable, and that superstition may find a convenient reception." Has any pope as yet retracted the bull, *In cœna Domini*, by which were excommunicated all persons who should read any books composed by heretics?" Father Paul, mentioning the first index of prohibited books which was published at Rome in 1559, says among other things: 'That, under pretext of religion, the pope in this consigned to excommunication the authors of works in which only the authority of princes and magistrates was supported against the usurpation of ecclesiastics. Besides this, the Romish inquisitors prohibited in the mass all books printed by sixty-two printers, which they denounced without any regard to their contents; adding further, a general prohibition to read any book issuing from the press of a printer who but once in his life had printed any thing

produced

produced by an heretic. By this means, says the historian, nothing was left to read. Never was a better secret found to benumb and corrupt men by religion.' (History of the Council of Trent, B. 6.)

"The Reformation broke all those shackles, imposed upon the human mind, and overthrew all the barriers erected against the free communication of thought. Within its boundaries nothing remained forbidden except productions offensive to modesty and public morals. By recalling the memory of those shackles and barriers, by considering the long continuance of barbarity which they might still have maintained upon the earth, have we not sufficiently proved how much the Reformation has contributed to the progress and to the diffusion of knowledge? As soon, indeed, as by its means the path was opened, men proceeded boldly and publicly to discuss the best interests of human kind, and to speak like men of things pertaining unto men."

"I will refrain myself from adding any thing more, and from falling into vague declamation on this subject. It is sufficient to reflect a single moment on the immense difference between those two principles adopted respectively by the two parties as the basis of moral culture: on the one side, *believe!* on the other, *examine!* Every thing, it is evident, must of necessity assume a different aspect under the supreme authority of those two opposite principles. The principle of examination calls forth light, of which it is the friend, as that of blind submission is the promoter of darkness. And who can calculate the immense extent of the influence of a fundamental principle, admitted as the basis of religious, and by consequence of moral instruction, in a nation? The man who is free in the inmost sanctuary of his soul looks freely and boldly around him. He becomes enterprising, active, and disposed for every thing that is great and useful. He who is a slave in his conscience, in the very centre of his being, is, without knowing that he is so, a slave in his whole conduct. He is by birth a slave, from the stupefaction and apathy which unnerve his faculties."

"The long, multiplied, and destructive wars, to which this commotion gave birth, retarded some of the effects which naturally would have flowed from it. The moral culture of nations, which was about to take a new flight, made for a short time a retrograde movement. The souls of men, however, tempered by misfortune, resumed their energy, and that immortal spirit, which had been awaked, displayed all its activity. Long it wandered in the false paths of theological controversy, from which at last it returned more alert and vigorous for the contest. Meanwhile the necessity felt by the different parties of attracting the people, and acquiring popularity, produced the cultivation of the vulgar languages; multiplied in them valuable works; and the French, English, and German prose, was fashioned, polished, and enriched, amidst the disputes of sects, and the shock of religious opinions.

"*Conclusion.*—Such are the principal effects which, in my opinion, have flowed from the influence produced on Europe by the Reformation of Luther. In examining the complicated causes of all the more considerable transactions during the lapse of three centuries, both in the political and literary worlds, it is difficult to escape error, not to be deceived with regard to some causes, and not to lose sight of some effects. Amid the confusion of all those embarrassed trains of things in the politics and intellectual improvement of Europe, the man who tries to discover those which are immediately connected with the quarrels in religion, what care soever he

employs, incurs the danger of being often deceived. Some of them are connected with the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity itſelf, with the preaching of the alcoran, with chivalry, with the cruſades, the uſe of artillery, the diſcovery of the new world, the revival of letters, the inſtitutions of Peter the firſt, the war of the ſucceſſion, and other great events. Were any one to examine the influence of any of thoſe events, perhaps he would challenge, as belonging to it, ſome of the conſequences which I have aſcribed to the Reformation."

"We are now in better circumſtances than ever to judge of a revolution which happened three hundred years ago. Let us conſider what was before it, what has been after it: let us hear all parties, look around us, obſerve what is now, and judge.

"When, after the long ſleep of the European nations and of their reaſon during the middle ages, we fix our eyes upon the condition of the human ſpecies in that fine part of the world in the fifteenth or the beginning of the ſixteenth century, we behold them awake from their lethargy, riſe, move reſtleſsly in all directions, ſeize inſtruments for their activity, forge new ones, make trial of them, unfold their powers, take poſſeſſion of the field of ſcience, throw off the ſwaddling clothes which embarraſſed them, and enter upon a new epoch. How deciſive events and inventions crowd upon one another during this interval! The fortunate application of the magnet, the teleſcope, printing, the taking of Conſtantinople, the new World, the depreſſion of the great vaſſals of the crown in France, the golden age of poetry and the arts in Italy, the erection of numerous ſchools, the books of the ancients revived, the eſtabliſhment of poſts which facilitated communication, the famous peace of the empire and the imperial chamber, the exorbitant increaſe of the Auſtrian power, which terrified Europe, and obliged it to take arms, Copernicus by whom the celeſtial ſyſtem was reformed, Luther and Loyola, who appeared nearly at the ſame time! It was neceſſary that the criſis ſhould come to an end, and the ſtate of things undergo a change both in the ſtructure of civil ſociety, and in the ſyſtem of human knowledge."

"Every thing was under the neceſſity of changing. The new ſpirit could not exiſt in the ancient forms; a correſpondence, an harmony was neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed between it and things; and as it poſſeſſed all the energy of the morning, the omnipotent power of youth, it operated in all directions with force and efficacy, and every where under the aids of enthuſiaſm.

"Under this point of view then it is that we ought to regard the Reformation; as a neceſſary product of the new age, as a manifeſtation of the new ſpirit. What Dante and Petrarch were in regard to poetry, Michael Angelo and Raphael to the arts of deſign, Bacon and Deſcartes to philoſophy, Copernicus and Galileo to aſtronomy, Columbus and Gama to geography, the ſame was Luther in regard to religion. Thoſe eminent men, the organs of the univerſal ſpirit, expreſſed correctly the thoughts which brooded in the minds of a great number of their contemporaries; and they ſatisfied at once the wants of their age. From their genius as ſoon as the ſpark eſcaped, the flame, ready to appear, broke forth in all directions. What had only been an immature, a vague conception, floating privately in the minds of a multitude of men, became clear and ſteady, made an open appearance, was communicated from intellect to intellect, and an uninterrupted chain united all thinking minds together. Such is the natural progreſs

greſs of that tacit conſpiracy which preſides over all reformations. Thoſe which take place in the dominions of the arts, and in moſt of thoſe of the ſciences, diſconnected with the paſſions and volcanic eruptions of the people, are generally accompanied with peace, and accompliſhed without coſting tears to humanity. Different was neceſſarily the fate of that produced by Luther. Religion was not then a matter of ſimple opinion, a purely moral being. It had an immenſe corporal organ, which oppreſſed all bodies politic, and had pretenſions to all the thrones, and to all the poſſeſſions in the world. By the very firſt wound which it received the Coloſſus trembled, and the earth was ſhaken by its motion. Princes and nations ran to arms, and gave themſelves up to a terrible conflict; a conflict of opinions and intereſts, the conſequences of which were ſo various, and ſo important."

"It has been my intention to diſguiſe neither the good nor the evil produced by the Reformation. I have only endeavoured to prove, that, after every thing has been compenſated and the final balance ſtruck, the effects of that revolution preſent a ſurplus of good to the human race; and that on the whole it ought to be ranked among thoſe important events which have moſt powerfully contributed to the progreſs of civilization and knowledge, not only in Europe, but in all parts of the earth to which the Europeans have carried their improvement."

From the above extracts the public will be enabled to form ſome judgment of the entertainment and inſtruction to be expected from the peruſal of the work. It has afforded us both; and we warmly recommend it to the attention of our readers. It is not every Proteſtant that is ſufficiently thankful for the bleſſings he now enjoys. Many, indeed the majority, know not from what tyranny, from what ſlavery of mind they have been emancipated by the good ſenſe, the reſolution, and the blood of their anceſtors. They enjoy the preſent ſunſhine and calm, unappriſed, or heedleſs of the tempeſt which diſpelled the clouds, and almoſt regardleſs of thoſe magnanimous ſpirits who withſtood the buffetings of the ſtorm, and purchaſed at the price of their quiet, their fortunes, and their lives, the happineſs of their deſcendants.

As we began with the tranſlator, we conclude our review with one or two ſtrictures on his department in this volume. He has ſubjoined copious notes to the text, ſome of which are illuſtrative and uſeful, ſome might have been ſpared. He appears to be rather an advocate for revolutions, to conſider them as ſalutary political fevers, which clear away obſtructions, and renovate ſociety. This, with ſome caveats and reſtrictions, may be true. He ſeems willing to aſſimilate the French revolution to the Reformation, and to augur from it effects equally beneficial. Of this we have our doubts. He approves of what was done at the Reformation with regard to eccleſiaſtical property, and does not diſapprove of the total confiſcation of it by the radical reformers of France, and, of courſe, cannot diſapprove of their lay confiſcations. Both, according to him, were neceſſary for carrying on the great revolutionary work. Suppoſing general good to have been the object of the frantic revolutioniſts of our neighbour country,

their maxim amounts only to this, "Let us do evil, that good may come:" a maxim which, being once generally known and received, would render the renovating fevers so frequent, and the paroxysms so violent, that few of the patients would at last survive to gratify the tender, benevolent feelings of their philanthropic physicians. Quiet would be banished from the face of the earth; every ridiculous or designing amelioration system-monger would, in a moment, have his army of associates, and mankind would fight apparently, only apparently, for the best of all possible states of society, till no two individuals were left to form the social compact.

Mr. M. in his notes, is a stout champion for Catholic emancipation; but he seems to have made himself acquainted with only one side of the question, and to be in the same situation with some of the Members of our Legislature, who (if we are to trust to the *uncontradicted* information of our newspapers) gloried in their ignorance of the subject, while they supported emancipation with all the powers of their eloquence. He acknowledges, that "the reduction of the power of the Romish church was of the utmost importance to the best interests of humanity;" but alleges, that "this affords no reason whatever for depriving the members of that church of their equal share of the rights and privileges of citizenship." Now, if the reduction of the power of the Romish church was of the utmost importance to the best interests of humanity, surely the granting of all the rights and privileges of citizenship to a decided majority of men, who are the staunch supporters of that power, cannot be considered a wise political arrangement. And it is because they are the staunch supporters of that power, and not because of the irreligious dogmas, that those privileges are withheld. It is dinned into our ears *ad nauseam*, that the absurd and enormous claims of the Church of Rome are now at an end; that the temper of the times, and the state of society, have laid them asleep for ever: and when they were brought forward by a person perfectly master of the controversy, as objections to emancipation, it was thought a sufficient reply, by an orator on the opposite side, to term him sarcastically the *learned* Doctor of the 15th century; implying, that such things indeed had been, but that they had long since ceased to be. A proper response to this petulant orator would have been, to give him the appellation of the *ignorant* declaimer of the 19th century. Innumerable instances might be given that it is the *power*, and not the *claims* of the Church of Rome, which now sleeps. We shall content ourselves with mentioning an instance or two, from the book Mr. M. has translated. The Pope, in 1701, adhering to the principles of the Romish church, viz. that *by it* kings reign, addressed the following brief to the king of France:

"Although we are persuaded that your majesty by no means approves of the attempt, which forms a precedent most pernicious to the Christian commonwealth, raised by Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg, in presuming publicly to usurp the name of king; an action of a sort contrary to the terms of the apostolic sanctions;—by which action truly the sacred dignity of

of king is assumed by a man not a Catholic, even in contempt of the church: And indeed the Marquis does not scruple to call himself king of that part of Prussia which by ancient right belongs to the order of Teutonic knights: We cannot pass over the affair in silence, that we may not appear wanting in our duty. We require that you will not pay him regal honours, who has too rashly joined himself in the number of those whom the following passage of sacred writ condemns and reprobates; 'They have reigned, but not by me; princes they were, but I have not known them." And in the *Orationes Consistor.* of Clement XI. we see that this pope, in presenting the account of this event, and of his bull, to the college of cardinals, states, "that the Margrave Frederick had arrogated to himself the title of king in an impious manner, and hitherto unexampled among Christians; it being well understood, that, according to the pontifical laws, an heretical prince ought much rather to lose his ancient dignities than obtain new."

We believe to this day the king of Prussia is not acknowledged as an European monarch. We know that, in 1782, he is mentioned in the pontifical calendar *only* as marquis of Brandenburgh. It is likewise notorious that the Treaty of Westphalia, wherein the privileges of Protestants were ascertained and confirmed, has not hitherto been acknowledged by the court of Rome: on the contrary, that court has, upon various occasions, declared its abhorrence of that instrument of peace between European nations, and from time to time thundered its anathemas against it.

As an example where the power and claims coincide, and where they were acted upon in a way equally foolish and deplorable, we give the following extract.

"The archbishop of Salzburg, baron of *Firmian*, inflicted on his country a similar calamity in the year 1782. After persecuting with the utmost atrocity those of his subjects who were not Catholics, he commanded them at last to quit their country, to the number of 30,000, without daring to carry with them any of their property, or even their families. This emigration has exhausted that little country. The unhappy fugitives were received by the Protestant states of Europe, and provided with the means of subsistence. A great part of them went to clear and people North America, where the descendants of those Salzburgers are still to be found."—AUTHOR.

Surely these instances prove, that the *claims* of the church of Rome, whatever may be determined of her *power*, have not passed away; that they remain still the same. It is equally evident, that a body of clergy, who (as the Popish clergy of Ireland do) consider themselves as missionaries in a land of heresy, and who are considered as such by their church, will do every thing in their power to support that church. It is no less evident, that the power of such a clergy over a people in general ignorant, irritable, and often dissatisfied, must be great. How then can Government with safety admit such men, who must abhor the dominion of Protestants, to all the privileges of citizens? A false statement has been made by the advocates for emancipation. They maintain that we refuse to Papists the privileges of

citizens, becauſe their *religious* creed is different from ours. All thoſe who are acquainted with the ſubject, either among Proteſtants or Papiſts, know that this is not the caſe. There are two deſcriptions of theſe emancipating advocates: one claſs knows that it advances a falſehood: the other, without examination, believes that the diſpute is merely a *religious* one; and conſidering, we are ſorry to ſay, every thing of the kind as a difference *de lana caprina*, pronounces that it ought not to impede any political arrangement. But our heſitation in granting to Papiſts all the privileges of citizens is not at all grounded on differences merely *religious*. Papiſts may believe in tranſubſtantiation—may worſhip the Virgin—may pray to her "*Jure Matris, imperia Redemptori*"—may kneel before ten thouſand ſaints, many of whom never exiſted, and many were, upon earth, any thing but ſaints; but whom, notwithſtanding, the holy father, by his infallible *fiat*, placed at the right hand of God. Though we may pity and deplore this debaſement of the human mind, yet we by no means maintain that ſuch belief ſhould deprive a Papiſt of any ſocial right. But when, along with this, he holds principles immoral, anti-ſocial, and dangerous to all Proteſtant ſociety, can we be blamed for withholding from him *ſome* of the privileges which a Proteſtant enjoys? Here a cry of *illiberality* is raiſed; but which, with the other outcries of ignorance, can have weight only with the ignorant. Liberality conſiſts in granting to a perſon more than he has a *right* to demand. But he is a fool, and not a liberal man, who beſtows on another what his conduct does not entitle him to, and what would, beſides, be hurtful to the grantor. The tranſlator might, therefore, have ſpared his accuſation of *illiberality*, which he lays to the charge of Lord Redeſdale. That noble lord does not "impute to Pius VII. the enormities of Alexander VI.;" but, upon the moſt incontrovertible grounds, he accuſes the church of Rome of ſtill holding the ſame immoral, anti-ſocial, and dangerous doctrines, which render Papiſts the objects of a jealous attention to every Proteſtant community. Let the church of Rome, in a *general council*, expunge from its eccleſiaſtical code the maxims to which we object, which it has at various times ſanctioned by that infallible authority, and which are no part of its *religious* dogmas, and the tranſlator will be convinced that *illiberality* is far from being a characteriſtic of the Britiſh government.

One more obſervation on the notes of the tranſlator, and we have done. Mr. Villers had ſaid,

"Let us remark yet farther, that the external form of religious inſtitutions being that portion of them which correſponds immediately with the ſenſes of man, and which thence unites itſelf with his paſſions; that the ſpirit, on the other hand, which animates thoſe inſtitutions, being that which correſponds directly with his intellectual part, it follows from this, in the firſt place, that the more any community is formed of ignorant and ſenſual men, men ſunk in matter, the more occaſion it will have for outward ſervices, for regulations purely ceremonial in its worſhip; and ſecondly, that the more any ſociety of men is enlightened, the more cultivated their intellectual

intual powers in preference to their ſenſes, and the purer the ſpirit has remained of their other inſtitutions, the less will they endure the form of their worſhip to be clogged, and the more eager will they ſhew themſelves for a reform in this particular.

This, which the conduct of men in all ages, and in every country, has proved to be a truth, we did not expect would be contradicted. But Mr. M. tells us, that it "is a vulgar prejudice, which is tranſmitted from mouth to mouth, in defiance of the moſt obvious conſiderations!" What the obvious conſiderations he ſpeaks of are, he has not condeſcended to inform us: all that we can then ſay is, that they have hitherto eſcaped our notice, and ſhall only add, that when Mr. M. ſhall have proved to us, that intelligent men have ever been more attached to the rites, ceremonies, and trappings of religion, than to its ſpirit and eſſence; and that, on the contrary, the ignorant and ſenſual men, the men ſunk in matter, have always ſpurned at rites and ceremonies, and have been the devotees of pure and unembodied religion, we will abandon Mr. Villers, and his doctrine, and will, with Mr. M. laugh at what has been hitherto conſidered as the common-ſenſe opinion of mankind. The long note which the tranſlator has introduced from a ſermon of Profeſſor Hardy, in oppoſition to the ſtatement of Mr. V. only proves what needed no proof, viz. that the religion taught by Jeſus Chriſt was pure, and ſimple. There is nothing in the ſtatement of Mr. V. inimical to this great truth. Mr. H. farther tells us, that Zoroaſter and Confucius taught, that true religion conſiſted in the adoration of the *Eternal One*, and in the practice of moral virtue. Be it ſo: Mr. V. has nothing to ſay againſt either Zoroaſter or Confucius. He has never denied that the Chriſtian religion, as preached by our Saviour, was pure, "without fictitious embelliſhment;" neither has he called in queſtion that men of a ſuperior mind, like the ſages here mentioned, had from time to time endeavoured to give a proper religious direction to the human mind: but he has ſaid, and truly ſaid, that men of ſound underſtanding will be attached to the eſſentials of religion, while the greater number, the ignorant, will cling to the non-eſſentials, to rites, ceremonies, pageantry, or myſticiſm. In this opinion he is ſupported by ſtubborn facts in the hiſtory of man. What a ſhort while did the purity of the Goſpel remain uncontaminated! and how ſmall is the number, even at this day, who worſhip in ſpirit and in truth, when compared with thoſe who may be called the ceremonial or myſtic Chriſtians! With regard to the Profeſſor's Zoroaſter and Confucius, of whom, by the bye, we know very little certain, *if* they taught the worſhip of the *Great One*, their religion never became the *popular* one, and has for ages ceaſed to be. Except a few ſuperſtitious Guebres, Perſia has adopted the more corporeal doctrines of Mahomet; and, in China, the deſcendants of Confucius behold the degrading rites of the Great God *Fo*, and the ſtercoraceous doctrines of the *mortal immortal deity of Thibet*, triumph over the ſimple and reaſonable maxims of their anceſtor. Such is the miſerable hiſtory of man; and we ſuſpect that a

ſimilar

ſimilar degradation will leſs or more be found, till perfectibility ſhall have reached that degree of perfection when we ſhall behold the peaſant endued with an *intellectuality* (if we may uſe the expreſſion) at leaſt commenſurate with that of the philoſophers of the day. We are old, and do not flatter ourſelves with the hopes of living to ſee, and to enjoy that intellectual millennium.

As the original of this work is not before us, we cannot pretend to ſay critically what are the merits, or demerits (if any), of the tranſlator. We are, however, diſpoſed to think that the tranſlator has, upon the whole, done juſtice to his original. He is evidently not to be confounded with the hack tranſlators of the preſent times, whoſe numbers are conſtantly increaſing, and muſt increaſe, ſo long as the booksellers (who, according to Johnſon's ſarcaſm, are *excluſively* literary patrons) are only ſolicitous to produce the *earlieſt* tranſlations, not the *beſt*. A wholeſale manufacturer in this way is applied to; he ſets his ſubalterns to work, and a ſomething is ſpeedily produced, where not only the ſpirit of the original evaporates, but where the idiom of our language is loſt, and even grammar is ſometimes not diſcoverable. We could mention ſome of thoſe manufactories; but what is, or is not a libel is ſo incomprehenſible a matter, that we abſtain: we have been taught caution: we have already been *confeſſors* to the cauſe of truth, and are not (hopeleſs as we are of ſucceſs) diſpoſed to become *martyrs*: a crown of martyrdom is an honour for which we do not feel ourſelves at preſent in complete preparation.

We had almoſt forgot to ſay, that the Sketch of the hiſtory of the Church, which is ſubjoined to the Eſſay, is a neat and ſufficiently correct abſtract; which may be peruſed with advantage by the unlearned, and which will not be found entirely uſeleſs to perſons of a different deſcription.

A Succinct View of Phyſical and Moral Means which might be ſucceſsfully employed by Great Britain, with or without the Aid of other Nations of Europe againſt the common Enemy of Order, Juſtice, Liberty, Commerce, and Peace: including a Plan of an improved Syſtem of Naval Defence for this Country, together with ſome Obſervations on the Neceſſity of a new Organization of Germany, and on the injurious Conſequences to Great Britain of tolerating the Neutrality of Spain and Portugal. By a Britiſh Subject, lately a Priſoner in France. 8vo. Pp. 100. Egerton, Whitehall.

EVEN before the treaty of Amiens as we are informed in an advertiſement "the author of theſe pages, then in France, thought it his duty to denounce the dangerous views of Buonaparté to his countrymen, (meaning "to denounce to his author's countrymen the dangerous views of Buonaparté"—ſo the ſentence ſhould have been conſtructed.) "And he has, ever ſince, conſtantly endeavoured to ſtrengthen this impreſſion on their minds. Theſe pages were written

written ſome time ago, although their publication has for reaſons which it would be unneceſſary to mention, been poſtponed." At this day, he obſerves—

"The relative ſituation of the ſtates of Europe is ſo entirely novel, that it would be abſurd to look into hiſtory for a parallel. All the nations on the continent are either too diſtant, too weak, or too much over awed by France to be any thing more than mere blanks in the exiſting conteſt. To reſcue the world from univerſal deſpotiſm, there muſt be a new organization of civil ſociety. This country muſt preſerve its wonted aſcendency, by aggrandizing in proportion as France aggrandizes, or the other nations of Europe muſt be placed in a ſituation capable of ſeverally reſuming and preſerving their independance. If Buonaparté deſires peace, it is only to forward his views of univerſal Empire. Our means of naval defence heretofore have been unſkilfully combined and deficient in degree. The number of our marines ſhould be augmented; and there ſhould be an eſtabliſhment of marine artillery. A ſtrong flotilla of ſmall boats or veſſels capable of rowing with celerity ſhould be conſtantly ſtationed ſo as to intercept the enemy's flotilla. This light flotilla would alſo be in many inſtances a means of attack. The augmentation of our eſtabliſhment of marines would enable us to board the enemies ſhips with greater advantage. And a harbour or baſon ſhould be made oppoſite to the French coaſt."

On the important queſtion of the blockading ſyſtem, our author is of opinion that

"Whatever may be the expence, inconveniences, or hardſhips of that ſyſtem, they are compenſated for more than fourfold, by the experience which it confers on our ſeamen on the one hand, and on the other by the impoſſibility under which it places the enemy's ſeamen of acquiring that experience by keeping them conſtantly blocked up in their harbours. The war may, on our part be converted from an offenſive to a defenſive war. The preſſure of immediate danger being removed it will be uſeful to allow the bulk of the people to return to their uſual avocations. But in order that they may do ſo without detriment to the country, the number of both the regulars and militia ſhould by degrees be augmented: the former perhaps to 200,000, and the latter to 100,000 men. The eſtabliſhment of the horſe artillery ſhould be improved and extended—For French priſoners ſuitable accommodations ſhould be provided in one of the ſmall iſlands cloſe to the Main-Land in ſome of the northern parts of the kingdom, when any number of them might be guarded by a ſingle armed veſſel. Propoſitions might be made to Spain and Portugal for an interchange of territory. If theſe nations remain connected with France we ſhou'd declare war againſt them, and lay open the trade of her colonies in South America. A Darien company might be re-eſtabliſhed. The principle of neutrality during the war might with advantage be extended to ſeveral of the enemy's colonies. A third great power might be erected in the north of Germany, under the revived name of the Hanſeatic confederation; to which fact it would bear a near affinity or reſemblance. To this third power the port of Antwerp, and not to France, the important port of Antwerp muſt belong. This new Hanſeatic confederation diſguſted by French tyranny and oppreſſion would be ready to join a Ruſſian or Engliſh Army."

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There is an uſual prejudice againſt all projects, ariſing from their common extravagance, which prevents, and from their frequent failure when carried into execution. Nevertheleſs, all projects are not either extravagant or impracticable. And, on the whole, projectors by ſuggeſting new ideas, that may with or without correction and improvement be adopted, deſerve well of the public. Different ideas are introduced into the mind by different aſſociations. Even an inferior genius may ſtumble on truths that may not occur to ſuperior minds, by ſetting out from a different point and purſuing a new courſe or tract. Of the projects now offered to the legiſlature and the public, we are of opinion that the whole are worthy of ſerious conſideration, and that ſome are ſo feaſible that they will, not improbably, ſooner or later be adopted. Such for example, is the plan propoſed for the confinement and accommodation of French priſoners. The outline of this plan we have already, in our general Analyſis, ſtated. In farther recommendation of it the author obſerves that the priſoners

"Might be daily ſupplied with proviſions from the Main-Land: but a week or a fortnight's ſtore might be always kept on the iſland in caſe of blowing weather. They could neither eſcape nor procure arms; and, if they were even to make themſelves maſters of the iſland, they might very ſoon be ſtarved into ſubmiſſion. They might be permitted to enjoy a greater degree of indulgence than in our priſons in the interior; and with conſiderably leſs expence, and no danger to the ſtate, ſuch of them as had trades or profeſſions might be allowed, as far as the nature of the ſituation would admit, to exerciſe them: and free acceſs might be permitted to ſuch as wiſhed to viſit them, ſubject to neceſſary regulations and forms. Such an eſtabliſhment would be at once economical and humane. It would be very bad policy to deliver up the French ſeamen, who fall into our hands, otherwiſe than in exchange for Engliſh ſeamen, ſince this would be gratuitouſly enabling them to man their ſhips of war, or to fit out privateers to moleſt our commerce; and becauſe, in the courſe of a few years of war, the number of the enemy's ſeamen that may fall into our hands and cannot be exchanged, will, in all probability be very conſiderable."

Changes in the political ſituation of Europe, as great as thoſe propoſed by our author, have actually happened. The independance of the powers, or the principal powers of Europe is to be reſtored only by as wide or a wider circle of innovation. And it may be obſerved that no ſettlement can be of long duration, that is not founded on a moral baſis: ſuch at that grand confederation of the principal European ſtates which was in the contemplation of Henry IV. of France, and our Queen Elizabeth, and which was recommended in the writings of Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun; the Abbé St. Pierre, Rouſſeau, and others.

A confederacy againſt the immediate and ſtill increaſing power and ambition of France, would grow ſtronger and ſtronger, by gradually drawing to its ſide the force of moral and religious ſentiments.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANIES.

A Sequel to, or a Continuation of, the Memoirs prefixed to the Works of the late reverend and learned George Bingham, B. D. or a Defence of the Conduct of his Succeſſor, the preſent Incumbent of ———, againſt the unfounded Inſinuations conveyed to the Public through the Channel of theſe Memoirs, addreſſed to the Clergy of the County of Dorſet, by the Succeſſor. Longman and Co.

THIS is one of the moſt contemptible performances we recollect ever to have read; the principles contained in it are altogether unjuſtifiable; and the language in which they are conveyed altogether unworthy of a beneficed clergyman. We have not given the title-page at length, for reaſons which will be very obvious to our readers. The ſubject of the publication is this: A valuable living became vacant about four years ago, which was intended by the family to whom it belonged for a younger ſon, who was then ſcarce twenty two years of age. The curate applied to the gentleman's mother to hold the living for her ſon; in his applications to her he was very explicit; in order, as he declares, that if the ſon did not take poſſeſſion, he ſhould continue to be the Incumbent. It would have been much more liberal to have ſtated his views, and to have ſaid that he ſhould conſider himſelf Rector for life, provided the young man ſhould not be inſtituted. This, however, he carefully avoided. "From my firſt onſet," ſays Mr. Marſh, "in this buſineſs I had laid it down as my invariable maxim that I was to hold the ——— for the patroneſs' ſon, ——— *nominatim* and *for him only*; from that principle I determined never to deviate, and from that principle I never did deviate; for I made it my *general* rule throughout my correſpondence on that ſubject, ſo to keep alive and inculcate the idea of my holding *for him* and *for no other*, that though I could not poſitively affirm that *no* letter eſcaped me without my having adverted to the terms, yet can I ſafely declare that *ſcarcely any did!*"

When he had held the living about two years and a half, the young man for whom it was deſigned being ordained prieſt, he was requeſted to vacate. When, lo! he aſſures his patroneſs that it was an eſtabliſhed privilege—a thing of which we never heard before!—attached to the holders of livings for minors, not to be interrupted in their poſſeſſion during the year that had commenced, and that conſequently he truſted that ſhe would not object to his availing himſelf of that privilege. And, on the 7th of October, it ſhould ſeem, when the tythes had become due, he executed a bond of reſignation. He acquaints his readers in a note, that he had been informed near three months before, by a layman much connected with the family, that it was by no means improbable that the newly ordained clergyman's credentials would be inefficient. It would have been more manly in the author to have related even the inefficiency than to have left his readers to form very various and perhaps very injurious conjectures.

A little time ago, Mr. Bingham, in the memoirs prefixed to the works of his father, who was the preceding Rector, adverted on our author's conduct for not vacating the living. Mr. Marſh, in order, as he thinks, to juſtify himſelf, informs the world that his intended ſucceſſor's credentials are found to be inefficient. It is this declaration which has excited our indignation. For what can be more illiberal and unmanly? Who can read

this

this vindication without bluſhing for the want of feeling betrayed in every page? And to want of feeling, we might add, we fear, want of ſenſe. Had the author been conſcious he had acted an upright part, he ought, when he found himſelf accuſed in the Memoirs, to have gone to Mr. B. and have laid before him his whole conduct in the tranſaction. "If thy brother ſhall treſpaſs againſt thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." We appeal to the feelings of the author, whether this would not have been a more gentlemanlike mode of proceeding than planting thorns in the boſom of a family to whom he cannot but acknowledge himſelf to be under very high obligations?

From the arguments which we cannot but reprobate, we proceed to the ſtyle. If preciſion be a mark of good writing, as it unqueſtionably is, Mr. Marſh poſſeſſes not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to it. Who can underſtand the following paragraph?

"Aware, as I am, of the extreme difficulty of eſtabliſhing by proofs the *negative*, after the *poſitive* ſide of the ſame queſtion has been boldly inſinuated to be true; and no leſs aware that it is out of my power to commit to the preſs at this time letters which have eſcaped from me three years ago, *(and of which I poſſeſs only copies)* I find myſelf driven to this alternative; either to reſt the principal evidence of my integrity on my own affirmation, or otherwiſe, to ſuffer the public mind to remain impreſſed by falſe *repreſentations* and *exaggerated complaints*.

Next follows a flight of the ſublime, and ſuch a flight as Demoſthenes could never reach.

"Now as I cannot acquieſce, under the idea of the public mind being thus miſled, I ſhall have recourſe to my own affirmation. But that affirmation ſhall not be a mere *ipſe dixit*, nor even a *bold inſinuation*; for as I bear about me *the teſtimony of my conſcience* that I have acted in *ſimplicity and godly ſincerity* throughout this whole tranſaction, it ſhall be an affirmation accompanied by an appeal to the ALMIGHTY: in whoſe preſence I am, and on whom I now call to be my witneſs; moſt ſolemnly and earneſtly beſeeching him that, at the laſt dread day, my ſentence of acquittal or condemnation may bear an ex & *ratio* to the truth or falſehood by which I am actuated."—Execrable nonſenſe!

We would recommend it to Mr. Marſh to collect all the copies which he has ſo liberally diſperſed, and alſo all that are in the hands of his ſeveral bookſellers; and to deſtroy them entirely, as they are only ſo many evidences of his outrageous temper, falſe taſte, and ſpecious integrity.

Tracts on East India Affairs: viz. Collegium Bengalense, a Latin Poem, with an English Tranſlation, and a Diſſertation on the beſt means of civilizing the Subjects of the Britiſh Empire in India, and of diffuſing the Light of the Chriſtian Religion throughout the Eaſtern World. By George Chapman, L. L. D. Second Edition. 12mo. Pp. 20. 6d. Moir, and Creech, Edinburgh. 1803.

DR. C. in the Latin Ode (the tranſlation of which, by the bye, is an elegant compoſition), exhibits one of the Magi, on the banks of the Ganges, meditating on the paſt miſeries and deſolations of the Eaſtern Empire; his meditations are interrupted by the angel Gabriel, who deſcends from heaven, to cheer him; this divine meſſenger adverts to his former miſſion on the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; exhorts the *Magus* to forſake his idolatrous ways,

ways, and to adore the God of the Chriſtians. In concluſion, he pronounces an eulogy on the New College of Bengal, and on its founders and ſupporters.

In his diſſertation, Dr. C. recommends the diviſion of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt, into governments, provinces, counties, and pariſhes, ſupplied with their proper officers; each pariſh to have a proteſtant clergyman, and a ſchoolmaſter, who ſhou'd be converſant with the language of the country. Theſe parochial ſchools, he thinks, would be "a proper preparation for the college of Bengal, at Calcutta." We concur with him, in the opinion, but, until the perſons entruſted with the direction of Eaſt India affairs ſhall take a more lively intereſt in the propagation of the Chriſtian religion, in their Eaſtern territories, than they have hitherto taken, we deſpair of ſeeing any beneficial plan adopted for the promotion of ſo deſireable an end. We always conſidered the eſtabliſhment of the college at Calcutta as eminently conducive to the extenſion of the Chriſtian faith; but we are ſorry to ſee, that this inſtitution has always been viewed with great jealouſy in Leadenhall Street, and we have not a doubt that the ſeminary recently eſtabliſhed in England for the education of youths deſtined for the Eaſt, had, for its principal object, the ſupply of a pretext for the abolition of the college in queſtion. The commercial legiſlators of Leadenhall Street, with thrice the number of ſubjects which the European dominions of his Britannic Majeſty contain, never ſuffer any concern for religion, or a proviſion for its miniſters, to interrupt their golden dreams of conqueſt and of gain. But we hope to live to ſee a complete change in the government of that vaſt empire; and the deſtruction of that *political anomaly* which at preſent ſubſiſts, to the aſtoniſhment of all who have ever given themſelves the trouble to reflect on the ſubject.

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Obſervations on Indecent Sea-bathing, as practiſed at different Watering-places on the Coaſts of this Kingdom. 12mo. Pp. 12. 3d. Hatchard. 1805.

THESE Obſervations firſt appeared in the form of a Letter to the Editor of "the Sun," who inſerted them in his paper, and ſubjoined ſome very pertinent and judicious remarks of his own. The practice of which the author complains has certainly become very prevalent of late, and calls loudly for expoſure and ſuppreſſion. It conſiſts in the want of a due ſeparation of the bathing machines, uſed by women, from thoſe uſed by men; or, of thoſe convenient canvaſs ſcreens which are affixed to the machines at Margate and ſome few other places, and which ought to be generally adopted. From this neglect, women have the appearance, as this writer obſerves, of bathing promiſcuouſly with men. "At Teignmouth, at Dawliſh, and at Exmouth, the bathing-machines, uſed by the ladies and the gentlemen, though deſtitute of awning, *are not ſeparated*, and the ſexes may be ſaid to bathe promiſcuouſly. At Sidmouth, indeed, the ſets of machines are ſeparated; but the diſtance between them is ſo ſmall, that it ſeems rather an apology than a homage to decency. Weymouth I have not yet viſited; but there I underſtand the laws of decency are reſpected." At Exmouth, we are told, a magiſtrate interfered to prevent this violation of decency, and the machines were for a time ſeparated, but, as the bathing women aſſerted to the ſaid magiſtrate, they were reſtored to their former proximity, *at the expreſs deſire of the ladies themſelves!!!* The author, however, conſiders, and we hope, for the credit of the ſex, *juſtly*, that this is a baſe libel of theſe mercenary

cenary wretches, who were themſelves influenced, by motives of convenience, to approximate the machines to each other. The author might have added *Cromer*, on the coaſt of Norfolk, to his liſt of places where this indecent mixture of the ſexes is conſtantly exhibited. Not only ſo, but while the women are bathing, men, aſſuming the *characters* and *appearance* of *gentlemen*, but certainly with the *actions* and *manners* of *blackguards*, ſtand by, very near to the machines, which have no awnings, ſtaring, with the moſt vulgar effrontery, at the female bathers. And, which is ſtill more ſtrange, the women are not *bathed*, to ſpeak *technically*, by perſons of their own ſexes, as at all other places, but are put into the water by two ſtout fellows, who are the only attendants they have.

The author next comments, with merited ſeverity, on an abominable practice prevalent at Brighton; where ſervants, ſoldiers, &c. bathe cloſe to one of the moſt public walks. Certainly ſuch a practice demands the interference of magiſtrates and peace officers, who are ſufficiently armed, by the law, with power to ſuppreſs it. Every public act of indecency is an offence *contra bonos mores*, and, as ſuch, indictable. We know of inſtances, in the vicinity of the metropolis, where magiſtrates have ſucceſsfully interfered; and have either ſtopped the practice, or enforced the law againſt the offenders. And indeed it is their bounden duty to do ſo on all occaſions. The author's reflections on the conſequences to be expected from accuſtoming females to the contemplation of indecent objects, and from the conſequent deſtruction of modeſty, that noble characteriſtic of the ſex, are eminently juſt, and his tract is entitled to public attention and praiſe.

Elements of Natural Philoſophy, containing explanations of the Heavens and the earth, atmoſphere, meteors, ſprings, rivers, &c. foſſils, plants, animals, human frame and human underſtanding. 18mo. Pp. 122. 2s. Vernor and Hood. 1805

A CONCISE and intelligent arrangement of the moſt ſtriking phænomena of nature. Such little treatiſes as the preſent, that convey a general knowledge of the greatneſs and harmony of the laws of nature, convey more information, and do more to eſtabliſh juſt principles of morality, than all the numberleſs volumes of tales and fables that have ever been written. After meeting with a very judicious and ſatisfactory account of foſſils, including the modern diſcoveries, we were ſurpriſed to find that the editor had entirely omitted every thing relating to chemiſtry. With that addition, and with ſome obſervations on the paſſions, this compilation would be uſeful even to ſome more experienced readers than thoſe for whom it is deſigned.

MEDICINE.

Some recent Caſes of Small Pox, ſubſequent to Vaccination. To which are added Experiments to aſcertain the Effect of Vaccinating in the Hand in Imitation of the caſual Diſeaſe; with Facts and Obſervations on the Effect of eruptive Diſeaſes in removing the Security derived from Cow-Pox. By William Goldſon, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 8vo. Pp. 134. 3s. Woodward, Portſea; Highly, and Hurſt, London. 1805.

An Anſwer to Mr. Goldſon, proving that Vaccination is a permanent Security againſt the Small-Pox. By John Ring, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 8vo. Pp. 44. Murray, 1804.

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IT will be perceived by the dates of these pamphlets, that Mr. Ring's is an answer to a *former* publication of Mr. Goldson, whose present tract may be considered, in some measure, as a *reply* to his opponent. So far from concurring with Mr. Ring in the censure which, with more asperity than justice, he lavishes on Mr. G. for raising doubts in the public mind, respecting the *permanent* security against the small pox, derived from the vaccine inoculation, we think that he, and every professional man, is entitled to thanks, who communicates the result of his own practice, concerning any new system whatever. In a matter of such vast importance to the public, as a plan for exterminating one of the most cruel diseases which has ever afflicted the human species, nothing should be concealed; every fact and every observation should be published; the usual tricks and deceptions of system-mongers, who make every thing tend to their own favourite systems, should be carefully discarded, and the establishment of truth be the sole object of every practitioner. Mr. Goldson has communicated the facts which have come to his knowledge, with the utmost candour and temperance; and the cases which he recites are certainly sufficiently strong to create strong *doubts*, of the *lasting* effects of the cow-pock in destroying the capability of receiving variolous infection: and to prove the necessity of making every possible experiment, particularly such experiments as he indicates, for ascertaining this important fact, as far as such a fact can be ascertained. Mr. Ring, on the other hand, adduces a variety of instances, from a very extensive practice, to demonstrate the existence of that *permanent security*, which Mr. G. questions. These cases are certainly highly satisfactory, in themselves; but still they do not, we think, warrant the deductions which Mr. R. has drawn from them; nor disprove the necessity for farther experiments contended for by Mr. G. Mr. Ring mentions numerous experiments made upon persons who had undergone vaccination *four or five years*, and who resisted every attempt to impart to them the variolous infection by inoculation, and by contact with persons labouring under the confluent small-pox. But these, strong and satisfactory as they are, are not sufficient to counteract the positive testimony of Mr. Goldson, who reports cases in which the variolous infection has been received after vaccination. We have ourselves heard of a similar case in the family of a most respectable clergyman, the present head master of Christ's Hospital. Mr. Ring, we must say, treats Mr. G.'s cases with great disingenuousness, and does not preserve that temper and decorum which become the advocates of truth.

Observations on some late Attempts to depreciate the Value and Efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation. By Samuel Merriman. 8vo. Pp. 36. Murray. 1805.

THESE Observations owe their birth to a publication of Dr. Moseley's, which we have not seen, but which, from the extracts here given, appears to have been written in much the same spirit as Mr. Ring's Answer noticed in the preceding article. Indeed the expressions quoted by Mr. Merriman are neither creditable to the talents, nor to the temper of the author, and must injure the cause which they were intended to promote. So important a discovery as the vaccine inoculation is neither to be opposed nor supported, by declamation, invective, or abuse; but by a fair communication of experiments, and by a sober discussion of facts. Mr. Merriman, on the contrary, proceeds, with great temperance, to overturn the flimsy fabric which his opponent had constructed on a sandy basis; to shew that as much de-

clamation, abuſe, and miſrepreſentation, had been beſtowed on the variolous inoculation, on its firſt introduction, as has been ſince laviſhed on its ſubſtitute; and to prove that ſome of the caſes cited by Dr. Moſely, were neither more nor leſs than groſs mis-ſtatements, and perverſions of facts. He, very ſatisfactorily, confutes the aſſertion of Dr. M. that inoculation for the cow-pock has been the means of producing various other diſorders. On this part of his ſubject he ſtrengthens his own teſtimony by the authority of many reſpectable practitioners "who have unanimouſly declared, that they never knew any miſchief or injury to ariſe from vaccination." But here he does not deal quite fairly by Mr. Goldſon, for in a note to this paſſage, he obſerves; "Mr. Goldſon, in his 'Recent Caſes,' p. 94, *affects* to believe, that the ſignatures to this declaration were obtained through the importunate ſolicitations of a few zealous partiſans of vaccination." Now, taking the note in connection with the text, it conveys the idea that Mr. Goldſon concurred in opinion with Dr. Moſeley reſpecting the dangerous effects of vaccination; whereas Mr. G. in the laſt page of his pamphlet expreſsly ſays "Notwithſtanding experience leads me to doubt the permanence of its ſecurity, yet I ſhall be at all times ready to teſtify, that I never ſaw any ill effects, or any diſeaſe ariſing from vaccination, excepting a few inſtances of troubleſome eruptions, which might have appeared in the ſame ſubjects if they had been inoculated with the ſmall-pox. On the contrary, I am firmly of opinion, that the conſtitutional affection, when it does take place, is too ſlight to excite any ſcrophulous diſpoſition into action." And on turning to the paſſage to which Mr. Merriman refers, we find that Mr. Goldſon alludes there only to the abſurdity of calling on "the London practitioners to expreſs their conviction of its *permanent* preventive powers," in the very infancy of the diſcovery, and before that experience as could alone juſtify ſuch conviction could poſſibly be obtained. Mr. Merriman, however, agrees as much with Mr. Goldſon, as he differs from Mr. Ring, as to the propriety of a full inveſtigation of the ſubject; and his concluding obſervations are ſo creditable to his underſtanding, and ſo much in uniſon with our own ſentiments, that we ſhall extract them.

"It muſt be admitted, that we have yet much to learn reſpecting the action, the powers, and the laws of the cow pox. The ſubject is very far from exhauſted, and events requiring further inveſtigation are frequently occurring. Whether from ſome conſtitutional idioſyncracy, ſome error in the vaccinating proceſs, or poſſibly from the patients being liable to receive the infection of variola twice, it cannot be denied, that a few of thoſe who were believed to be ſecured by vaccination have been attacked by the ſmall pox.

"The ſame may, with truth be ſaid of variolous inoculation. A number of extraordinary caſes have been reported and recorded, which require to be examined much more minutely than they have yet been. It has been uſual to decide on theſe caſes according to the general rule, that the ſmall pox cannot occur twice. Yet as we now poſſeſs more than one duly authenticated caſe of ſuch ſecond ſmall pox; why may it not have occurred twice in ſome of thoſe inſtances which have been explained in another way, ſurely becauſe ſuch inſtances were ſuppoſed to be impoſſible?

"If Dr. Moſeley, or any other perſon, can bring to light, *real facts* and *deciſive caſes*, either for or againſt the cow pox; he will do very great ſervice to ſociety: but the very reverſe will be the reſult of publiſhing caſes which will not bear the teſt of enquiry. Thouſands of ſuch caſes as Gurling's will

not

not induce the public to give up ſo valuable a diſcovery, as that of Dr. Jenner has hitherto appeared. *The number of Cases is nothing, the reality of the fact is the whole.* The ſtricteſt attention to the whole truth is, therefore, neceſſary, that we may neither deceive others, nor be ourſelves deceived; and though there may be ſome over zealous partizans on both ſides, the majority of medical practitioners and the public in general are only intereſted in, and ought to be ſolely deſirous of, aſcertaining and abiding by the truth.

Hoc opus, hoc ſtudium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si Patriæ volumus, ſi nobis vivere cari."

Report on the Progress of Vaccine Inoculation in Bengal, from the period of its Introduction in November 1802, *to the end of the Year* 1803. *With an Appendix submitted to the Medical Board, at Fort William.* By John Shoolbred, Superintendant General of Vaccine Inoculation. 8vo. Pp. 94. 2s. Calcutta printed, reprinted in London, for Blacks and Parry. 1805.

THIS Report of the progreſs of vaccination in the Eaſt is highly ſatisfactory as to its reſult, and highly creditable to the exertions of the perſons entruſted with its ſuperintendence. It appears that no leſs than *eleven thousand persons* were inoculated with the vaccine virus, in the firſt year of its introduction, which are nearly three times as many as were inoculated in Great Britain during the ſame period. Dr. Jenner, however, has been led into a very groſs miſtake, as to its reception with the natives of Hindoſtan. In the Medical and Phyſical Journal for 1803, it was ſtated, "from Bengal, he (Dr. J.) alſo learns, that the Hindoos received it with the greateſt ardour, from the veneration [which] theſe people pay to the cow, as well as the ſecurity [which] they find in it from the ſmall pox." But the *fact* is, that the very circumſtance here repreſented as ſtrongly recommending vaccination to the Hindoos, has been the means of exciting their diſguſt. "The Bengaleſe inoculators make a ſtand againſt its introduction for the very reaſon that it does come from the cow. This is what Mr. Blaquiere alludes to, in lamenting that ſo great a bleſſing had not been introduced into India, under ſome other name than that of the cow pox.

A doubt ſeems to have ariſen, whether the vaccine diſeaſe was not known in India previous to its recent introduction from Europe; but to judge from the accounts before us, there is no reaſon to believe that this was the caſe; and the claims to this knowledge may probably be fairly imputed to the arrogance of the Bramins, who aſſume to themſelves a decided ſuperiority over the reſt of mankind.

Subjoined to this valuable tract, which contains much intereſting matter, we are happy to ſee a long liſt of valuable books in Oriental literature, publiſhed by thoſe reſpectable bookſellers, Meſſrs. Blacks and Parry.

DIVINITY.

A Brief Illuſtration of the Morning Service of the United Church of England and Ireland: ſhewing not only the use and design of its various parts, and the great propriety with which they are arranged; but likewise the necessity of offering up our devotions with the worship of the heart, no less than with the service of the lips. By the Rev. John Clarke, Minor Canon of the Cathedral Church of Durham. *The second edition.* 12mo. Pp. 220. 3s. Rivingtons. 1804.

THIS familiar illuſtration of the principal parts of our excellent liturgy is very well adapted to the inſtruction of the lower claſſes of the community, who have not leiſure or opportunity to conſult the larger treatiſes

on the same subject; and for whose use it is avowedly designed. In his preface, Mr. Clarke laments the supineness and indifference with which the members of the Established Church (to their shame be it spoken!) perform divine service. Indeed the generality of them seem to think, that, if they go to church, and repeat the service like parrots, they do all that is required of them; and as to *praying*, properly so called, that is, the fervent devotion of the heart, they appear to have no notion of it. Numbers of them do not even like the trouble of putting themselves in the posture of prayer; and scarcely any stand while the Psalms are singing. Very justly does our author remark, that, in offering their supplications to the Deity, they display less humility and respect than they would observe towards a fellow-creature of whom they were asking a favour. And can such persons be so weak as to suppose that *such* service can be acceptable in the sight of God? Preposterous supposition! No: it is rather a mockery of the Divine Majesty.

In the notes at the end of the volume are some very seasonable and forcible admonitions to those Christians who constantly turn their backs on the Lord's Table. Indeed this neglect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is, we fear, daily increasing. But how imperfect a knowledge must that Christian have of his duty, and how ignorant must he be of the *consequences* of so flagrant a breach of it, who habitually abstains from receiving the Sacrament. Some judicious reflections are also subjoined, on the sinful conduct of the Methodists, in promoting schism, by separating themselves from the Church.

A Sermon preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Thursday, May 12, 1803. By the Rev. G. H. Glasse, late Student of Christ-Church, Oxford; Rector of Hanwell, Middlesex; and Domestic Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. 4to. Pp. 20. Rivingtons.

THIS sermon, which has been mislaid, ought to have received much earlier notice. It is an eloquent appeal to the feelings and religious principles of the congregation, in behalf of the truly unhappy widows and sons of the clergy of the Established Church. We heartily concur with Mr. G. in lamenting, that no legislative provision has ever been made for this very deserving and most unfortunate description of persons. To those who think, or at least who *say*, with Dr. Aikin *, that the Church affords a prospect of certain emolument to its clergy, and that the ecclesiastical is a most *lucrative* profession, we recommend the facts stated in the 4th, 5th, and 6th pages of this discourse. Would sectarists be satisfied with 308l. 10s. as the annual income of *ten* clergymen, and as the support of *eighty-four* persons? But we do not mean to compliment their integrity at the expence of their understanding, and therefore shall not accuse them of giving more credit to their own assertions than they give to the revealed word of God.

On the Universal Prevalence of Christianity; a Sermon preached at Nottingham, April 28, 1804; *at the Archdeacon's visitation. To which is added an Appendix relating to the restoration of the Jews.* By Edward Pearson, B. D. Rector of Rempstone. Pp. 48. 1s. Tupman, Nottingham; Hatchard, London.

ISAIAH'S prediction, or prophecy, of the blessed effects of the establish-

* See a letter by Dr. Aikin, in a subsequent part of this Number.

ment

ment of Chriſt's kingdom upon earth, forms the principal topic of this diſcourſe; in the courſe of which Mr. Pearſon treats, with his uſual ability, of the nature and end of prophecies. His admonitions to his brethren reſpecting their lives and conduct are excellent; and the whole diſcourſe does credit to this ſound and experienced divine. The appendix contains the author's notions reſpecting the expected reſtoration of the Jews, who, he ſuppoſes, have nothing more to expect from the Divine mercy, than a general converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and a conſequent participation in its benefits.

REVIEWERS REVIEWED.

THE ANNUAL REVIEW AND THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

THE following letter was tranſmitted, with an addreſs, to the editor of the Monthly Magazine, as directed below, in conſequence of his extraordinary aſſertions reſpecting the church of England and the Methodiſts, publiſhed by him in that miſcellany for the months of Auguſt and October, and ſigned POLITES. With my letter, you have a correct copy of the original papers by POLITES, i. e. *Dr. John Aikin*. This is perhaps the very firſt production of that voluminous writer, or rather collector, that any perſon ever thought worthy of being tranſcribed; and it is a proof, that the moſt ſterile imagination, and a mind which never once engendered an original thought—an unfortunate pauſe-grinder, tranſlator and editor, whoſe works, notwithſtanding all the various efforts of the modern art of puffing, have never been able to attain a ſecond edition—may yet, in the decline of life (like Eratoſtratus, who burnt the temple of Diana merely to be talked of), produce ſomething to reſcue his name from impending oblivion. It is a conſoling reflection indeed that the talents of the enemies of ſocial order are no leſs contemptible than their principles. To your theological correſpondents I ſhould have left the diſcuſſion of the doctrinal points, had not Dr. Aikin wiſely declined all other arguments but ſuch as were of a political nature. What indeed he has offered that bears any ſimilarity to argument, is drawn from that hackneyed theme of fanatical diſcuſſion, the ſtate of Ireland; favourite hobby of party-ſpirit, ignorance, bigotry, intolerance, and faction. This very impolitic publication, however, muſt tend to ſhew what are really the ultimate views of this illiberal junto, of which Dr. Aikin is ſo induſtrious an agent, and to which his periodical or monthly labours are unceaſingly devoted, with ſufficiently inſidious zeal, though never with energy or originality of thought. Doubtleſs he will, as uſual, to avoid diſcuſſion, exclaim againſt what he calls want of taſte, in the freedom with which I expreſs my opinions, according to the genuine ſpirit of ancient Engliſh liberty, and to the frankneſs of Engliſhmen, who expreſs themſelves on men as on things agreeable to the qualities they may be found to poſſeſs. To this trite ſubterfuge of religious bigotry, that clings to its common centre with an obſtinacy great in proportion to its want of reaſon or logical argument, I ſhould reply in the words of one of Dr. A.'s oracles, *Il n'y a rien beau que le vrai*. Nevertheleſs, this equanimity, ſo much deſired but never attained by the French, whom Dr. A. has copied, is not in him a proof of tranquillity of mind. There is a vapid uniformity, characteriſtic of thoſe who are ſubject to frequent attacks of the moſt violent paſſions, but whoſe ſituation in life, whoſe aſ-

ſumed perſonal conſequence, and conſciouſneſs of their own mental imbecility; in a word, thoſe who have puſhed themſelves into a ſphere to which their natural talents are unequal, prevent them from ever committing themſelves before the public, but in a manner ſo completely ſoporific, that we inſenſibly aſcribe to ſuch writers their affected merit of apathy or indifference. Theſe authors uſually attempt to paſs their feigned indifference, or rather their *foibleſſe d'eſprit*, as a proof of their great candour. But if the age is daily becoming more and more enlightened, as Dr. A. *says*, it is a ſatisfactory proof of what he really *thinks*, as well of himſelf as of that public which he continually flatters, when he attempts to cozen this enlightened age into a belief, that his aſſumed indifference is either a proof or a conſequence of his candour. Such examples of *candour* are worthy of being placed along with thoſe of the *impartiality* of the *ſoi-diſant* hiſtorian Belſham, who has diſplayed ſo much manual dexterity in cutting up the columns of certain newſpapers, to make twelve octavo volumes, that his bookſeller calls a hiſtory. If any of theſe volumes ſhould be, by accident, diverted from their natural and only purpoſe, that of enveloping the coal-porter's cheeſe and bacon, ſome literary adventurer may avail himſelf of the occaſion to aſſert, if not with the invidious and vain Abbé Mably, that the Engliſh have no good hiſtorians, at leaſt that they have books called hiſtories diſſimilar to thoſe of every other language, and that are neither illumined by truth, nor enlivened by imagination, but vulgar tales vamped up from the effuſions of ferocious fanaticiſm, political rancour, ambitious envy of office, and perſonal animoſity. But, Sir, I beg your pardon for thus obtruding theſe obſervations on your attention. Should they, with the letter, merit a place in ſome of the ſucceeding numbers of your Review, a work that daily becomes more and more intereſting to every man of independent mind, who can think for himſelf in defiance of political clamours or religious zealotry, who poſſeſſes the genuine ſpirit of liberty, deference to the laws, and reſpect for the religion and welfare of his country, it will be exceedingly agreeable to, Sir, Your moſt obedient,

B——R—— VERITAS.

Oct. 28, 1805.

"*To* JOHN AIKIN, *M. D. Stoke-Newington.*

"SIR,

"I paſſed over your firſt attack on the national inſtitutions, under the ſignature of *Politus*, as one of thoſe modern tricks to excite attention or to acquire temporary popularity, for which you are principally diſtinguiſhed; but your ill-natured and ſcurrilous reply to *Clericus* convinced me, that you had at length betrayed yourſelf into an honeſt declaration of your private opinions and wiſhes, and that you really expected to ſee meeting-houſes and conventicles, with all their noiſy and incoherent ribaldry, ſubſtituted for the regular Chriſtian decorum, rational piety, and benevolence of the church. How far this is likely to happen, I know not; but I truſt it will be little accelerated by the promulgation of the ultimate views and ſyſtem of attack that you, as the efficient organ of a junto, and editor of a monthly publication on which you alone have ſo often beſtowed the epithet of "excellent miſcellany," preſent to your readers. Doubtleſs this attack on the church-eſtabliſhment will draw on you ſtill more general contempt than that * which you made ſome time ago on Dr. Reid, under the anonymous ſignature of *M. D.* The ingenious but often fanciful effuſions of that reſ-

" * I would here be underſtood rather of the manner than the matter."

pectable

pectable phyſician, whoſe monthly reports generally evince ſomething of the *mens divinior* of genius, could not fail to arouſe the envious ſpleen of your eclipſed conſequence to wound his feelings as a man, but moſt aſſuredly without the power of injuring his character as a phyſician. Now that you have ſpent your malice, happily as impotent from its ſtupidity as vile from its cauſe, againſt the conſtitution of Church and State, let me recommend it to you to direct your attention again to medical ſubjects, and the moment is propitious for a long paper againſt the vaccine inoculation, by which you might attract a few readers, and have the honour of being enrolled with thoſe *candid* and *impartial* gentlemen who have diſcovered their talents for invention in the fabrication of 268 caſes of the ſuppoſed failure of that antidote.

But, to ſpeak more immediately to the ſubject you propoſe, namely, to prove that the church of England would remain preciſely the ſame as it is at preſent, if there were not one perſon in the kingdom who believed in her creed, articles, liturgy, or diſcipline! Truly the propoſition is worthy of the *profound* genius of its author, and is ſo very abſurd, that it would be inſulting common ſenſe to oppoſe it with arguments. It is, however, intimately allied with the recondite and very moral ſentiments of the Annual Reviewers, who have pompouſly announced their ſublime diſcovery in the human mind, that "*benevolence originates in luſt**," and that the moral ſentiment of "patriotiſm is derived from the *cat!!*" When you ſpeak of "the ſpeculations of periodical critics," you, doubtleſs, except your friends and allies, thoſe ſagacious *annual* critics, whoſe work ſo manfully belies the boaſted progreſs of knowledge in this enlightened age, and offers a ſalmagundi of vulgar rhapſodies, vain conceits, low puns, affectation, puerile vanity, feeble dogmatiſm, impious and obſcene hints, a total want of good ſenſe or judgment, and the continued uſe of low ungrammatical language. Your two papers are indeed more poliſhed, and are perhaps the beſt ſpecimen of your uniform ſtyle.

'To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine *(Aug.* 1805) no. I.

'Sir,

'Among the ſpeculations of our periodical writers, I have obſerved one maintained with conſiderable confidence, relative to the ſuppoſed danger of the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, from the rapid advance of Methodiſm. This is a point of ſufficient intereſt and curioſity, to deſerve the diſcuſſion even of thoſe who are indifferent as to the religious ſyſtems which might be finally triumphant in the conteſt; and I ſhall requeſt the indulgence of one or two of your pages for the purpoſe.

'That the Church of England might remain the ſame with reſpect to her hierarchy, her liturgy, and her emoluments (*in which her eſſence properly conſiſts*), were the doctrinal principles of the Methodiſts to become univer-

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"* I ſhould leave the very *delicate* obſervations of theſe *ſoi-diſant* critics on French women and dogs to their native kennel, were it not a public duty to caution all prudent mothers, all keepers of public or private ſchools, and profeſſors, who have either the love of virtue or good taſte in their minds, againſt the uſe of a work ſo groſsly immoral, ignorant, obſcene, vulgar, and deſtitute of every emblem of taſte and judgment, as the volume entitled 'Annual Review for 1804,' A. Aikin, editor."

ſally prevalent, no argument, I conceive, is neceſſary to prove. Their doctrines, indeed, are alleged to be ſtrictly thoſe of her Articles; and however Calviniſtical theſe may be, they ſeem to have no repugnance to ally themſelves with clerical dignities and good livings. The danger, then, if any, will not ariſe from Methodiſtical churchmen, but from Methodiſts termed Diſſenters; that is, from thoſe who, more zealous for doctrines than for rites and ordinances, when unprovided with ſpiritual food to their taſte in their pariſh churches, will ſeek it in meetings and conventicles: and it cannot be doubted, that if the Church itſelf neglects to ſupply her members with that kind of inſtruction which experience demonſtrates to be the moſt acceptable to the majority, ſhe will find herſelf deſerted by numbers, notwithſtanding the attractions of outward ſplendour and public authority. But, not to mention that her miniſters have the remedy in their own hands, whenever they chooſe to preach conformably to their ſubſcribed Articles of Faith, ſhould even the worſt happen, and the majority of ſerious believers in the kingdom become ſeparatiſts, I do not ſee that the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment would be more endangered than many other eſtabliſhments which are ſupported *rather as ſources of emolument to a few, than as uſeful or neceſſary to the community.* All the great families of the nation, who (as the Biſhop of Landaff well obſerves) are reverſionary proprietors of the church-revenues, would continue to ſupport a ſyſtem, by which ſo many younger ſons and dependents are amply provided for. All the petty gentry would wiſh for the continuance of a lucrative profeſſion, to which they can devote part of their families at a moderate coſt. All thoſe who, from political ſyſtem, are friends to that *pomp* which impoſes on the vulgar, and awes them into ſubmiſſion, would deprecate the deſtruction of a *ſplendid piece of ſtate-machinery.* With ſuch a number of potent allies, the Church can never fall but in ſome grand convulſion of the State, againſt which no defences are available. Even now her maintenance is far from being voluntary on the part of the contributors; for there is ſcarcely a farmer in the kingdom who does not execrate the payment of tythes; yet no attempts even to procure an alteration of the mode have had any chance of ſucceſs. It is now reckoned ſound doctrine to hold, that the revenues of the Church ſtand on juſt the ſame ground of legality as the eſtates of individuals; and ſuch is the tender care of her welfare, that, in every commutation of property, ſpecial proviſion is made that ſhe ſhall loſe nothing, but may gain as much as ſhe can.

'The ſtate of the Church of Ireland is a ſtriking example of the advantageous poſition occupied by an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Although it is the church only of (probably) the tenth part of the people, it is endowed as if providing for the religious wants of the whole iſland. This circumſtance is, indeed, grievouſly complained of, and has been a principal cauſe of the diſturbances of that country; but in none of the conciliatory plans has it been propoſed to take one ſingle living from the Iriſh Proteſtant Church, and give it to the Catholic and Preſbyterian clergy of Ireland. In the late Catholic petition, it might be obſerved, that particular care was taken to diſavow any intention of touching the revenues of the Proteſtant Church. Now, it can hardly be conceived, that, at any period, the Methodiſtical Diſſenters of England will become proportionally ſo numerous and powerful as the ſeparatiſts from the national Church of Ireland.

'One event alone would bring on danger to the Church from a ſtrong Methodiſtical party—an unadviſed perſecution! *Let high-churchmen, in this their*

their hour of triumph, beware of a measure to which some zealots seem desirous of urging them. Many circumstances tend to shew that there is in this nation, rational and enlightened as some may think it, a latent germ of fanaticism, to the expansion of which favourable occasions alone are wanting. Persecution, even of the moderate kind that the present times would allow, could not fail to give life and vigour to this germ, and no one can foretel the limit of its growth. As quiet dissidents, the Methodists, however numerous, are not to be feared; as provoked and injured sectaries, they might be rendered really formidable. Yours, &c.

POLITES.'

'TO THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE (*Oct.* 1805) NO. II.

'SIR,

'My censurer, *Clericus*, need not have affixed that signature by way of a distinctive appellation, since the manner in which he has considered the topic sufficiently indicates one who has a *professional* interest in it. When stripped of its misrepresentations, and garbled and interpolated quotations, his letter has so little left for a reply, that my remarks upon it will be in no danger of trespassing upon your indulgence. The intrinsic excellence of our ecclesiastical constitution was no part of my consideration; and if *Clericus* chooses to assume its superiority, in doctrine and discipline, to all other Christian churches, and the divine authority of its whole hierarchy, from bishops down to minor canons, I certainly shall not enter the lists against him. The sole point of my discussion was, a supposition started by certain periodical writers, that the spread of Methodism would finally endanger the existence of the Church of England, by detaching from it the mass of its present supporters. Admitting by hypothesis the fact of such a future defection, I attempted to shew that there would remain a sufficiency of support from worldly and political causes, to prevent its fall; and not one of the arguments I have adduced on this head is controverted by my opponent. To any one acquainted with the rules of reasoning, I may confidently appeal against his charge of vilifying the English Church, by a supposition which I have merely adopted from another; nor has he any right to represent me as regarding the Church in the light of a *mere political machine*, when I argued, that, were it even to become such in common estimation, it would still be able to maintain itself by means of its connexion with the State. In truth, there are few subjects more curious and important than the nature and operation of religious establishments, which may be considered perfectly apart from the influence of religion itself, or the authority on which they claim to be founded. But investigations of this kind demand a portion of the philosophical spirit which is not likely to fall to the share of an interested zealot. Were the topic thought fit for further discussion in your miscellany, I should not decline a re-consideration of the arguments I have produced; but I should think it a waste of time to pay any more attention to angry declamation and illogical reasoning. With respect to the imperious call which *Clericus* has made upon me to produce proofs, "that any proposals have been made in the Church, or any plan devised by her, for persecuting the Methodists, or any other Dissenters," I might content myself with saying, that no assertion of the kind is to be found in my letter, which only hints that "some zealots seem desirous of urging the Church to such a measure:" but *I do not scruple to affirm, that one who does not discern a marked tendency to intolerance in the writings and actions of several*

several of the present clergy (and some of no mean rank) must be possessed either of little information, or of strong prejudices. Your's, &c.

POLITES.'

'" To assert that the 'essence of the Church properly consists in her hierarchy, her liturgy, and her emoluments,' might be in some degree applicable to the church of Rome, that will not acknowledge the existence of any other church of Christ on earth; but to say so of the rational and liberal Church of England, that recognizes every sect and believer in Jesus Christ as fellow-labourers and participants in the general redemption, is surely to betray rather too great a contempt for truth. To support this assertion, you disingenuously conceal the fact, that the doctrine of the Church of England, in which her essence as a particular Christian congregation consists, was in existence long prior to her actual emoluments. It is these previous and peculiar doctrines that may be called her essence, and not her adventitious and political emoluments, as you falsely and blasphemously assert. It is the preservation and spiritual efficacy of these pristine doctrines that every truly good and wise man is eager to maintain; and I have never seen anything more expressed by the enlightened friends of social order, than their fears lest the joint influence of fanaticism, faction, and hypocrisy, should so far mislead the vulgar as to induce them to abandon the sound morality and rational piety of the parish churches, for the enthusiastic and immoral ravings of Methodists, or the more subtle delusions of puritanical hypocrites, who bask in the maternal rays of divine toleration, only to hatch their matricidal projects of desolating despotism. It is not then the speculations of any periodical critics of this country that have suggested to you the idea of covertly attempting to prove the Church of England a 'mere political machine.' You have gleaned it from the general view in the French work of Villers on the Reformation, and, to disguise your plagiarism, have ascribed it to English writers. To complete the whole, you have, *vraiement à la Français*, at once vilified the Church, denied it, and again attempted to prove the calumny! In this, Sir, as in all your other writings, prefatory dissertations, ycleped 'critical essays,' letters, &c. I could trace the mother-idea of all your literary lucubrations, the germ of all your works, even your poetical rhymes, to the pages of those French authors from whom you have adopted them, with scarcely so much alteration as amounts to manneri'm. To trace your French reading, indeed, were it worthy the labour, would be a work of no greater difficulty than to shew the English reading of all the modern French philosphers; and he must be a person little acquainted with the general literature of the two countries who could not do both. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, that you have generally added a little puritanical gall, especially in your sectarian reflections, to your borrowed sentiments, and that in this you have rather overshot the mark, when you injudiciously expose your designs by the insinuation that the Church, or any other establishment in this country, is supported for its emoluments to a few, instead of its utility to the public. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for you or any other person to prove the existence of any such establishment, either religious, political or commercial, in Great Britain; and the imaginary comparison is but an effusion of *malice prepense*. If your hereditary enmity to *all* religious establishments be real, as it would appear, why not direct at least a portion of your abuse to the General Assembly and Synods of Scotland, that exercise a control equally arbitrary, and infinitely more into-

intolerant, than that of the biſhops and rectors of England or Ireland. In truth, it is not any averſion from religious eſtabliſhments as ſuch, that occaſions your implacable wrath to the Church, but becauſe you cannot participate in her emoluments, "as your Calviniſtical doctrines have no repugnance to ally themſelves with clerical dignities and good livings." On this account it is difficult to avoid ſmiling at and pitying the invidious zeal that you diſplay for the promulgation and extenſion of the 'doctrines and ſpiritual food' of the Methodiſts, while you yourſelf would kindle into rage at the perſon who would call you a *Methodist!* Of the Diſſenters' virtues, let the Miſſes Wooliſtoncrafts, Williams's, &c. ſpeak, whoſe foul deeds on the continent have given foreigners the opportunity of pointing at the impecable characters of Engliſhwomen in general.

"Turning to your boaſted example of the ſtate of the Iriſh church, it is evident that you have the temerity to argue and judge from vulgar report and hearſay, and that you are ſtill more ignorant of the true ſtate of that country than of France. Very unfortunately for your concluſion, the whole premiſes are a tiſſue of falſehoods. It is not true, that the eſtabliſhed Church of Ireland is the church of only a tenth part of the people; if property, virtue, and intellect (and, upon your own principles, you muſt acknowledge the religious importance of the latter), be conſidered, it is the church of at leaſt two-thirds, if not of three-fourths. It is not true, that 'it is endowed, *i. e.* ſupported, as if providing for the religious wants of the whole iſland.' There are numberleſs pariſhes in Ireland in the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of very reſpectable Engliſh and Scots families, who ſettled there at different periods of the Engliſh hiſtory, and who have been the chief means of civilizing and cultivating the country to its preſent ſtate, where the very exiſtence of tythe is ſcarcely known! Many reſpectable, intelligent, and wealthy farmers, who occupy from 50 to 80 acres of good arable land, who keep from five to eight horſes, and who barely know that they have, from time immemorial, paid with their yearly rent the tythe, which in many caſes does not amount to 1s. 6d. per annum! Is this, then, an adequate ſum for ſuch an occupant to give for the ſupply of his religious wants? Is the annual ſum of 1s. 6d. enough for the head of a reſpectable family to contribute to the ſupport of religious inſtitutions? This exceſſive leniency on the part of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church in Ireland has not unfrequently been blamed, as it often prevented them, in conſequence of the modicity of their fortunes, from enjoying that influence in the country which their character and talents ſhould naturally poſſeſs; but it originated from motives which muſt ever be the glory of every good mind, the genuine Chriſtian ſpirit of toleration. Equally erroneous and contrary to fact is your aſſertion, that there has been "nothing taken from the Proteſtant to give to the Preſbyterian or Catholic." Several thouſands have been annually diſtributed to the Synod of Ulſter, to the Seceders or Anti-Burghers; and to the Catholics a college has been founded, while not a ſingle pariſh church has been built. The revenues of the Proteſtant Church have experienced but little advance during the laſt century, although both Preſbyterian and Catholic have been relieved by the Government. Are theſe the means of aggrandizing the Church, and of enabling her to 'gain as much as ſhe can?' But it was not without conſiderable aſtoniſhment that I perceived you deliberately inſult your readers, who are daily becoming leſs numerous, by an open outrage to hiſtorical facts, in aſſerting that

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the tythe 'has been a principal cause of the disturbances of that country *'. Surely the meanest and most devoted of your readers can convict you of this premeditated falsehood. You doubtless well know, that the hearth-money tax excited much general clamor; but that the tythe, even in the most inflammatory declamations, was only incidentally mentioned. As a proof of this, many clergymen of the Established Church preached sermons and assisted in forming resolutions, which, had the extinction of tythes been a primary object with the reformers, they most assuredly never would have done. Latterly, indeed, the chiefs had no well-digested ultimate views, but their own ambition; and the mass of the Catholics only thought of re-establishing their religion, while the Dissenters dreamed but of democracy and visionary independence. After this, Sir, I hope you will have the sincerity to ingenuously acknowledge your error, and for the future to guard the most respectful silence of Irish affairs, which have been so long the fertile topic for presumptive ignorance and factious discontent. Your appeal to the late Catholic petition is another specimen of that address, commonly called cunning, which for the time converts its most detested object into offensive weapons against a more powerful and noble enemy. This is also one of the moral principles for which you are indebted to the French, who hold *all means just for the attainment of a good end*, and which is admirably adapted to the private convenience of those who are 'all things to all men.' But I am confident that you are no more a friend to the prayer of that petition than I am, only so far as you may erroneously suppose that the Catholics, raised to power, would also in gratitude raise the Dissenters, and that jointly you could overturn the State. A very short time indeed would leave you to lament bitterly this delusion; and were the Catholics once admitted Members of Parliament—a measure, by the way, that you can never seriously contemplate—they, well knowing your services to their cause did not arise from disinterested friendship to them, but from hatred to the Protestants, would treat you with that contempt which the turpitude and treachery of your motives should justly receive. Had you really any knowledge of Irish politics and of Catholic principles, you would have known that this conduct was actually evinced in the county of Down, where the elders of the Catholics, at the moment of insurrection, refused to fight before that the Dissenters would promise to restore the Catholic religion. The very proposition electrified the Dissenters; great numbers silently threw down their arms, and retired peacefully to their houses; others hastened to join the armed yeomanry; and since that period, notwithstanding recent occurrences, there has been no more of Catholic emancipation in that populous county.

"To those whose opportunities of knowing the political situation of Europe have been more limited, I leave the consideration of your impotent menace, '*Let churchmen beware in* THIS *their hour of triumph*,' plainly indicating your belief and hope that *this hour of triumph* will be short-lived, and that (contrary to the avowed object of your paper, but agreeable to your private wishes) the *Church is really in danger!!* As to the 'latent germ of fanaticism,' you have doubtless spoken from your own feelings, and are so well

* It was fairly acknowledged by the chiefs of the rebels, on their examination before the Secret Committee of the Irish Senate, that the people had no interest in the abolition of tythes; but that, on the contrary, if tythes were abolished, the people would pay much more to their landlords, who would, in such case, undoubtedly raise their rents.—EDITOR.

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qualified to exemplify the opinion, that I feel little disposed to argue the point. For myself, with some experienced knowledge of the politics, manners, customs, and religion of every country in Europe, independent of Church and State, unknown to all parties or factions, I am neither an 'interested zealot,' nor a 'fanatical sectarist,' and have only to regret, that your conduct and principles have been such, that my observations are really severe only because they are true. "Yours, &c.

Oct. 2, 1805. "VERITAS.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AFTER that deep gloom which has so long obscured the political horizon, threatening to overwhelm, in one destructive torrent, the few existing institutions that have survived the revolutionary storm which spread death and desolation over one half of the European continent, it is, with inexpressible satisfaction, we, at length, descry one ray of consolation, giving birth to better hopes, and promise of better days. The Continental powers seem, at last, to have awakened, from the delusive dreams of security which have so long benumbed their perceptive faculties, to a just sense of the dangers which surround them; dangers not of yesterday, not resulting from any *recent* measures of the political arch-fiend, their general and inveterate enemy; but co-eval and co-existent with the revolutionary principle, which received its final sanction and confirmation, by those *hollow truces* which Weakness concluded with Rebellion at Luneville and Amiens. *Our* readers will do us the justice to acknowledge, that we always duly appreciated those deceptive treaties, as well as the principles, the views, the intentions, and the disposition of the individual on whose *will* alone their duration depended. Should there exist, in any of the parties engaged in the present confederacy against France, the smallest inclination or design to conclude *similar* treaties with the common foe, they will have exposed themselves to a just charge of having incurred the guilt of wantonly taking up arms, of promoting a vast effusion of human blood for no one salutary purpose; but if, on the contrary, they have embarked in this great cause, on honourable and comprehensive principles of policy, if they have bravely resolved to encounter every danger and to run every hazard, in order to rescue Europe from the yoke of slavery; to replace it on something like its pristine state; to extort *ample* indemnity for the past and *effective* security for the future; and, if possible, to give the death-blow to the regicidal system, by restoring the Bourbons to their lawful throne; and if the vigour of their conduct also be correspondent to the wisdom of their views, then we may still entertain hopes, not more sanguine than solid, that the fullest success will attend their laudable efforts.

At all events infinite praise is due to the British government for their skill in animating the councils of the Continent, and for the promptitude with which they have availed themselves of the auspicious change in the disposition of foreign potentates, to frame and to consolidate that combination of strength without which no rational expectations could be formed of subduing the monstrous, overgrown power of France. The manifestoes already issued by the Russian and Austrian emperors must be satisfactory to those *moderate* politicians who deprecate all plans of conquest, though they would chearfully acquiesce in every encroachment, every aggrandizement, however erroneous, or however dangerous, of the Corsican upstart. For our part, though we consider vigour in the cabinet and decision in the field, as the

the only means of bringing this great conteſt to an honourable concluſion, we are very far from cenſuring that language of moderation, which has been employed on the occaſion, we truſt, however, that the neceſſity of clipping the wings of the *Gallic cock*, though, at the command of the miſcreant who has for ſome years laid violent hands upon it, it has affected to aſſume the ſemblance and demeanour, of an *Imperial eagle*, will ſpeedily be acknowledged. If Europe *could be* reſtored to the preciſe ſituation in which it ſtood previous to the exploſion of the revolutionary volcano, it were "a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed." But next to this moſt deſireable object, the attainment of which exceeds, alas! our moſt ſanguine expectation, it is our ardent wiſh to ſee the power of France ſo circumſcribed, and to ſee her territory ſo ſurrounded, not by tributary ſtates, as at preſent, but by ſtrong and potent nations, as wou'd effectually fruſtrate, for the future, all her daring attempts to carry her grand project into effect of eſtabliſhing an univerſal empire over the whole European continent. This gigantic plan, conceived by the fourteenth Lewis, has never been loſt ſight of: it was ſuffered to lie dormant for a while, but, on the eſtabliſhment of the revolutionary power, it was embraced with additional energy, and the vanity of the French was flattered by the promiſes holden out to them, by their republican tyrants, of its ſpeedy and complete ſucceſs. Under every change or modification of their government, this favourite deſign of overweening pride, and inſatiate ambition, has been ſedulouſly cheriſhed, and, as often as opportunity occurred, rigidly acted upon. That our wiſh, in this reſpect, will be ſoon gratified, is highly probable from the diſpoſition and conduct recently manifeſted by the KING OF PRUSSIA. The cabinet of Berlin, to whoſe crooked and miſtaken policy, all the paſt ſucceſſes of the French may fairly be attributed, as their primary cauſe, at leaſt, has, at laſt, been led to acknowledge the force of thoſe truths, which, ariſing out of the nature of things, and ſupported by the ſtrong evidence of facts, we have, for ſeveral years, been labouring to impreſs on its mind. It perceives that regardleſs of all laws, human and divine, which impoſe reſtraints on his ambition, preſcribe limits to his revenge, or, in any way, interpoſe obſtacles to the gratification of any, the worſt, propenſities of one of the worſt minds that ever animated an human form; the Corſican uſurper treats all lawful potentates with ſovereign contempt, the moment they ceaſe to miniſter to his power, or to be ſubſervient to his wiſh. Tardy, as his Pruſſian Majeſty has been, in acknowledging theſe facts, which have long been manifeſt to us, and in perceiving alſo, what we have long ſeen and proclaimed, that he was only excepted from the common treatment of his contemporaries, for the purpoſe of facilitating their ſubjugation, and to be the laſt ſwallowed up in the vortex of uſurpation—we hail the acknowledgment with joy, as the earneſt of exertions adequate to the juſt ſenſe of his danger.

Notwithſtanding, then, any partial advantage which the Uſurper, by his raſh and deſperate conduct, baffling all the tactics of the regular ſchools of war, may gain at the opening of the campaign, the farther he removes from his own frontier the more will his danger increaſe, and it will be abſolutely impoſſible for him not ultimately to ſink before that vaſt maſs of military ſtrength, which the confederated powers can, in a very ſhort time, bring to bear upon him. We ſpeak here on the ſuppoſition, that the confederacy, evidently formed on the moſt powerful baſis, a *principle of ſelf-preſervation*, will act with vigour and energy, and employ all their reſources againſt the common foe. As there can be little doubt that the example of Pruſſia will be followed by the King of Denmark, and the Electors of Saxony and Heſſe,

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on the moſt moderate computation the allies will be able, in a ſhort time, to bring a *million of men* into the field. The preſent force of Auſtria alone falls little ſhort of *four hundred thousand* effective men; that of the Emperor of Ruſſia exceeds *half a million*; the Pruſſian monarch has, at leaſt, *three hundred thouſand* highly diſciplined troops; and a *hundred thousand more* may, with facility, be ſupplied by Sweden, Denmark, and the German Electors. Such a force, animated by one common ſpirit, and having one common object, is more than adequate to ſubdue any ſtrength which the Uſurper, and his minions and his ſlaves can oppoſe to it.

We have long known the *Elector of Bavaria* to be a mere tool of the aſſaſſin of Jaffa; but though it was impoſſible for him to be ſunk to a lower ſtate of degradation, yet we could never have believed, that any man enjoying the elevated ſtation which he filled, could be guilty of ſuch a ſcandalous and unprincipled breach of honour and of good faith, as this unworthy prince has diſplayed in his baſe conduct to the Auſtrian emperor. After pledging himſelf to join his imperial majeſty, and inviting his troops to occupy his territory, he enters into a treaty with the enemy, unites his army with the French, and reſigns his dominions to the invaders of his country. We truſt that ſuch baſeneſs will not paſs unpuniſhed; and as he has broken his plighted faith, violated his ſworn allegiance, to his lawful chief, we hope there remains ſufficient energy in the councils of the allies, to have this diſhonoured prince ſubjected to the ban of the empire, and to all the conſequences of ſuch a diſgraceful ſituation! As for the petty princes of Wurtemburgh and Baden, they have plainly manifeſted, by their conduct, that men may want the courage to defend themſelves againſt an enemy, but have the deſperation to commit an act of ſuicide.

Buonaparté's policy, no doubt, is firſt, according to the uſual cuſtom of the French, to maintain his army at the enemy's expence, and ſecondly, to obtain ſome important advantage over the Auſtrians before they can effect a junction with the Ruſſians. His firſt object he may, for a time, ſecure; but he will undoubtedly be foiled in his expectations of obtaining ſuch an advantage over his adverſaries as will be deciſive of the fate even of the *firſt* campaign. Such an empire as Auſtria is not to be overrun in a winter, nor its capital to be taken by a coup-de-main. Defended by troops as brave as any which the world can produce, if their ſovereign has but ſo far profited by experience, as to be circumſpect in his ſelection of commanders, with the aid of his illuſtrious brother, the gallant Archduke Charles, we have no doubt that he has, he may find opportunities enough of checking the progreſs of the enemy, notwithſtanding even *repeated* defeats, till he ultimately make them repent their temerity, and turn the tide of victory in his own favour.

As to the manifeſtoes which the uſurper and his miniſter, the apoſtate biſhop of Autun, (who has no doubt been reſtored, together with his maſter, to the favour and good wiſhes of, his Holineſs, the Pope) have iſſued from their revolutionary preſſes, they contain ſuch a ſeries of the moſt impudent falſehoods, diſguiſed with ſo little art, and ſo very ill calculated to deceive, that it would be a woeful waſte of time, and almoſt an inſult to the underſtanding of a *Britiſh* public, to enter into a ſerious refutation of their contents. They ſupply, however, the ſtrongeſt proof of the complete ſubjugation of the public mind, of the annihilation of all public ſpirit, and of the general prevalence of the moſt abject ſlavery, in France; for to none but to men, as deſtitute of ſpirit as of freedom, could ſuch ſhameleſs productions, not exhibiting even reaſoning ſufficient to be accuſed of ſophiſtry, nor appearance enough of truth to be chargeable with the intention to deceive, be

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poſſibly addreſſed. While they can ſupply food for the national vanity by victories abroad, they may ſucceed in preſerving this unnatural ſtate of things at home; but let them be aware of a reverſe of fortune; defeat and diſappointment will diſſolve the charm; and the *beggar's horse* (in verification of the proverb) will then break his rider's neck. It is not yet time, however, for entering upon an enlarged and comprehenſive view of foreign politics; we muſt wait till the views and deſigns of the leading powers are more fully developed.

On domeſtic politics we have nothing to obſerve at preſent. We heartily congratulate our countrymen, upon the talents and vigour, which have marked the policy of our government, and ardently wiſh that this auſpicious period may produce ſuch an union of parties, as would combine all the knowledge and abilities of the Britiſh empire in oppoſition to the moſt wily, the moſt inveterate, and the moſt formidable enemy which it ever had to encounter. Surely no man, poſſeſſing the ſentiments of a Briton, can withhold his applauſe from the preſent ſyſtem of our miniſtry, which ſeems to embrace every object connected with the ſecurity or the honour of the country. We cannot, however, but expreſs our aſtoniſhment at the novel line of conduct purſued by the government of Ireland; we forbear to enlarge upon this topic at preſent; but if the moſt loyal of Proteſtants are to be perſecuted in compliment to the moſt diſloyal of Romaniſts; if one man who has even publickly called in queſtion the King's title to the throne; and another who was *proved* to be in the ſecrets of the United Iriſhmen, and in the confidence of their chiefs, during the late rebellion; are to be received with favour at the caſtle; while thoſe who ſhed their blood in defence of their Sovereign, are viewed with miſtruſt and treated with diſdain; if this continue to be the caſe, forbearance will become cowardice, and ſilence, treachery. But convinced as we are, that the honourable mind of our miniſter, while it will ſeek by every fair and upright means, to conciliate the affections of every claſs of his Majeſty's ſubjects, is incapable of approving conduct ſo foreign from his own, and ſo repugnant to his principles and ſentiments; we entertain hopes that the ground of our complaint will be ſpeedily removed. We abhor perſecution againſt whomſoever it is directed; if the Romaniſts were its object our voice ſhould be raiſed againſt it; what indignation then muſt it excite in our minds when we ſee it exerciſed againſt "thoſe who are of the houſhold of faith;" who are the warmeſt friends of their Sovereign, and the moſt ſtrenuous defenders of his rights!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE muſt refer "*Docilis,*" for an anſwer to his Queſtions, to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe in which he reſides. A public diſcuſſion of them would, in our opinion, be improper.

"Hypercriticus" is received, and his admonitions ſhall meet with all the attention which they deſerve.

A. X.'s very ſevere Letter to the Viceroy of Ireland is inadmiſſable. Though we muſt diſapprove ſome parts of his Excellency's conduct, we entertain too high a reſpect for his character and private virtues, to render him the object of ſuch an attack.

"*Anti-Catiline's*" communications reſpecting Mr. Grattan are received; but the facts muſt already be known to every one who has read the Reports of the Secret Committees of the two Houſes of Parliament in Ireland; an account of which will be found in the firſt volume of the ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

Review and Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For NOVEMBER, 1805.

Æqui judicis est veritati potius, quam lectori calumnianti morem gerere.
VARRO.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

A connected and Chronological View of the Prophecies relating to the Christian Church; in Twelve Sermons, preached in Lincoln's-Inn Chapel, from the Year 1800 to 1804, at the Lecture founded by the Right Reverend William Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. By Robert Nares, A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S. Archdeacon of Stafford, &c. Pp. 371. 7s. 6d. Rivingtons. 1805.

THE lecture founded by the honourable Robert Boyle, for the purpose of proving the truth of natural and revealed religion, against atheists and deists, has produced a series of discourses, which, for the importance of the subjects treated by the several lecturers, for perspicuity of language, and cogency of argument, remain, perhaps, unrivalled in the Christian world. The utility of that institution gave rise to many others of a similar kind, most of them indeed with a more confined object. Some were founded to support the Catholic faith of the Established Church against heretics and schismatics; others, to prove the truth of revelation against the cavils of deism, without taking into consideration the chilling doctrines of atheism; but we recollect none, except the lecture founded by Warburton, in which the lecturer is not left at liberty to employ such arguments as to his own judgment may appear best adapted to establish the truth of the doctrines which he is called upon to prove. The argument from the fulfilment of prophecy is indeed the most convincing, perhaps, of any to us who saw not with our own eyes the stupendous miracles of

Chriſt and his apoſtles, and on that account it was well choſen by the learned and ingenious founder; but it lays the lecturer under hardſhips and difficulties, from which other lectures are happily exempted.

The prophecies of the Old and New Teſtaments are ſo expreſſed, that the greater part of them can be fully underſtood only when they are ſeen to be accompliſhed. This degree of obſcurity, if ſuch we may preſume to call it, is ſo far from being an objection to prophecy, that it evinces at once both the wiſdom and the goodneſs of its author. Many of the prophecies of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſcriptures point to future crimes and calamities; and the moſt important of them all relate to the firſt and ſecond advents of the Meſſiah, and the intermediate ſtate of the church of God. Had future crimes and calamities, with their immediate authors, and all the circumſtances attending them, been as clearly deſcribed in prophecy, as they may be in hiſtory after they have happened, it is not conceivable how ſuch prophecies could have been fulfilled, but by laying ſuch a reſtraint on the human will, as we are ſure never will be laid on it by the all-wiſe and equitable Governor of the Univerſe. And had the object of Chriſt's coming into the world, the nature of the religion to be eſtabliſhed by him, and the ſhadowy emptineſs of the Moſaic ritual, been pourtrayed in the prophecies of the Old Teſtament with the ſame diſtinctneſs and preciſion as in the epiſtles of St. Paul, the Jews would have had no reverence for that law, under which Providence ſaw it expedient to place them.

At the Exodus, and for many generations afterwards, the great body of that people was not qualified to profit by a ſimple and refined religion like Chriſtianity. The law, therefore, with its burdenſome ritual, was given to them as a ſchoolmaſter to bring them gradually to Chriſt; and it was fit that the ſchoolmaſter, as long as they were to be under him, ſhould retain their reverence, and be ſupported in his authority. The prophecies of the Meſſiah and his kingdom were, on that account, neceſſarily expreſſed in ſuch terms as ſhould not expoſe to public view the vaſt inferiority of the Jewiſh religion, to that which was ordained to ſucceed it, and of which it was in reality a mere adumbration. The prophecies, which in *no ſenſe* extended beyond the duration of the Moſaic law, were generally expreſſed in the cleareſt terms; but thoſe which reached forward to the Chriſtian diſpenſation were veiled in ſacred obſcurity: they were not ambiguous like the heathen oracular reſponſes, but they were "a light which ſhone in a dark place, till the day dawned, and the day-ſtar aroſe." They are, of courſe, to be interpreted only by the events of which they are predictive; but all the prophecies, which have been clearly and indubitably fulfilled, have been ſo often commented on by men of the firſt abilities; the particulars of each prediction have been ſo accurately compared with the events to which they relate; and the argument for the divine origin of the Hebrew and Greek ſcriptures, ariſing from the complete agreement of the one with the other, has been

been ſtated in ſuch varied and forcible terms, that nothing which is new, and not much that is intereſting, would ſeem to be left for any writer of the preſent day, on the ſubject of prophecy.

Theſe are great difficulties; but they are not the only, nor perhaps the greateſt, difficulties with which the Warburtonian lecturer has to ſtruggle. By the will of the founder, he is enjoined to "prove the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the Chriſtian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Teſtament, which relate to the Chriſtian church, eſpecially to the *apoſtacy of Papal Rome*;" and this laſt clauſe lays him under a kind of obligation to interpret the moſt myſterious and difficult books in the whole Scriptures, more particularly the Apocalypſe of the apoſtle St. John. We need not enumerate the various and contradictory opinions which have been held and plauſibly ſupported, reſpecting St. John's *Antichriſt* and the *Man of Sin*; but taking it for granted, that the opinion of the founder of the lecture is the true one, what can be ſaid in ſupport of it which has not been already ſaid by Mr. Mede, Sir Iſaac Newton, Warburton himſelf, Biſhop Newton, Biſhop Hurd, and the other divines of equal eminence who have in ſucceſſion preached the lecture?

Viewing it in this light, the taſk preſcribed to Mr. Nares appears, indeed, in the higheſt degree arduous: he was called upon to do what is difficult in itſelf, and what had been already done by a Hurd and a Hallifax, a Bagot and an Apthorpe. He has, however, acquitted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that, though he has not perhaps made a ſingle diſcovery, his ſermons, in reſpect of utility, need not ſhrink from a compariſon with thoſe of any of the lecturers who have preceded him. Perfectly aware that the prophecies were not recorded to enable their readers to penetrate into futurity, he has judiciouſly confined himſelf to an examination of thoſe which are indiſputably accompliſhed; and though he has not neglected that part of the ſubject which relates to the *apoſtacy of Papal Rome*, he has not dwelt upon it, but taken a connected and chronological view of the principal prophecies relating to the Chriſtian church at large, and her adorable Head. To the ſerious reader ſuch a view muſt be more ſatisfactory, and even more intereſting, than the happieſt application of the myſterious predictions of the prophet Daniel, or the apoſtle St. John, to any of the errors, however palpable, either of the church or of the court of Rome.

"They who conſider the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, as ſo many predictions only, independent of each other, can never form a right judgement of the argument, for the truth of Chriſtianity, drawn from this topic; nor be able to ſatisfy themſelves, when they are confronted with the objections of unbelievers. It is an eaſy matter for men of leiſure and tolerable parts to find difficulties in particular predictions, and in the application of them. - - - - But it is not ſo eaſy a matter to ſhew, or to perſuade the world to believe, that a chain of prophecies, reaching through ſeveral thouſand years, delivered at different times, yet manifeſtly ſubſervient to one and the ſame adminiſtration of Providence, from beginning to end, is the

effect of art and contrivance, and religious fraud; that for ſo many ages ſucceſſively proper perſons ſhould be found to carry on the cheat; and that none of them ſhould have any intereſt to ſerve by betraying the ſecret, or ſo much honeſty and regard to truth as to diſcover it.".

Such was the reaſoning of the admirable Sherlock * on the nature of the prophecies contained in the Old Teſtament; and it is equally applicable to thoſe contained in the New. If the reader feel its force as we do, he will certainly admit that Mr. Nares has choſen the plan beſt adapted to render the Warburtonian lecture uſeful; and it is our buſineſs now to inquire with what ſucceſs that plan has been executed.

As the lecture is, by the appointment of the founder, to continue for four years, and to conſiſt of three ſermons annually, the volume before us comprehends, of courſe, twelve ſermons. In the firſt, which is preached from Iſaiah xlvi. 9, 10. the learned lecturer draws a luminous compariſon between the prophecies of Scripture and the oracular reſponſes of heathen antiquity, ſhewing how difficult it was to practiſe impoſition in the former caſe, and how eaſy in the latter.

"As a ſafeguard againſt theſe temptations (ſooth-ſaying and divination), and for other purpoſes connected with the miraculous government under which the Iſraelites were placed, they were indulged with genuine prophets, authorized to declare the truth, and to deliver authentic predictions, many of which ſhould ſpeedily be aſcertained by their fulfilment. "*When a prophet,*" ſays the ſame lawgiver, "*ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to paſs,* that *is the thing which the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath ſpoken it preſumptuously* †;" and the puniſhment of ſuch preſumption was not leſs than death. There was alſo a dilemma eſtabliſhed, very powerful, to diſcourage falſe prophets: for if any one preſumed to prophecy, in any other name than that of the Lord, he was to ſuffer death; and if he ſpoke *in that ſacred name,* and ſpoke untruly, he was alſo to incur the ſame puniſhment. "*But the prophet which ſhall preſume to ſpeak a word in my name, which I have not commanded, or he that ſhall ſpeak in the name of other gods, even that prophet ſhall die* ‡."

All prophecies relating to near events, which in ſcripture are very numerous, were expoſed to this teſt; and the prophet, who in ſuch caſes had eſtabliſhed his veracity, was entitled to credit when he foretold things diſtant. It is worthy of obſervation, likewiſe, that the prophets of Iſrael did not wait to be *conſulted*, but often denounced, againſt their kings and princes, judgments which brought on them the indignation of thoſe men; but how were predictions uttered among the Greeks and Romans? Did the prieſts and prieſteſſes

"Make it hazardous as well as difficult, by pledging their lives on the truth of their predictions? Far otherwiſe: they had very different arts, and plans much more compatible with the conſciouſneſs of being extremely

* Preface to *The Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.*

† Deut. xviii. 22.

‡ Deut. v. 20.

liable

liable to error. In the first place, unless a direct appeal to their inspiration was made, by a specific enquiry, they usually observed a prudent silence. They uttered no spontaneous prophecies. In saying nothing, they exposed themselves to no detection; and when they were obliged to speak, it was always with sufficient precaution. Obstacles were first thrown in the way of enquiry. By magnificent and repeated sacrifices it was rendered extremely expensive. This preliminary had a double advantage; it lessened the number of enquirers, and, at the same time, secured abundant advantage to the priests. These sacrifices were preceded, attended, and followed by many prescribed ceremonies; the omission or mismanagement of any one of which was sufficient to vitiate the whole proceeding. The gods were not at all times to be consulted. Omens were to be taken, and auguries examined; which, if unfavourable in any particular, either precluded the enquiry for the present, or required further lustrations, ceremonies, and sacrifices; to purify the person who consulted, and render him fit to receive an answer from the gods; or to bring their wayward deities to a temper suitable to the enquiry.' The answers given at last, when no further means of evasion remained, were frequently delusive, and capable of quite contrary interpretations; of which some striking instances are very generally and popularly known. But this expedient was by no means necessary; since there were many other subterfuges, of equal or still greater efficacy, for preserving the credit of the oracle. If the event happened not to correspond with the prophecy, it was discovered, when too late, that some indispensable ceremony or observance had been omitted; that the gods were averse to the enquirer; or that he had been not in a proper state for consulting them. If an evil event took place, when a good one had been promised, it was the fault of the enquirer. If, on the contrary, the result was more favourable than the prediction, this was owing to the intercession of the priests; to the prayers they had offered, or the rites they had performed, for propitiating the offended powers."

This is on the whole an excellent sermon; and the second is not inferior to it. From St. Luke xiv. 44. Mr. Nares proves, with great force of reasoning, that prophecy is the bond of connection between the Mosaic and Christian covenants; and traces the chain of prophecy relating to the Redeemer of the world, from the obscure promise made to our first parents, to the death of Jacob blessing his children. As the two dispensations are thus closely connected, he takes occasion to shew that neither of them can be thoroughly understood by him who has not carefully studied both. Having observed how strongly attached the Jewish Christians were to the Mosaic ritual till the Temple was destroyed, and the local rites and ceremonies rendered utterly impracticable, he proceeds thus:

"A different state of circumstances produced, in later times, an error totally opposite; and Christians, long disjoined from any union or harmony with the Jews, have sometimes been desirous to forget even the necessary and unalterable connection of the two Revelations. Pressed by the cavils and objections of infidels, sometimes taken from the substance of the historical books, sometimes from the prophecies, sometimes from the application of particular passages; and latterly, from the weakest of all objections, that it had been customary to found a new religion upon an old one; pressed by

theſe cavils, and, too ſupine, or too little informed, to find the proper anſwers to them, many Chriſtians thought it beſt, as an eminent writer ſays, 'to throw aſide the care of the *Jewiſh religion* (a burden which they could as ill bear as the rebellious Iſraelites themſelves), and try to ſupport the *Chriſtian*, by proving its divine original independently, and from itſelf alone.'

"This error aſſuredly received no countenance whatever, from the words or conduct of our Saviour; who declared expreſsly, that he came 'not *to deſtroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them*;' who, for example's ſake, ſubmitted to all the ordinances of the law, which remained in force till his career was completed; and appealed deciſively to the ancient Scriptures, as foretelling his office and character; even pointing out on ſome occaſions, as we have ſeen, the particular paſſages, in which he was promiſed and deſcribed."

We have extracted this paſſage, not becauſe it contains any thing ſtriking or new, but becauſe it has been ſtrangely miſunderſtood by a critic, who ſeems to think that the author is of opinion, that the ritual part of the Moſaic law is ſtill in force! That his words will admit of no ſuch interpretation, a man of common ſenſe and common candour has only to read them to be thoroughly convinced.

Mr. Nares adopts, with great propriety, Warburton's interpretation of the command given to Abraham to ſacrifice his ſon.

"*He ſaw the day of Chriſt, and he rejoiced to ſee it*—in the prophetic repreſentation afforded to him, by the commanded, but not completed ſacrifice of Iſaac. That Iſaac was made a type of Chriſt, is ſtrongly intimated by the inſpired writer of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews; and that Abraham, when tried and found completely firm, in faith and obedience, ſhould be made acquainted with the prophetic meaning of that type, is above all things probable. Thus was it, according to the Founder of theſe Lectures (whoſe opinion is ſupported by many ſtrong and able arguments), that Abraham ſaw the day of Chriſt, and was glad. That the action was originally intended to be ſignificant, and that Abraham knew it to be ſo (having in other inſtances been inſtructed by ſimilar means), is an opinion connected with the former, and by no means deſtitute of proof. It was, we are ſurely authoriſed to ſay, an action too extraordinary in itſelf, to be commanded without ſome hidden and more excellent meaning, than at firſt ſight appeared."

After reading with ſatisfaction this paſſage, we were ſomewhat ſurpriſed to find our author affirming (p. 52), that Jacob "had a more perfect view of the truth than had been given to Abraham, or to Iſaac." Abraham could, indeed, know nothing about Judah, who was not born till after his death, nor of the coming of Shilo before the ſceptre ſhould depart from his tribe; but, of the TRUTH as it is in Jeſus, we are perſuaded that no man had a clearer view than the father of the faithful, till the Apoſtles were enlightened by the deſcent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecoſt.

By the appointment of the founder of this lecture, no prophecy could be conſidered by Mr. Nares, but thoſe which either relate to the origin of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH in its DIVINE FOUNDER, or point out the fate and fortune of his diſciples, and the CHURCH at large, after his departure. In the third ſermon, from 1 Peter, i. 10,

he

he proceeds in the former of these divisions, from the death of Jacob to the journeying of the Israelites in the wilderness, and takes occasion, in the course of the detail, to explain the nature of *types* as a species of prophecy, and to point out the force of that evidence which may be derived from them, for the truth and divine origin, as well of the Jewish as of the Christian religion. On the subject of *types* it is well known to every theological reader, that much nonsense has been written, by those who find Christ typified in every thing; but from this folly our author is perfectly free, without wandering into the other extreme of Anti-Christian prejudice. This part of the sermon we, therefore, recommend with confidence, as exhibiting a more satisfactory view of the types of the Old Testament than will readily be found elsewhere within so narrow a compass. It is too concise to admit of abridgment; but the reader will form some notion of the reasoning from the conclusion to which it leads, which is, that—

"For Christians, the best general rule is, *not to admit any circumstance as typical, which has not been so represented by some inspired person*; unless, indeed, it should arise inevitably as a consequence from other types, which *have* been thus established, or is in itself so perfectly distinct, that it cannot easily be otherwise interpreted." (P. 84.)

The subject is continued in the same manner, and with equal success, through the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sermons; of which the fourth is from Acts xxviii. 2, 3; the fifth, from Heb. iv. 8, 9; the sixth, from St. Luke, i. 32, 33; and the seventh, from St. John, i. 45. In these discourses the learned lecturer, besides giving, in the text of them, a brief but chronological abstract of the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, which more directly point to the person and sufferings of our Divine Redeemer, explains the doctrine of double, or SECONDARY SENSES in prophecies, and shows that—

"Nothing can be more clear and obvious to the understanding than this; that if one PERSON or THING be appointed as a symbol, or representative of another, a prophecy, which primarily applies to the one, may be expected to have also a further view and reference to the other. Whatever is said of the symbol *must* be applicable, in some degree, to the object represented by it; and the expansion of prophetic intelligence, therefore, from the one to the other, is (as far as we can understand prophetical suggestion at all) the most natural and easy process that can be imagined." (P. 93.)

The eighth sermon is from St. Matthew, xi. 13. and carries on what was begun in the seventh, by pointing out the most conspicuous prophecies of the first advent of the Messiah, and of the effects of his preaching, which are to be found in the writings of Joel, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habbakuk *, Daniel, Obadiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. This last prophet, as the author observes, appeared at the very time announced by Daniel, "for seal-

* So Mr. Nares spells the name of this prophet, though in the authorized version of the Old Testament, he is called *Habakkuk*.

ing the miſſion, and the prophecy;" after which a long interval of prophetic ſilence took place till the coming of the great harbinger of Chriſt, when it was reſtored in a greater meaſure than ever.

"What a ſolemnity does this give to the advent of Chriſt! After a ſilence of four hundred years, the voice of prophecy is renewed to announce his immediate approach. An Angel brings the tidings to the deſtined Mother of Chriſt; holy men and women are gifted with the Spirit of God, ſo long withheld, to declare the approaching mercy; and the Baptiſt, who, according to the words of Chriſt himſelf, was the Elias who had been promiſed, began to preach the doctrine, and give the baptiſm of repentance: *'to turn the hearts of the diſobedient to the wiſdom of the juſt—becauſe the kingdom of God was now actually at hand.'*

"Let thoſe alſo obſerve, who have any inclination to cavil at the evidences of ſacred truth, how different every thing here is from any appearance of colluſion or fraud. While genuine prophets remained, their oracles were collected and preſerved in writing; when the ſpirit of propheey was withdrawn, there were no pretenſions to it made. Had it ever been a fraudulent contrivance, how many means and motives were there always to continue it!—but when it had been confeſſedly at an end for ſo long a period as four hundred years, how impoſſible muſt it have been to revive it with ſucceſs! Among the heathens, there were always pretended prophets; and their authority was at one time equal to what it was at another: that is, well calculated to impoſe upon credulity and ignorance, but nothing more. Among the Jews, there were real prophets, or there were none. The few attempts that were made, to imitate the ſtyle of Scripture, and ſet up a pretence to inſpiration, were detected by the Jews themſelves; and the books entitled *Apocrypha* are a ſtanding proof how impoſſible it was to impoſe upon the leading teachers of that nation, by the moſt ſpecious imitations of holy writ!"

This extract is from the ninth ſermon, in which Mr. Nares, preaching from Galat. iv. 4. ſhews the uſes of prophecy to the Jews, expatiates on the miraculous circumſtances attending our Lord's birth, briefly touches on the character of the Baptiſt, gives ſome inſtances of the exact accompliſhment of the predictions of Chriſt himſelf; and thus concludes the firſt diviſion of his courſe.

The ſecond is compreſſed within the compaſs of three ſermons; on Hoſea, xii. 10; St. Matthew, xxiv. 35; and Rev. xix. 10; and treats of the prophecies which foretold,

"1, The rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles; 2d, the preaching of the goſpel throughout the world; 3d, the perſecutions of the Apoſtles and their converts; 4th, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; 5th, the fate of Rome, and its converſion; 6th, the riſe of Mahomet and the Saracenic power; 7th, the riſe and character of Antichriſt; 8th, the converſion of the Jews; 9th, the general prevalence of the goſpel; and, 10th, the univerſal reſurrection, and day of judgment." (P. 270.)

Theſe topics are treated in the order in which they are here enumerated; but it is almoſt needleſs to add, that they are treated very briefly. On the riſe and character of Antichriſt, the writer of this review

review thinks differently from Mr. Nares, and the other preachers of the Warburtonian lecture; but where he has found so much to praise, he will not enter into a controversy on a subject, which occupies so very small a portion of a volume which he recommends with confidence to every serious reader. The style of these sermons is in general correct and perspicuous; but to some of them a fastidious critic will object a want of unity, which might have easily been preserved, and which should be preserved as much as possible in every discourse to be pronounced from the pulpit. Thus, in the seventh sermon, though the subject from the beginning to the end is prophecy, it is not prophecy of the same kind. The predictions considered in the first part of it are of that species which has a double sense, and relate as well to the kingdom of Israel as to the kingdom or church of Christ; whilst those which occupy the lecturer's attention in the latter part of the discourse are applicable to Christ and his church only. This sermon therefore should, in our opinion, have been divided into two; or it should have concluded with the prophecies of Solomon, and those of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah should have been considered in the subsequent discourse. The reader will, however, be fastidious indeed, who shall suffer a trifling violation of one canon of criticism to lessen in his estimation a series of discourses, which, if they be not calculated to convert the unbeliever, are at least well adapted to confirm the faith of the Christian, and to give him just and dignified views of his religion.

Turnbull's *Voyage round the World.*

(Concluded from p. 156.*)*

IN the small island of Maura, Mr. Turnbull found a chief of Otaheite, who, for some misconduct, had been obliged to exile himself, and had taken refuge here. This man's case served to confirm Mr. Turnbull in an opinion, that the natives of Otaheite did not differ from those of the neighbouring islands so much in their personal character and dispositions, as in the nature of their government; and that the greater part of that seeming gentleness of manners, for which they have been remarked, must be imputed rather to the power and authority of their king, or principal chief, than to their natural habits. During his short stay in the Society Islands, he had an opportunity of seeing two

"Men who presented a most loathsome appearance. These were lepers, and seemed to have entirely lost their original skin; having the appearance of having been completely scalded from head to foot. These wretched beings, so much objects of abhorrence as well as compassion in the eyes of our people, were highly respected by their fellow-islanders, as they were priests, and both of them considered to be men of no common sanctity, *in their eyes.* [These three words might have been omitted.] It is indeed one of the most singular traits amongst these savage nations, that their religion

gion is not only tinctured, but apparently altogether compoſed of ſuch ideas, as the nature of man moſt powerfully abhors. Their idea of a god, that is to ſay, a power above nature, [which] they all acknowledge, is not that of a beneficent being, a common parent of nature, and a creator and benefactor of man. On the contrary, the Being they worſhip is the Being they fear—the Being to whom they impute the deſtruction of their canoes, and the danger, diſeaſes, and death of their chiefs. Their diſeaſes, and particularly thoſe of their prieſts, are ſacred, as the immediate effects of their power.

"From this general character, that the Deity is the offspring of their fears, may be *induced* [deduced] the whole ſyſtem of their mythology, and the attributes of their divinities. Hence it is, the idea of horror being connected with that of deformity, that repreſentations of their gods are uſually either wholly ſhapeleſs or frightful."

A piece of ſuperſtition near a-kin to this is exhibited by the Turks, who hold in great veneration lunatics and madmen; but very different from the notions entertained by thoſe iſlanders concerning the perſonal qualifications of the prieſthood were thoſe of the Jews, and their inſpired legiſlator *.

Mr. T. having arrived at Whahoo, one of the Sandwich iſlands, entertains us with an account of a prince, for genius, valour, and political contrivance or reſource, as much diſtinguiſhed above his co-temporaries, as the moſt renowned conqueror in the circle of civilization.

"It is the wiſe policy of the king of Whahoo, Tamahama, that all thoſe who poſſeſs any authority or influence in the country, ſhould accompany him in his progreſs through his dominions, that he may have them conſtantly in his eye, and not leave them expoſed to the ſeductions and conſpiracies of his rival chiefs. Theſe are continually in purſuit of the means of throwing off his yoke, and rendering themſelves independent, as well of him, and of each other, as of their former king.

"For this precaution, moreover, he aſſigns his own experience, that once being abſent on an expedition to a neighbouring iſland, an inſurrection was fomented in his abſence, and that it was not without much difficulty that he could reſtore his authority. Since that time, he has never given the chiefs the ſame opportunity. It is the chiefs alone he dreads; for he obſerves, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the lower order whilſt ſeparated from the chiefs. From further information received here, Tamahama ſeems to be making rapid progreſs in his ſchemes of aggrandiſement. After having defeated the rightful ſovereign of this iſland of Whahoo, and all the kings of the iſlands to the eaſtward, he has forced him, after many ſtruggles, to take refuge in the iſland of Attowaie."

Our voyagers [for our author ſpeaks in the plural number]

"Leaving Whahoo, directed their courſe to another iſland to the leeward, called Attowaie [the ſame as that before noticed]."

* See Deuteronomy, xxiii. 1.

It

It was not long before ſome of the iſlanders came off to them.

"Among theſe iſlanders, the arrival of an European veſſel is an event of the firſt political importance—an event in which king and people are equally concerned. The Otaheitans receive us with the ſatisfaction of friends. The Sandwich iſlanders have reached more than one gradation in the ſcale of civilization; and underſtanding their own intereſt, conſider their European viſitors as the importers of new arts, and new ſkill and induſtry, into their country. The voyage of Vancouver has made a moſt eminent and permanent change in the ſituation of the Sandwich iſlanders. They have taken a leap, as it were, into civilization; and if their progreſs keep any pace with the vigour of their firſt ſtart, they will not be long conſidered as ſavages.

"In the interval of waiting the arrival of our promiſed viſitors, we fitted up our temporary marines, and made every other preparation that might make a favourable impreſſion on the minds of the natives.

"As ſoon as it was made known on ſhore, that a ſhip had appeared off the coaſt, with an intention to ſtop and take in ſupplies, the commander in chief, or generaliſſimo, was diſpatched to welcome us in the name of the king. This perſonage was particularly inquiſitive reſpecting the ſituation of affairs at Whahoo, and the ſtate of the preparations made by Tamahama for the threatened invaſion of the iſland.

"The melancholy truth reſpecting this ſubject being reported, the generaliſſimo enquired frequently, whether their Engliſh viſitors had on board any fire-arms, or gun-powder, in expectation that they would furniſh them with at leaſt a ſmall ſupply of each. This, however, they declined in the gentleſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner poſſible.

"The exiled king of theſe iſlands bears a character infinitely ſuperior, in a moral point of view at leaſt, to that of his more powerful rival, Tamahama. The fidelity of former dependents, in a ſeaſon of misfortune and fallen power, is ſurely no doubtful teſtimony of the virtues of a conquered king. And the virtue of this chief, if meaſured according to this ſtandard, is great indeed. He appeared to be beloved almoſt to adoration, and his authority from influence ſeemed to be increaſed, almoſt in the ſame proportion as his actual power had become diminiſhed. He laboured under a great depreſſion of ſpirits, and could not reſrain complaining of certain reports propagated by ſome Engliſhmen ſettled under his enemy, Tamahama, which had prevented ſeveral veſſels from touching at his iſland for refreſhments. He declared himſelf to be a faſt friend to the Engliſh, and produced very favourable certificates of his conduct, from ſeveral captains with whom he had had dealings. From ſome Engliſhmen who had followed his fortunes for ſeveral years, this unfortunate chief had acquired ſuch an acquaintance with our language, that he was able to underſtand and anſwer any plain queſtion put to him. This appeared the more extraordinary, as even the natives of Otaheite, notwithſtanding their greater opportunities, have hitherto made ſo little progreſs in our langnage, that even the proper names of thoſe with whom they were beſt acquainted, are hardly to be known in their mouths. The king was as anxious as the other chiefs had been to receive accounts of the enemy's motions, and equally diſtreſſed with the information we afforded, as being fully aware of the inevitable conſequences of an attack by Tamahama. He brought off a preſent of yams, plantains, and a couple of hogs; aſſuring us that every thing in the iſland,

iſland was at our diſpoſal. He profeſſed a high regard for the Britiſh nation; and, as a proof of it, had taken to himſelf the name of KING GEORGE, and to his children, who were very numerous, he had given thoſe of the preſent Royal Family of England, beginning with the Prince of Wales, and deſcending to the youngeſt branches of the Family.

"Obſerving the deep deſpondency into which the king's affairs had thrown him, our humanity *averted* [recoiled] from the idea of ſuffering him to have any ſpirits, or intoxicating liquors—a preſent he doubtleſs expected, though he had the ſingular modeſty to make no mention of it.

"This unhappy man, who, from every thing we ſaw and heard, is well deſerving of a better fate, had already ſuffered ſo much from the ambition and power of Tamahama, that he was about to adopt one of the moſt extravagant reſolutions that can be conceived.

"The Europeans who had attached themſelves to his fortunes, ſome of whom were carpenters, blackſmiths, &c. were now, with their offspring, a numerous body. As their laſt reſource, they were conſtructing a veſſel ſuited to the attempt of a long voyage; and, in the event of an expected invaſion, they propoſed to eſcape from the iſland, and ſeek a refuge from the cruelty of their enemy in ſome one of the iſlands which they have heard are interſperſed in the main ſea. They are wholly ignorant of the method of meaſuring a ſhip's courſe, or of the other neceſſary branches of navigation. A compaſs, indeed, they poſſeſs. Their intention, in the firſt place, is, to ſteer to the weſtward, in the hope of reaching ſome part of the coaſt of China; or, by keeping their wind to the ſouthward, to fall in with Otaheite, or ſome other of the Society iſlands. Extravagant as this ſcheme of emigration may appear, in people ſo deſtitute of the proper means of executing it, yet it is not improbable that by ſuch enterprizes, in different periods of time, the moſt diſtant iſlands may have been peopled, and a ſimilar language and mode of life eſtabliſhed in quarters which ſeem to have no poſſible means of intercourſe."

This reflection of Mr. Turnbull's is not more ingenious than probable, and important in the hiſtory of population and the migration of arts. In the hiſtory of colonization, we ſometimes find the new ſettlers to have been actuated by a certain reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition, more or leſs incident to all men; a love of change, and a ſpirit of adventure. But the grand excitement to migration, and diſtant colonization, is, want and oppreſſion. It is not to be wondered at, that a people, well acquainted with land and marine geography, ſhould betake themſelves, when overborne by tyranny, to their ſhips; as the Dutch intended, if they had been overwhelmed, in their conteſt for liberty, by the Spaniards. But the cup of ſuffering is ſometimes ſo bitter, that families and whole tribes of men, impelled by deſpair, have encountered the moſt formidable difficulties and dangers, rather than ſubmit to the doom that awaited them in their own country. The courage of deſpair was tinctured with ſentiments of religion, while they fled from the injuſtice and oppreſſion of men, and, amidſt the pathleſs ocean, or inhoſpitable deſerts equally pathleſs, committed themſelves, in their frail little barks, and without compaſs, to the mercy of heaven. Thus it was that individual families have, in ſmall open boats, made their eſcape to India, from ſanguinary revolu-

tions

tions in the peninſula beyond the Ganges. Thus it is ſuppoſed, on the ground of tradition, and other remains, that the Nicobar iſlands were peopled from the coaſts of Pegu. Thus ſparrows, ſwallows, hares, and other animals, when hardly beſet by hawks or dogs, will fly for refuge to barn-yards, barns, and even dwelling-houſes. All animals fly from evils certain and imminent, though in their flight they muſt encounter others diſtant and contingent.

When the time arrived that the unfortunate king of Attowaie was to take his departure, Mr. T. enquired what they could do to expreſs their ſenſe of his many favours? To this he anſwered, that if they were really his good friends, they would ſupply him with whatever they could conveniently ſpare of iron, canvas, and other neceſſaries for his new veſſel. Our countrymen, having a good ſtock of iron, furniſhed him with as much as he thought ſufficient for his purpoſe, together with ſome tools; crowning their preſents with a few looking-glaſſes, a quantity of Engliſh cloth, and a ſmall ſupply of gun-powder.

"These articles this good man accepted, with the moſt affecting demonſtration of genuine heartfelt gratitude, and entering his canoe, he requeſted us, on our return home, to mention his hard fate to our countrymen."

Our voyagers, during their ſtay at Attowaie, obſerved that the king and his fighting general made uſe of ſpitting boxes inlaid with the teeth of their enemies ſlain in battle: a practice which, as Mr. T. notices, confirms the report of their having certainly been cannibals at the time of their being diſcovered by Captain Cook. The Aborigines of America make, of the ſkins of their enemies, pouches for holding their tobacco. The Hottentot warriors are ſaid to adorn themſelves with the dried entrails of their enemies.

Mr. Turnbull was greatly ſtruck with the dexterity of the Sandwich iſlanders in diving.

"Although they have excellent canoes in abundance, the natives, both men and women, often diſpenſe with the uſe of them, and ſwim to veſſels approaching the iſland, with no other ſupport than a thin feather-edged ſlue of wood. With eaſe they play a thouſand tricks, tumbling and plunging one another into the water, then riſing to the ſurface and plunging again, like ſo many inhabitants of the deep. Some of them, who were employed by us to aſſiſt in certain operations of the ſhip, would dive in fifteen fathoms of water, and clear the cable, however entangled in the jagged rocks at the bottom. To ſhew their wonderful expertneſs in diving, they would ſometimes go aloft to our top-gallant-yard, then plunge into the water, paſs under the ſhip's bottom, and again appear on the oppoſite ſide, tumbling and ſporting like ſo many water-fowl. We once attempted to turn this qualification to advantage, by employing ſome of the natives to nail ſome parts of the copper-ſheeting on the ſhip's bottom. They would remain not leſs than three or four minutes under the water, come up to the ſurface to breathe, and return to their work. This, had we not witneſſed, we ſhould not readily have believed."

Mr. T. having departed from the Sandwich iſlands, arrives a ſecond

cond time at Otaheite, where, among a variety of occurrences very amuſing, we are entertained with an account of his attentions to the Royal Family, the moſt characteriſtic features of which are deſcribed. He neglected nothing that could teſtify his grateful ſenſe of their kindneſs. He ſent them a daily allowance, as well for themſelves, as for their various attendants, who, unleſs on the occaſions of public feaſtings, have ſeldom an opportunity for ſuch indulgences. This liberality, however, coſt him leſs than they imagined. He ſent them always the moſt indifferent parts of his hogs, ſuch as he could not ſalt, and therefore, from the heat of the climate, could not have kept. The moſt favourite part among the Otaheitans was the head.

"Ottoo uſed frequently to invite me, under one pretence or other, to attend him at his houſe, I uſually found him loitering, with all the indolence of an oriental, and his queen as idle and vacant as himſelf. Upon theſe viſits, he pointed to the graſs as my ſeat, and throwing himſelf by my ſide, entered into familiar converſation.

"Her majeſty was equally condeſcending. She never failed, upon theſe opportunities, to rummage my pockets, and appropriate to herſelf whatever ſhe might find. The queen of Tiaraboo (her ſiſter, and married to Ottoo's brother) was equally troubleſome, and examined me with equal care. After I had learned that this would be their conſtant practice, I uſually carried about my perſon ſome trifling article, that the Royal ſiſters might have the pleaſure of pilfering it."

Mr. Turnbull entertains his readers with "outlines [in the characters] of the royal family." Though we ſee but little in anecdotes of the court of Otaheite, the following is acceptable, as deſcriptive of general as well as royal manners. Avidity, which is the principal feature in the character of the Otaheitans, is alſo that of the royal family.

"Pomarrie, though, from his open and affable manners, he was conſidered as the father of his people, had no wiſh ſo near his heart as that of fleecing them to the very ſkin. This avidity, indeed, ſeemed common to every branch of the royal family. Ottoo was ſtill ſuperior in this reſpect to his father, and neither of them [ſays Mr. T.] *had any bounds.* [This, however, we ſhall conſider, not as an Iriciſm, but pleonaſm.] In a word, the general characteriſtic of the whole family is avarice. It is a ſubject of reaſonable aſtoniſhment to ſee the exceſs to which this paſſion is carried. Their ſtores conſiſt of articles which they have received from the firſt viſits of European ſhips, and which have rarely ſeen the light ſince they were firſt there depoſited. Their hoards are never broken: their pleaſure is to have, and not to enjoy. One of the miſſionaries, an eaſy, good-natured man, had ſuffered himſelf to be wheedled out of the whole of what he had poſſeſſed in the world; and, the clothes on his back excepted, had nothing left but a blanket. Pomarrie happened to meet this good Samaritan at my houſe, and ſeeing that he had ſtill this blanket left, attached himſelf to him, and contrived to get it. I remonſtrated with Pomarrie upon this act of ſelfiſhneſs, but all in vain: Pomarrie thanked him for the blanket, and, without further words, ſent it to his ſtore.

"The only inſtance of generoſity I ever experienced or ſaw whilſt in theſe

theſe ſeas was from the king of Attowaie, who ſupplied us with cocoa nuts, ſalt, and vegetables, without ſtipulating as to price or conditions, ſending on board all that we required, and leaving remuneration entirely to us. I hope it is needleſs to add, that we took care that he ſhould loſe nothing by his generoſity.

" Edeah, having to provide for a multitude of ſtrangers from the mottos *, availed herſelf of ſome of the native boys in our ſervice, *secretly* to pilfer our pork. It was ſome time before I could diſcover by what means my ſtock was ſo viſibly diminiſhed; but, at length, having diſmiſſed ſome of the boys under ſuſpicion, and menaced others, I extorted their confeſſion, that they had been employed by Edeah. They moreover ſhewed me an opening, formed by the removal of two poles under their bed, through which the ſtolen articles had been conveyed: and as the ſides were greaſy, there was no reaſon for any doubt of their veracity. I do not heſitate to ſay, that the whole iſland is but a receptacle of thieves."

The ſhip Margaret, of which our author was ſupercargo, in her voyage to Baſs's Straits, had now been abſent two months, inſtead of three weeks, the utmoſt period he had allowed for her longeſt poſſible abſence. At length the fatal remains of the Margaret, converted into a punt, were diſcovered by the natives, about three leagues to the northward of the iſland. The punt having been built ſquare, from the crew's having been unable to bend the planks, could ſail only before the wind; and, inſtead of reaching Matavia, had much difficulty in making the moſt leeward part of Otaheite.

" Had they miſſed this, they muſt, to all appearance, have inevitably periſhed; for, within an hour afterwards, the wind blew a tempeſt, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and torrents of rain, during the following night. Pomarrie, much to his credit, no ſooner heard of their arrival, than he haſtened to their aſſiſtance, leſt the enemy [the Attahourans] ſhould avail themſelves of their weakneſs, and plunder them of the little that they had yet left. He got a hog and bread-fruit roaſted, and ſpared nothing to alleviate their ſufferings, ſleeping in the houſe to prevent thefts. Pomarrie did not forget, a few days after, to demand his preſents. It was not ſo with the Miſſionaries [who had alſo contributed all in their power to their relief]. There was no ſelfiſhneſs here. They were animated with no other impulſe than that of Chriſtian charity, which extends its arms to the miſerable, and binds up the broken reed.

" Being too much fatigued and worn out, the crew were unable to attend divine ſervice in the chapel of the Miſſionaries. Mr. Jefferſon, therefore, with that anxious piety which diſtinguiſhes him, preached a thankſgiving ſermon in the houſe.

" We had now ſeen enough to know that the very comfort of our ſtay at

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" * Theſe mottos are ſmall ſandy iſlets, almoſt level with the water edge, and about twenty miles to the north of Otaheite. They abound with fiſh of every kind. Hither the Otaheitans, and inhabitants of the neighbouring iſland, reſort in their ſummer excurſions. Theſe are their watering places, and, at thoſe times, the ſcene of noiſy and general feſtivity."

Otaheite depended upon our being able to pay for it. The apparent generosity of theſe people is but another kind of policy. There was another circumſtance which embarraſſed us. Otaheite, within the laſt two years, had become ſo well ſupplied with European articles, that they [meaning the natives] had now become very difficult; and as our ſtock was now rendered by our wreck very limited, we were not unfrequently at a loſs to keep up the market. On account of theſe circumſtances, we formed a reſolution to make a trial of one of the neighbouring iſlands; and Eimeo was fixed on for that purpoſe."

The voyage to Eimeo is deſcribed, and a variety of occurrences there related; among which occurrences the moſt ſtriking is, preparations for an expedition to Attahoura.

"In the beginning of Auguſt 1803, Ottoo the king [of Eimeo as well as Otaheite], his brother Tenein Avpuna, king of Tiarabo, Pomarrie, Edeah and her warriors, Patia, the brother of Pomarrie, and Aw-wow, his ſiſter, together with ten Europeans, and all their adherents and fighting men, departed on this mighty expedition, leaving behind them ſome old women and fiſhermen to forage for the army. It was believed, that, in the previous ſolemnities, no leſs than ten or twelve human ſacrifices would be offered to the gods on this occaſion. Their great idol Or was kept in the Mona of Attahoura. The coronation of Ottoo could not be complete till it was celebrated here; and the Attahourans, conſidering him as an uſurper, had hitherto delayed it. The royal army having now arrived in the enemy's country, the rebels, as they were pleaſed to term them, affecting ignorance of their intention, as gravely replied in profeſſions of friendſhip. It is not eaſy (Mr. T. obſerves) to conjecture what would have been the event, had either party ventured a battle; but the party of Pomarrie had now ſo increaſed in numbers, that the Attahourans were daunted at their very ſight. Part of them accordingly ſubmitted; and as, by this deſertion, the remainder became too weak to venture any further conteſt, they were compelled to follow their example. The whole country was thus ſubdued. Pomarrie immediately diſpoſſeſſed the principal chiefs of their lands, and divided them among his own friends. Edeah had a great part of theſe forfeited domains, and Innamatooa, the widow of Oripiaho, the brother of Pomarrie, experienced in the ſame manner the royal munificence."

After the unfortunate circumſtance of the loſs of the Margaret, the proſpects of our voyagers at Otaheite were very gloomy. Having ſaved little or no property from the wreck, it became a ſubject of ſerious concern in what manner they ſhould ſubſiſt. It was, moreover, uncertain how long they ſhould be compelled to remain in their preſent ſituation. To attempt building exceeded their means. They had loſt their carpenter at the Sandwich iſlands; and it was in vain to expect any aſſiſtance from any other of their people.

"Our command and authority over them had vaniſhed ſince the wreck; every one now followed his own way, and appeared ſo attached to their preſent indolent life, that they ſeemed to have no intention of quitting it. Of the whole of our former crew, the Cook and Mate, the Captain, and myſelf, were alone united in a common cauſe, that of returning to our native country. Our blackſmith had ſet up for himſelf amongſt the natives and

and was in a very fair way of making a livelihood, even in the worſt of times. It was unfortunately not ſo with us; we knew it, but could not help ourſelves.

"The bleſſing of Providence, however, again interpoſed at a time we had almoſt ceaſed to hope; for after we had been about three months in this ſuſpenſe of hope and fear, one afternoon a ſhout of 'Te-pahia, te-phara! A ſhip, a ſhip!' reſounded through the iſland, and aroufed us into new hopes. Hope and fear now alternately prevailed; our fears ſuggeſted that the Captain might have ſome poſſible objection; that he was going to China, or ſome other more circuitous voyage. It ſo happened, however, that the goodneſs of Providence was not incomplete: the ſhip was going to the very place to which of all others we wiſhed to go, to Port Jackſon. We agreed with him for a paſſage; and in our preſent ſituation, laying aſide all indignation at the conduct of our ſhip-mates, we divided with them our remaining property.

"There had been ſo many ceremonies to get through at Allahoura, that the buſineſs had not been finally ſettled upon the ſhip's arrival. The intelligence of this event, however, brought Pomarrie to Oparie to prepare his preſents. He had got his hogs in the canoe, and was half-way to the ſhip, when he was ſeized ſuddenly with a fit, and, falling with each hand on the ſide of the canoe, expired. The poor fellows in the canoe immediately paddled back as faſt as poſſible to his houſe at Oparie, where, in her way likewiſe to the ſhip, Edeah had by this time arrived. Meſſenger after meſſenger was diſpatched to the Miſſionaries, and their ſurgeon: they were earneſtly intreated to haſten to the houſe of Pomarrie. The ſurgeon happened at this time to be on board the ſhip, taking a farewel leave of us upon our departure. We earneſtly adviſed him, ſhould he find Pomarrie ſtill alive, not to venture to preſcribe for him, as, in the caſe of his death, the natives would not fail to impute it to poiſon, and perhaps avenge his ſuppoſed murder on the Miſſion. It has been before mentioned, that they imputed the death of Terinavoura to the prayers of the Miſſionaries; and that they are perſuaded that the prayers of theſe holy men have this kind of ſacred witchcraft. Under ſuch impreſſions, it may readily be conceived, that the ſituation of the Miſſionaries is not the moſt enviable in the world.

"Not one moment was loſt on the part of the ſurgeon, who, on his arrival, found the whole of the family in the deepeſt anguiſh and diſtreſs. The brother of Pomarrie was deaf to all conſolation, and could ſcarcely be withheld from ſuicide. All was anguiſh and confuſion; ſome imputed his death to one cauſe, others to another; but the opinion of the majority was, that he had offended the gods, though they could not agree by what means, except by his human ſacrifices. They had recourſe to one more ſingular remedy: the body of an human victim, which he had ſacrificed about three weeks before, was brought and ſtretched proſtrate under him, in the hope of appeaſing the offended divinity.

"The ſudden and inſtantaneous death of this man was, not very unreaſonably, imputed by ſome to the enormity of his crimes, as well in this as in other inſtances. Should theſe impreſſions continue, the moſt beneficial effects may be expected. None had more cauſe of regret in this event than the Miſſionaries, to whom Pomarrie had ever continued a faſt friend. They wrote to the Captain of the ſhip, requeſting him to remain till the morning, that the ſenſe of the ſociety might be taken in what manner to act upon

this unexpected occurrence. The Captain thought that he ſhould loſe nothing by compliance, and therefore conſented.

"The following morning Mr. Jefferſon came to the ſhip, and informed us, that, after ſeveral conſultations, the Society had reſolved to confide in the promiſes of Edeah, who ſaid that every thing would doubtleſs proceed as before. Mr. Jefferſon, at parting, requeſted me to deſire their friends at home not to be over-ſolicitous as to their ſafety. Theſe were his words, as far as I can remember them.

"The Otaheitans will, doubtleſs, rack their brains to diſcover ſome probable cauſe of the death of Pomarrie; and, after other conjectures, will perhaps impute it to ſome magical power from the ſhip. Should any one among them make this aſſertion, I have no doubt that he would be immediately ſeconded by his brethren, ſo general is their belief of ſupernatural agency. On the deceaſe of his ſon, about a month before, they were firmly perſuaded, that he had been charmed to death by the Miſſionaries. They are, moreover, convinced, that the greater part of their plagues and diſeaſes flow immediately from the ſhipping.

"The loſs of the Miſſionaries in Pomarrie is, I fear, irreparable; but this is ſaying as much as can be ſaid in his favour; for, if he conſented to a joint partnerſhip with the Miſſionaries, he fleeced his own ſubjects moſt unmercifully. Though this man poſſeſſed at leaſt equal abilities with his father in things of a political nature, he was never able completely to ſubdue his enemies. They conſidered his government as an uſurpation, and therefore never miſſed an opportunity of moleſting his quiet. His affairs were thus not unfrequently in a very tottering ſituation.

"The mutineers of the Bounty were a reſource, as fortunate as unexpected, for the circumſtances of Pomarrie. Being well ſkilled in the art of diſſimulation, he had little difficulty in gaining them to his party, and with them an invincible advantage. His promiſes were unbounded; he had no ſcruple to promiſe, becauſe he had no intention to perform. With the aſſiſtance of theſe *heroes* (for ſuch were they conſidered by the natives), he was enabled to carry every thing before him, and, in a very little time, was acknowledged as king of the whole iſland.

"Since this time there have, doubtleſs, been many riſings and revolts; but, upon the whole, Pomarrie has prevailed over them all. Nor was this the only time that he was indebted for his ſafety to his European friends, as in the late war he would have been effectually ruined, had it not been for the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, who happened to be at this time upon the iſland. The enemy, hitherto victorious through their aſſiſtance, were now compelled to ſue for peace, and the affairs of Pomarrie again reeſtabliſhed.

"In his proſperity, he was inſufferably proud towards his enemies; and, as a neceſſary effect of the ſame ſanguine temperament of mind, was equally dejected in his adverſity. A proof of this has already been mentioned, in his determination to abandon the iſland, upon a partial defeat. Nor was this the only inſtance, as under ſimilar circumſtances he frequently applied to Captains to convey him from the iſland.

"The moſt ſingular trait in his character, as a ſavage, was a ſpecies of prudence and foreſight; a mind which was capable of forming and adhering to a certain propoſed rule of conduct. His conduct to the Europeans, and countenance of the Miſſionaries, was the effect of his political genius.

Reſiſting

Reſiſting the firſt impulſe, which would have tempted a ſavage to plunder them without formality and delay, he formed a more refined plan, that of encouraging and going ſhares in their preſent and future ſtock. This as effectually anſwered their purpoſe as his."

Ottoo, when his father died, was ſtill at Attahoura, and no intelligence had been received from him, from the time our countrymen ſailed from Eimeo. It appeared to Mr. T. that, in the death of Pomarrie, the royal family ſuſtained a loſs that muſt be irreparable. With the exception of Pomarrie, none of them appeared to poſſeſs ſufficient abilities, either to manage their own people, or to awe their enemies.

Mr. T. proceeds to give an account of the pious and unwearied zeal of the Miſſionaries, and the ſuperſtitious, ſtupid ignorance and unbelief of the Otaheitans; various circumſtances relating to the ſtate of the Miſſionaries; particular cuſtoms among the Otaheitans, ſuch as the excluſion of the women from eating with the men; their cleanlineſs, and attention to dreſs; inſtances of their ſimplicity; their employment; indolence; curioſity; food, and manner of cooking; the utility of the bread fruit tree; their various methods of fiſhing; houſes; furniture; form of government; influence of the prieſts; diſeaſes; cauſes of the gradual decreaſe of population; inſtances of their general propenſity to theft; their extreme affability to ſtrangers; evenneſs of temper; generoſity towards one another; freedom from jealouſy with regard to their women; and human ſacrifices.

"The ſuperſtitions, extravagancies, and religious obſervances of theſe people, are beyond all deſcription ridiculous. They ſeem to have no analogy, either in heaven or earth, and muſt baffle every inveſtigation as to their origin. The Miſſionaries tell them, that the God of Britain is the God of Otaheite, and the whole earth; and that it is from this Being that they receive their hogs, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nuts. This the Otaheitans flatly deny; alleging that they poſſeſſed all theſe articles long before they had heard of the God of Britain. They ſay, if this God reſide in heaven, why do not our people bring him down (that is, nearer and more viſible to the eye), as they do (with their optical glaſſes) the ſun and the moon?"

On the ſubject of the groſs ignorance, and obſtinate blindneſs, of the Otaheitans in matters of religion, Mr. T. very judiciouſly obſerves, that—

"It is, perhaps, expecting too much of them in their preſent ſtate, to expect any thing of a Chriſtian faith from a people ſo rude and barbarous. Perhaps the Miſſionaries, according to a trite proverb, have begun at the wrong end, preaching the myſteries of their religion, before they have laid a foundation, by inſtructing them in its ſimple elements. It is, doubtleſs, wrong to temporize, or falſify, in any of the ſlighteſt points of faith, the religion of truth; but there is ample room for the exerciſe of diſcretion, in adapting their leſſons to the natural capacities of their pupils. It is not neceſſary to teach them all, in circumſtances under which they cannot comprehend one half. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are not for Otaheitan underſtandings." (Vol. III. p. 9.)

But, in page 106, he ſays—

"We cannot, however, take our leave of Otaheite without expreſſing an opinion, that the ſlow progreſs of the Miſſionary efforts [meaning of the ſucceſs of their efforts, for their efforts were not ſlow] has been principally owing to a colluſion between the royal family, the chiefs, and the prieſts. They moſt probably are afraid of loſing their influence over the minds of the people, ſhould the introduction of Chriſtianity be encouraged, and therefore ſet their faces againſt it ſtoutly. Had not this been the caſe, I think it is almoſt impoſſible but ſome converts muſt have been gained; for the virtues of theſe men ſpeak intelligibly to the natives."

Between theſe two paſſages there appears to be a degree of inconſiſtency; though it is not impoſſible but our author, who appears to be a man of great candour and ſincerity, has ſome mode of reconciling them in his own mind. Were the chiefs ever ſo favourably diſpoſed for the admiſſion, are either chiefs or people in ſuch a ſtate of civilization as to be capable of receiving the leading doctrines, of revealed religion? It is to the firſt opinion of Mr. T. that we ſubſcribe. The Daniſh Miſſionaries in Lapland, ſupported for centuries by the influence and munificence of the Daniſh kings, have not been able to introduce Chriſtian knowledge and faith among the ſtupid and idolatrous Laplanders. It is impoſſible to introduce the tenets of the Chriſtian religion among a people wholly unacquainted with metaphyſical or abſtracted terms. It is not to any other portions of the Scottiſh Highlands, than ſuch as have become acquainted with the Engliſh language, at this day, that the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity have penetrated. The hiſtorian, Cunningham, deſcribing the Highlanders at the end of the 17th century, ſays, that their religion was a mixture of Chriſtian rites and druidiſm. Mr. T. himſelf appears to be fully ſenſible how neceſſary a degree of knowledge and refinement, or abſtraction, is to the introduction and acceptation of Chriſtianity, when he pours forth the following pious ejaculation or prayer:

"May the dawning of civilization, the PRECURSOR of CHRISTIANITY, diſpel the miſt that pervades their minds, and ſhortly illumine not only them, but the whole race of Adam in every quarter of the habitable globe!"

A ſtrain of rational devotion runs throughout the whole of theſe volumes.

It is deplorable to obſerve, among the Otaheitan ſavages, a degree of enervation, effeminacy, and preternatural voluptuouſneſs, equal, if not exceeding any that we read of in Rome under the worſt of the emperors, or in the old empire of China at this day.

"There are a ſet of men in this country, whoſe open profeſſion is of ſuch abomination, that the laudable delicacy of our language will not admit it to be mentioned. Theſe are called by the natives Mahoos. They aſſume the dreſs, attitude, and manners of women, and affect all the fantaſtic oddities and coquetries of the vaineſt of females. They moſtly aſſociate with the women, who court their acquaintance. With the manners of the women,

men, they adopt their peculiar employments, making cloth, bonnets, and mats: and ſo completely are they unſexed from their manhood, that, had they not been pointed out to me, I ſhould not have known them but as women. I add, with ſome ſatisfaction, that the encouragement of this abomination is almoſt ſolely confined to the chiefs. Ottoo himſelf is a monſter of debauchery. Their pollution in this reſpect beggars all deſcription. My mind *averts* [recoils] from dwelling upon an object [ſubject] which recals ſo many images of diſguſt and horror.

"Whilſt among them I ſaw two of their Mahoos; the one in the train of Pomarrie; the other pointed out to me as he paſſed my houſe. Obſerving me to fix my eyes on him, with a look expreſſive of my abhorrence, he ſneaked off without ſpeaking. Their wickedneſs is enough to call down the immediate judgment* of Heaven; and let me not be thought too preſumptuous, if I aſſert, that the hand of God is viſibly amongſt them. Unleſs their manners change, I pronounce that they will not long remain in the number of nations. The ſword of diſeaſe is no leſs fatal than the waters of a deluge†.

"With regard to health, peace of mind, and vigour of body, the Miſſionaries ſtand on high ground, and muſt appear to them [the Otaheitans] to be under the immediate protection of Heaven, while they [themſelves] fall around them like rotten ſheep."

Theſe and a variety of other obſervations and reflections on the cuſtoms and manners of the Otaheitans are introduced—not certainly according to the happieſt arrangement—during the paſſage from Eimeo and Norfolk Iſland back to Port Jackſon—not when the author was in Otaheite.

During his ſecond reſidence at Port Jackſon, he was much pleaſed to find ſeveral improvements, which he mentions, that had been made during his abſence, and not leſs to find that a ſhip had arrived from Europe. The preſent ſtate of our colony in New South Wales is deſcribed, and an account given of the prices of labour, and uſual modes of payment; and a character is drawn of the different deſcription of ſettlers. The long expected Calcutta arrived from India, for the purpoſe of diſcharging her cargo at Botany Bay, and taking on board a lading of country-wood for naval purpoſes. The Calcutta having completed her repairs and cargo, Mr. Turnbull, and the Captain [of the Margaret], who had been the companion of his toilſome enterprize, embarked on board that ſhip, in very ill health, brought on by a long courſe of hardſhip and fatigue, and were ſafely landed again in England, after an abſence of four years and thirty-one days. As the Calcutta came round by Cape Horne, Mr. Turnbull himſelf performed a voyage round the world; but the written

* Mr. Turnbull believes in a particular Providence—an excuſable, perhaps, a fortunate error. But no fire or brimſtone, from Heaven, falls, in the preſent ſtage of progreſſive grace, on a Sodom and Gomorrah.

† True: but this is a natural, not a judicial conſequence. It is a general law, not a particular or immediate interpoſition of Providence.

voyage does not complete the circle. The voyage of the Calcutta having been already given to the public, "he does not delay the concluſion of his narrative, by a tedious repetition of circumſtances with which the public are already acquainted." This was judicious; and it would have been well, if our ſenſible, inſtructive, and entertaining author had on all occaſions been as careful to avoid repetitions; repetitions not only of what had been before obſerved by Capt. Cook, Capt. King, and others, but of what had been noticed by himſelf. For what concerns the repetition of what had been publiſhed by others, there is, however, ſome excuſe. They relate to facts very ſtriking and important; and ſuch facts deſerve to be authenticated by the concurrent teſtimony of different travellers. Nay, the reader who is not over-faſtidious, in conſideration of the various information and inſtruction afforded by Mr. T. will not paſs too ſevere a cenſure on every repetition made by our author himſelf. For example: we are not offended at being told again and again, that the "Otaheitans are apparently ſofter in their manners than the Sandwich iſlanders, but far behind them in their ſkill in the arts of life, and in their deſire to acquire inſtruction of every kind." Theophraſtus conſiders it as a matter of wonder, that in Greece, lying under the ſame climate, &c. there ſhould nevertheleſs be ſuch a variety of characters. This is a very curious queſtion. The diverſity, and indeed oppoſition, of character between the Otaheitans and Sandwich, and other, iſlanders, appeared an intereſting circumſtance to Mr. T. as the diverſity of character among the Greeks did to Theophraſtus. The ſuperior civility of the Otaheitans is attributed, on very probable grounds, by our author, to the eſtabliſhment of a regular kingly government. Was there ever a period when the natives of Greece were in as ſavage a condition as the natives of New Holland, or the Society, Friendly, and Sandwich iſlands? May a period be ever expected, when that corner of the world, preſerving ſtill a diverſity of national characters, ſhall be as enlightened and refined as ancient Greece and the Grecian iſles? The author, in his preface, diſclaims all pretenſion to excellence in the ſtyle and diction of the work: he aims only at being intelligible, and not barbarous. There is nothing offenſive in the general tone of his ſtyle: it is perſpicuous, and, what we conſider as not a little praiſe, unaffected, though we cannot ſay, in every inſtance, conſonant to the rules of grammar. In punctuation, which, as has been juſtly obſerved by Lord Kaimes, is in fact a part of Engliſh grammar, it is egregiouſly deficient; a defect which is not only a great blemiſh in reſpect of beauty or elegance of compoſition, but which leads, ſometimes, to a momentary heſitation as to the meaning. But the moſt important defect in this work is, its want of natural and juſt arrangement. Yet with all its redundancies and defects, which may be remedied in any future edition, it is a valuable preſent to both learned and unlearned: to readers of books of all deſcriptions.

An

An hiſtorical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti: comprehending a View of the principal Tranſactions in the Revolution of Saint-Domingo; with its ancient and modern State. By Marcus Rainsford, Eſq. late Captain Third Weſt India Regiment, &c. &c. 4to. Pp. 500. Plates. 2l. 2s. Cundee, Chapple. 1805.

MAJOR RAINSFORD has here given to the public an account of the important ſettlement of Saint-Domingo, more ſuccinct, perſpicuous, and complete, than any which has yet been publiſhed. In his firſt chapter, he takes an hiſtorical view of the iſland, from its diſcovery by Columbus, towards the cloſe of the 15th century, (when it was called Hayti, by the natives) to the year 1789, when it had arrived at a very high pitch of proſperity. In the ſelection of his materials for this introductory part, he has evidently conſulted the beſt authorities, and his narrative of facts, and alſo his obſervations upon them, are ſtrictly impartial. The account of the Buccaneers, in which that extraordinary body of men are reſcued from the calumnious imputations of Archenlotz and Raynal, and exhibited in a fair and proper light, without partiality on the one ſide or prejudice on the other, is highly intereſting. Having given a very accurate and full deſcription of the Spaniſh and French parts of the iſland, he ſays, at the cloſe of the chapter.

"To deſcribe the productions of the French colony of Saint-Domingo would be enumerating [to enumerate] thoſe of the whole of the Antilles. Their principal were, however, as have been before deſcribed, ſugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, and cocoa or chocolate. To theſe may be added a little tobacco.

"In return for the uſeful droves of cattle for ſlaughter and labour; ſmoked beef, bacon, ſkins, and the greateſt part of the money received from Spain, they ſupplied their neighbours with wearing apparel, hardware, and guns.

"The population was conſidered at about 40,000 whites, 500,000 negro ſlaves, and 24,000 free people of colour; and the average exports, as ſtated by M. Marbois, the intendant of the colony, amounted to 4,765,129l. ſterling.

In his ſecond chapter, Major Rainsford traces the origin of the revolutionary ſpirit in Saint-Domingo. He aſcribes it firſt to the vaſt diſproportion between the number of ſlaves and that of their maſters; and ſecondly to the vices and immorality of the latter.

"Thus an ignorance, in the firſt inſtance, of human nature, a blindneſs to actual circumſtances, and a want of individual virtue in the coloniſts, gave birth to the revolutionary ſpirit in St. Domingo; which, inſtead of being created, was only fanned into flame by the occurrences which took place in the relations of the colony with the mother country, on the change of its government."

He conſiders that the operation of the ſame cauſes, that is, a vaſt diſproportion of ſlaves to their maſters, great profligacy in the latter, united to the want of a ſtrong, wiſe, and effective police, will in all

caſes produce the ſame effect. But he does not undertake to ſpeak of the ſlave-trade in terms of condemnation.

"He is an enemy to it, only, as he is to every employment which offers an undue power to many, not the moſt unlikely to abuſe it; and as a principle hoſtile to humanity and inefficient in its purpoſes. He is aware that the ſituation of colonial ſlaves at preſent is, in many reſpects, ſuperior to that of the labourers or the artizans of Britain. The firſt have not, indeed, the command of receſſion, neither have the two latter the power; for if they ceaſe from labour, they ceaſe from its advantages. When it is conſidered that the artizan muſt wander in ſearch of employment, and ſubmit to the optional reward of thoſe who may chuſe to employ him, after encountering diſtreſs in conſequence of repeated refuſals; the ſlave will appear more happy, though ſometimes enduring corporeal puniſhment too ſevere, whoſe food and reſidence is [are] provided without anxiety; and who is certain of employment, or of the ſame proviſion.

"Nor would the writer be ſuppoſed to ſanction the means which have been uſed to procure an abolition of the trade, which he diſapproves; much leſs the emancipation of thoſe ſlaves already in the colonies. Of the latter ſtep, the humanity would be equally problematical, with that which would dictate the liberation of the poor bird long nurſed in domeſtic comfort, to flutter a little while in ſolitary freedom, a ſtranger to his own kind, and to the winds of heaven.

"What has been ſaid, has ariſen from a conviction that, but for the circumſtances already deſcribed, a revolutionary ſpirit would not have ſo long been ſpread throughout Saint-Domingo; and to point out the beacon to the colonies of the Britiſh nation in the ſame ſea, with that which has produced an illuſtration of theſe poſitions; and a picture ſo full of terror; on this more will be ſaid, and with greater propriety, at the end of this work.

"Flushed with opulence and diſſipation, the majority of planters at Saint-Domingo had arrived at a ſtate of ſentiment the moſt vitiated, and manners equally depraved; while, injured by an example ſo contagious, the ſlaves had become more diſſolute than thoſe of any Britiſh iſland. If the maſter was proud, voluptuous, and crafty, the ſlave was equally vicious, and often riotous; the puniſhment of one was but the conſequence of his own exceſſes; but that of the other was often cruel and unnatural. The proprietor could bear no rival in his pariſh; and would not bend even to the ordinances of juſtice. The creole ſlaves looked upon the newly imported Africans with ſcorn, and ſuſtained, in their turn, that of the mulattoes, whoſe complexion was browner; while all were kept at a diſtance from the intercourſe of the whites. Nor did the boundaries of ſex, it is painful to obſerve, keep their wonted diſtinction, from the ſtern impulſes that affect men. The European ladies too often participated in the auſterity and arrogance of their male kindred; while the jet-black beauty, among ſlaves, though ſcarcely a native of the iſland, refuſed all commerce with thoſe who could not boaſt the ſame diſtinction with herſelf.

"Such was the ſituation of the inhabitants of St. Domingo in the beginning of the year 1789, prompt to any movement that ſhould create an effervescence among them, or afford the one party an opportunity of oppoſing the other; yet, while private feuds were eager for an opportunity to burſt into public clamour, the ſituation of the country was ſuch as hath been deſcribed, like the verdant boſom of a volcano, unconſcious of the flame about to

to burſt; the people were chearful, the markets ſo plentifully ſtocked, the lands loaded with production, and the colony, if '*overwhelmed with debt,*' it may be admitted to be ſaid, flouriſhing every where."

When things were thus ſituated the revolution, begun in France, produced its correſpondent effects in Saint-Domingo. But the negroes were particularly ſtimulated to action, by the inconſiderate efforts of a ſet of pſeudo-philanthropiſts in Europe, (of whom Major Rainsford ſpeaks much too favourably) ſelf-called *Les amis des Noirs.*

"The unhappy eloquence with which the miſeries of ſlavery were depicted by them, and the forcible points of view in which all the errors of their opponents were placed, as well as the enthuſiaſm which always accompanies the exertions of ardent minds, were certainly the cauſe of bringing into action, on a broad baſis, that ſpirit of revolt which only ſleeps in the enſlaved African, or his deſcendant, and which has produced on their ſide, and on that of the white inhabitants of the colonies, ſuch horrors as 'make ev'n the angels ſleep."

Major Rainsford is of opinion that ſome judicious conceſſions to the people of colour, at this critical period, would have ſecured the iſland from the horrors of ſuch a revolution. But we muſt confeſs we ſee no reaſon for concurring with him in that opinion. When five hundred thouſand ſlaves were puffed up with notions of ſelf-importance, infected with the revolutionary frenzy, and rendered ſenſible of their own phyſical ſtrength, we do not ſee how they were to be prevented from the accompliſhment of their purpoſe by any thing but coercive meaſures, and a ſuperior military force.

In the third chapter is a detailed account of the mad proceedings of the French government; of the conduct, or rather miſconduct, of the ſucceſſive governors of Saint-Domingo; of the atrocities of the French commiſſioners; of the arrival and operations of the Engliſh; of their evacuation of the iſland; and of the conſequent eſtabliſhment of its independance. This chapter contains a great deal of curious and intereſting matter. Amidſt the acts of barbarity remarked during the dreadful conflicts of which this ill-fated colony was deſtined to be the ſcene, none was calculated to excite greater indignation and diſguſt, than the cowardly, cold-blooded murder of the Chevalier Mauduit, who commanded the regiment of Port-au-Prince. This gentleman was an active and enterpriſing officer, a zealous royaliſt, and exceſſively beloved by every man in his regiment. An enemy, of courſe, to all revolutionary bodies, he had, on a particular occaſion, taken the colours from the national guards of the iſland, by whom he was, conſequently, holden in abhorrence. On the arrival of two regiments from France, infected with the revolutionary ſpirit, the diſcontent of the national guard became louder, and Mauduit's own regiment began to view their commander with an eye of ſuſpicion. He perceived the ſtorm riſing, and prudently reſolved to avert its fury, if that were poſſible, by having recourſe to conciliatory meaſures.

"Colonel Mauduit prepared, as the firſt effort of conciliation, for a reſtitution

titution of the colours to the national guards, the unfortunate cauſe of the alienation of his own troops; and propoſed, if they would ſupport him, to carry them with his own hands, at their head to the church, in which they ſhould be depoſited: he harangued his grenadiers to that purpoſe, and they promiſed to ſupport him with their lives On the ſucceeding day he put his propoſed plan in execution, before the whole community of Port-au-Prince. A conſiderable murmur took place, but means were taken by the citizens (amongſt whom it is ſaid were ſome he had moſt injured) to prevent any accident.*

" He had replaced the colours, and was turning, no doubt, to meet the gratulations of his troops, which had ſo often cheered him, when one of them commanded him aloud to aſk pardon of the national guards *on his knees!* He ſtarted with indignation at the propoſition, and intending to offer them his life, rather than his honour, expoſed to them his naked boſom. In an inſtant, an hundred bayonets ſeemed to vie with each other which ſhould wound the deepeſt, and he fell gored all over, while ſcarce an arm of the number he had ſo often made happy, was raiſed to ſave him, or a voice among thoſe ſo often exerted in his praiſe, to bid his ſpirit reſt.† The ſpectators, however unfriendly they might have been to the diſeaſed, were petrified with aſtoniſhment and diſguſt. Not contented with the extinction of life, this unmanly and treacherous number, whoſe conduct is, it is hoped, unparalleled, not content with deſtroying his houſe, and every thing belonging to him, gratified themſelves with mutilating the dead body of their once loved commander; and by a thouſand diabolical contrivances, rendering diſguſting in death a form which through life had been always beloved and honoured, and ſometimes reſpected and admired. This wretched regiment met the proper fate of all ſuch daſtardly perpetrators. They were deſpiſed even by the ſoldiery whom they meant to oblige, compelled to lay down their arms, and ſent priſoners to France, where, in ſome ſhape or other, puniſhment failed not to await them."

Never ſurely did any body of men, of the military profeſſion, who muſt be ſuppoſed to have higher ſentiments of honour than any of the lower claſſes of ſociety, and the French army, under the monarchy, were commanded by men who made honour their idol, and whoſe example, therefore, might naturally be ſuppoſed to have a very beneficial effect on their men; never, we ſay, did any body of men ſo diſgrace themſelves by the moſt abominable acts of mutiny, rebellion, and murder, as the ſoldiers of France, who, notwithſtanding their courage and

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* " The exertions on this occaſion of the brave Beanſobre were too ſtriking to be paſſed in ſilence. He had been ſtruck with a ſhot, when protecting the Colonial Committee, in the affair for which Mauduit was now attempting an extenuation; yet with a generoſity not often equalled, he was among the foremoſt to ſtep forward on the preſent occaſion, and was wounded by a ſabre in defending the life of Mauduit."

† " Two officers named Galiſeau and Germain, to their honour, did not deſert their Colonel till the laſt moment, but their exertions were of no avail; and the indignation of the ſoldiers being at its height, there was no time for preparation."

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their ſucceſſes, will be tranſmitted to poſterity, as objects of execration to every man of honeſty and feeling.

The negroes appear to have vied with the French ſoldiers, in acts of barbarity, many of which were exerciſed againſt thoſe maſters who had treated their ſlaves with the greateſt attention, kindneſs, and humanity. Two or three of theſe acts are here recorded, but the author ſeems to have been diſguſted with his taſk, therefore, ſomewhat abruptly, concludes it thus.

"It ſerves few of the purpoſes of hiſtory to deſcribe the various modes of torture which occurred to the ſavage inſurgents, or to relate accounts of the groſſeſt violations of virgins and pregnant women, in the preſence of their dying huſbands, or parents; much it is to be regretted, that civilized ſtates ſhould ever find it neceſſary to render torture of any kind familiar to vulgar minds, for they are exhibitions that live in the memory, and ſteel the heart againſt thoſe affections which form the grandeſt boundary of our nature. There is reaſon to fear that the perpetrators of thoſe horrid deeds had been witneſſes to the ridicule of miſery in others who ſhould have evinced themſelves ſuperior to ſuch conduct, by the godlike attributes of mercy and benevolence; the licentiouſneſs of their intercourſe with the female ſlaves, could leave no impreſſion to prevent a retaliation on the occaſion, with objects, too, of ſuch ſuperior attraction, alas! unhappily for themſelves."

Major Rainsford here ſeems to inſinuate that, but for the tortures inflicted on the negroes by the Europeans, the former would not have acted ſo barbarouſly by the latter. Surely he has not made himſelf converſant with the hiſtory of ſavage ſtates, or he would have known that ſavages want no inſtructions from more poliſhed nations in the diabolical arts of torture. A peruſal of the Hiſtory of Dahomy alone would ſuffice to convince him that his notions of ſavage humanity are erroneous indeed. In the laſt ſentence he forgets himſelf, by making the negro ſee with the eyes of an European; the ſuperiority of attraction admitted by the latter would, unqueſtionably, be denied by the former. His indignation, however, againſt the conduct of the planters is perfectly juſt; we only diſſent from the inference which he draws from it. To counterbalance, in ſome degree, theſe ſavage horrors, the author recites, on the authority of Mr. Edwards, an inſtance of extraordinary fidelity and attachment, diſplayed in the conduct of one of the revolted negroes, to the family of his maſters.

One of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances attending this extraordinary revolution was that the perſons in power at Saint-Domingo were early apprized of all the plans of the negroes, and, of courſe, might have prevented the execution of them; yet, from ſome unaccountable reaſon, they neither diſcloſed, nor acted upon, ſuch knowledge. A man, named Ogé, who was a leader in the inſurrection, was, at a very early period, apprehended and condemned; he begged a reſpite, which was granted, when he diſcloſed the whole of the plans of the inſurgents, but he was nevertheleſs executed, and his confeſſion was ſup-

ſuppreſſed. Upon its ſubſequent diſcloſure, when it was too late to profit by it, it was found to be ſtrictly correct.

" It was during the ſtay of the Commiſſioners, or immediately before their arrival, that, in conſequence of a reſolution of the General Colonial Aſſembly, copies of the depoſition of Ogé, given during the twenty-four hours he was reſpited, were obtained from the regiſter of the Council of the Cape; but not till they had been imperiouſly demanded. By theſe it was found, that if, inſtead of being ſuppreſſed, as before mentioned, the evidence had been promptly and deciſively acted upon, all the horrors which had blackened the colony for the laſt nine months might have been, to a great degree, if not entirely, prevented. He aſſerts upon oath as follows:

' That in the commencement of the month of February preceding, if the rivers had not overflowed their banks, there would have been a riſing of the people of colour, who were to have fallen on the town of the Cape in conſiderable numbers; that they were then re-united, to the number of eleven thouſand men, from Mirabalais, Artibonite, Limbé, Ouanaminthe, Grand Rivière, and other parts of the colony; that, at the ſame time, one hundred men of colour left the Cape, for the purpoſe of joining their band: that he was certain that the authors of this revolt were the Declains, free negroes of Grand Rivière, now under accuſation; Dumas and Yvon, free negroes; Bitozin, a free Spaniſh mulatto; Peter Godard, and John Baptiſte, his brother, free negroes; Le Grand, and Touſſaint Mezeau, free negroes; Peter Mauzi, Ginga Lapaire, Charles Lamadieu, the Sabourins, John Peter Goudy, Joſeph Lucas, free mulattoes; and Maurice, a free negro; all under accuſation.

' That the grand movers of rebellion down the coaſt were, Daguin, under accuſation, rebel, of Mirabalais; Pinchinat and Labaſtille, under accuſation; that the moſt violent partizans of the revolt, who had moved in large parties, were thoſe who had ſhone in the environs of St. Mark, and who were endeavouring to excite it again; that there were at that moment many people of colour in different quarters, who were very reſolute to maintain their projects, notwithſtanding the numbers of thoſe who had loſt their lives by engaging timidly in the cauſe; that he remembered at preſent the name of one only, the ſon of La Place, a free quadron, whoſe ſiſter he had ſeen in the priſons, and quitting Limbé to go and raiſe recruits in the quarter of Ouanaminthe; that theſe recruits and riſings of people of colour were continued there, under the countenance of Fleury and Hirondelle Viard, deputies of the people of colour to the National Aſſembly, the one reſiding at Mirabalais, and the other in the quarter of the Grand Rivière.

' That aſſemblies were yet held in the ſubterraneous paſſages near la Crête a Mareau, and the diſtrict of Giromin, in the pariſh of Grand Rivière; and that if he could be conducted to theſe places, he would ſtrive hard to take the chiefs of the rebellion; that the agitation in which he found himſelf under in his preſent circumſtances, did not permit him to enter into more circumſtantial details; that he would acquaint us with the remainder when he became a little more tranquil; that it occurred to him at the moment, that Caſtaing, a free mulatto of this dependency, is not concerned in any manner in the preſent affair; but if his brother Ogé had followed the perſuaſion of Caſtaing, he would have been brought into much greater extremities.'

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" The Commiſſioners for taking the depoſition then ſtated, that Ogé having heard the above read on the day after it was made, and, being ſworn, he confirmed it in every reſpect, adding, 'that the two Didiers, brothers, free mulattoes, whom he had ſeen but that time, and that John Peter Gerard, and —— Caton, free mulattoes of the Cape, were employed to gain a party of the Grand Rivière; that they kept together by day, and diſperſed at night.'

" They mention, that, on being confronted with James Lucas, who had accuſed him of threatening to hang him, he ſaid, that 'it was neceſſary to tell them why Lucas had not inſiſted upon his explaining the reaſon of that threat, leſt it ſhould coſt him his life: that the ſaid Lucas had been always foremoſt in every perpetration of horror, the moſt active ſeducer of the blacks, and promoter of maſſacre, and had of neceſſity been reſtrained by him ſeveral times, on occaſions which he repeated.

'That Fleury, Periſſe, and L'Hirondelle Viard, arriving in the colony, the two former were landed at Acquin, and left at the houſe of Dupont, but that L'Hirondelle Viard proceeded to the Cape.

'That La Place, whoſe father was then in priſon for raiſing recruits at Ouanaminthe, was of the number of thoſe who marched from Limbè againſt the Cape; that, to avoid ſuſpicion, he went to Port Margot, where he lay concealed for ſeveral days; that the ſenior La Place had told him, he knew his neighbour, who was a white man, would not inform againſt him, though he knew all his proceedings: that he was ſure Girardeau, then in priſon, would declare nothing, becauſe he was too much his friend to betray him; and that if he were denounced, he ſhould be forced to denounce many others, both in Limbè and other quarters.

'That he had omitted to mention, on the ſubject of Lucas ſeducing the ſlaves, that Peter Maury had brought thirty ſlaves to Lucas, whom Ogé and his brother ſent away again, the people of colour ſaying that it was a future ſupply: that he had, on the ſame occaſion, a diſpute with the talleſt of the Didiers, whom he wiſhed to fight with piſtols, on account of his treaſons; that he had ſeen a ſhort note, written by Peter Maury to John Francis Teſſiers, by which he ſignified, that he continued to collect together, and that the negro Coquin and the Caſtaing, armed with piſtols mounted with ſilver, and a ſhort ſword which Maury had furniſhed, watched every thing that paſſed, and gave an account every night to Maury: which was all that the accuſed could declare at preſent, conjuring the Commiſſioners to be perſuaded, that, if it were poſſible to obtain mercy, he would willingly expoſe himſelf to every danger to arreſt the chiefs of the rebellion, and that in all circumſtances he ſhould prove his zeal and reſpect for the whites.'

" He was, however, as before ſtated, immediately at the cloſe of the confeſſion, hurried to execution, and the whole ſuppreſſed, without any proceeding upon it whatever.

" The matter of the depoſition has been particularly given, for this reaſon: it exhibits the *manner* of the rebellion, and the quality of its leaders, who appear to have been well acquainted, with its various manœuvres; and if the principal perſons mentioned, particularly Pinchinat, Caſtaing, and Viard, had been arreſted at that time, they would have been prevented forming their attack of the 25th Auguſt. Thus does party, which, as before deſcribed, in dividing the colony of St. Domingo, unconſciouſly act againſt itſelf, and want of political foreſight ruin the beſt intentions."

Sorry

Sorry are we to ſay, that St. Domingo is not the only place in which the ſpirit of party is ſuffered to ſubdue the ſpirit of patriotiſm, and in which public good is rendered ſubſervient to private views! The fate of this valuable but devoted colony was finally ſealed, by the madneſs of the mother country, diſplayed in the emancipation of all the ſlaves. This produced the moſt immediate and moſt intolerable confuſion. The Commiſſioners called in the aid of the revolted negroes: a general ſlaughter of the whites enſued; and the Commiſſioners themſelves, alarmed at the ferocity of their new allies, fled to their ſhips.

"Nor were the mulattoes leſs annoyed and vexed, when they found that the exertions againſt the whites, which they ſuppoſed confined to their intereſt only, extended to the liberation of their own ſlaves, on whoſe labour their fortunes depended; they now perceived that they had been made the tools of the *Amis des Noirs*, in obtaining their darling object, the emancipation of the whole body of negroes. There is [are] an enthuſiaſm *and* a fanaticiſm in politics, as well as religion, equally dangerous in both, which, with an unaccountable bigotry to their projects, muſt have led the ſociety to urge ſuch exceſſes. They could not have originally deſired the effuſion of human blood only, as hath been aſſerted, however ſtrongly they might afterwards have imbibed a ſpirit of revenge againſt their opponents. Such is the ſpirit of jacobiniſm, endleſs, and undirected by any ſocial principle.

"The effect of the declaration of freedom to the ſlaves themſelves, was ſuch as might naturally be expected from a people of their character and condition. A conſiderable part remained in their former ſituation with their maſters, in preference to a change; a greater number joined the party of the Commiſſioners, who manumitted them; and, perhaps, the greateſt number, fearful their liberty would not be permanent, RETIRED IN SAVAGE BODIES TO THE MOUNTAINS."

It was at this diſaſtrous period that it was reſolved, by ſome of the chief proprietors, to claim the protection of England, as the only poſſible means of reſtoring peace and order to the colony. This meaſure, however, had many and formidable opponents; and the inhabitants of the iſland were divided in their ſentiments and reſolutions on the ſubject. Still, had the Britiſh Miniſtry acted with deciſion, and ſent out a force adequate to the magnitude of the object in view, there appears to be little doubt but that the ſovereignty of this important ſettlement might have been ſecured to their country. But a ſmall body of troops only were diſpatched; and, from the reception which theſe met with, and the ſucceſs which, at firſt, they experienced, we are confirmed in our opinion, that, with the aſſiſtance of the French royaliſts, a much larger force would have accompliſhed their object. Many acts of heroic bravery were performed, as well by the Britiſh as by their brave allies, during the occupation of the iſland, all the principal places in which were ſpeedily reduced. Moſt of theſe acts are here recorded, in a manner that does honour to the narrator, as well for his feeling as for his impartiality. But all was

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in vain; the blood ſhed, and the treaſure laviſhed, upon the occaſion, were fruitleſs and unavailing; and, after ſucceſſive governors had retired in diſguſt, General Maitland was ſent out in the ſpring of 1798, who finally evacuated the laſt poſt remaining in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, in the following Auguſt. We have heard, that the loyal proprietors made application to this officer, to know whether it was his intention to evacuate the iſland or not, with a view to diſpoſe of their property previous to the evacuation; that they were aſſured he had no ſuch intention; and that, in conſequence, all their property was loſt. We have alſo heard of ſome other inſtances of groſs miſconduct on this occaſion; but as Major Rainsford is wholly ſilent upon the ſubject, we muſt ſuppoſe that we were miſinformed.

"Such was the end of this diſaſtrous enterprize, which had for five years fed the hopes and vanity of the Britiſh empire, to which had been latterly ſacrificed many valuable lives, and an extravagant portion of the public money. That it was undertaken with too little conſideration, muſt be always acknowledged; for, if the Britiſh Miniſtry only meant, by finding employment for the French Commiſſioners in St. Domingo, to prevent the ſeat of war from being carried to Jamaica, they might have effected this purpoſe, without entering upon ſo large a field, or ſacrificing the lives and intereſts of a number of brave and unfortunate coloniſts; and if the conqueſt of the iſland was ſincerely intended, the means furniſhed were contemptible, in compariſon even with the exertions of the inhabitants. It is, however, probable, that no force which could have been furniſhed, would have been ſufficient to cope with the power of the revolted negroes; and if the Britiſh colonies in the Antilles have been ſaved by theſe means, it is only to be lamented, that their ſalvation coſt ſo dear, in proportion to their advantages to the country."

On this point we muſt differ from the intelligent author, as we think it evident, from his own ſtatement of facts, that a force fully adequate to the reduction of the iſland, with the aid of the royaliſts, might have been ſent from this country. We do not pretend to ſay how far it was either practicable or adviſeable to ſend ſuch a force; but it appears to us, that either ſuch a force ſhould have been ſent, or no force at all; though, certainly, without knowing the motives by which Miniſters were actuated, and without being in poſſeſſion of the knowledge which influenced them, it would be very raſh to decide on their conduct. Shortly previous to the evacuation, the black chief, whoſe name became afterwards ſo juſtly celebrated, Touſſaint L'Ouverture, roſe into notice.

"He had throughout," ſays Major Rainsford, at the cloſe of the third chapter, "been the moderator of all the different factions in the iſland, and was every way fitted for its legiſlator, as well as [for] its chief. He was, indeed, one of thoſe characters who invite the principle of an elective monarchy, but which are too rarely found to adviſe its univerſal adoption. His character will be more fully given in the enſuing part of this work; it is at preſent ſufficient to ſay, that, although he deteſted the conduct of the French Commiſſioners, he protected their office from indignity, and ſhielded them

them from vengeance; he relieved the planters from the intolerable tyranny of the Commiſſioners; he ſaved the French army from puniſhment, too often not greater than their guilt; and would not permit the encreaſed cruelty of retaliation on the Britiſh forces, for the conduct of allies, which even the coloniſts regretted to adopt. He ſaved the life of General Laveaux, who acknowledged the fact with gratitude; and his intercourſe with General Maitland was of the nobleſt kind. Notwithſtanding theſe exertions, in which he had to combat with the natural prejudices of many of his followers, he preſerved their confidence in his integrity, and their obedience to his wiſhes, and was hailed, with great juſtice, by common conſent, as the perfecter of the *independence of St. Domingo.*

In the ſucceeding chapters we have an account of the manners and cuſtoms, with other intereſting particulars, of this extraordinary Black Republic; but our review of it muſt be reſerved for another number.

(To be concluded in our next.)

An Inquiry into the permanent Cauſes of the Decline and Fall of powerful and wealthy Nations, illuſtrated by four engraved Charts. By W. Playfair, Author of Notes and Continuation of an Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith, L. L. D. and Inventor of Lineal Arithmetic, &c. deſigned to ſhew how the Proſperity of the Britiſh Empire may be prolonged. 4to. Pp. 314. 1l. 11s. 6d. Greenland and Norris, Finſbury Place.

AN inquiry into the permanent cauſes of the decline and fall of power and wealth, is, at leaſt, as curious and important a queſtion as that relating to their nature and origin: as the diſcoveries of anatomy are, at leaſt, as important to the recovery or prolongation of health, as thoſe of phyſiology. The very choice of this ſubject would produce a very favourable impreſſion of the author, if he had not already given ample proofs of original genius, and a capacity equally adapted to minute attention and general views: to both diſcrimination or analyſis, and combination; to judgment and invention.

The ſubject of political economy is preſſed on the conſideration of men in every period of advanced civilization, in every country. The nature and preſervation of the government is intimately connected with the ſtate or condition of the people; and the proſperity of the one, rightly underſtood, is the proſperity of the other. The truth of this is evinced by the maxims of the Chineſe empire, the oldeſt in the world. Political economy occupied the cultivated and ſublime minds of Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, and Cicero. The infant colonies of Greece were wont to apply to philoſophers for forms of government, or what we call conſtitutions; which embraced the education of youth, the formation of the habits and manners, and the management of the paſſions, of the people. The ſenators of Rome were profound politicians. The reſult of the noble hiſtorian Salluſt's inquiries concerning

cerning the nature and cauſe of power, and of its decline and fall, is given in a laconic and moſt admirable manner. "Dominion is eaſily preſerved by the ſame means through which it was acquired."* This is alſo the moſt general or grand reſult of Mr. Playfair's Inquiries. Hardihood, poverty, neceſſity, induſtry, frugality, and, in a word, manly and ſevere virtue rouſed into action and habit, conſtantly advances and makes conqueſts on riches, indolence, luxury, and enervation. This, it may be ſaid, being a truth inconteſtible, generally known, and univerſally admitted, requires not any illuſtration. It is indeed univerſally admitted, but not generally known. To know things is, to know them in their circumſtances, cauſes, and conſequences. The aſſent of the mind to any propoſition without this kind of knowledge is vague and inaccurate; and, as divines ſay of a certain vague kind of faith, can never operate any thorough or lively conviction, far leſs any practical efficacy.

The diffuſion of knowledge and of commerce, ranging every corner of the world without a ſtate, and penetrating every receſs within, has occaſioned ſuch a fermentation and maſs of exertion in our times, that the labour of the economiſt is infinitely greater than when the topics of economy were nearly confined to forms of government, education, including the uſe or management of religion, manly and military exerciſes, and agriculture. An immenſe revenue muſt now be raiſed for the ſtate, and productive employment found for various claſſes of manufacturers whoſe ſubſiſtence depends on continued induſtry. The comfort of the people depending on various induſtry, muſt be conſidered and provided for, or they will, if not riſe into commotion, and inſurrection, languiſh, decay, or migrate, at leaſt from free governments, into other countries. This complicated taſk is not above the powers of Mr. Playfair. He traverſes this extenſive field with an obſervant and penetrating eye. He diſcovers new objects, and places objects already known in new lights. He paints from nature and life, and we recognize and feel the juſtneſs of his ſketches. He reſembles the moſt excellent writers of memoirs among the French, who make us perſonally acquainted with the perſonages of whom they write; and bears a very cloſe analogy to Biſhop Burnet, who, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, introduces us to fire-ſides and familiar converſations. His obſervations are arranged in a natural and clear order: the very firſt conſideration in all compoſition. His reaſoning is generally ſound, and his concluſions, on the whole, are juſt and important. Where, perhaps, they are not quite ſatisfactory, we acknowledge that he has even by what may appear doubtful, prepared the way for farther inveſtigation. He is, withal, very ſlovenly in his dreſs. All affectation of ornament in works of this kind is not only improper, but pedantic and ridiculous. The ſtyle of every work, however, ſhould be perſpicuous; to which grammatical arrangement is ſo neceſſary, that where it is wanting the diction ſometimes becomes either wholly unintelligible,

* Nam imperium facile iis Artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt. Salluſt. Bell. Catelin. Cap. 1.

or not to be underſtood without difficulty. But, if his figures be not always beautifully, or indeed decently "clothed with ſkin and fleſh, they are fenced with bones and ſinews." He ſometimes preſents us with nuts in the huſk, but they are worth the pealing as well as cracking.

Mr. Playfair very juſtly obſerves, in his preface, that—

"If it be of importance to ſtudy by what means a nation may acquire wealth and power, it is not leſs ſo to diſcover by what means wealth and power, when once acquired, may be preſerved. The latter inquiry is, perhaps, the moſt important of the two; for many nations have remained, during a long period, virtuous and happy: but there is no example of happineſs or virtue reſiding amongſt a fallen people."

Having briefly illuſtrated this poſition, he goes on—

"From this almoſt univerſal picture we learn that greatneſs of nations is but of ſhort duration. Though the career of proſperity muſt neceſſarily have a termination amongſt every people, yet there is ſome reaſon to think that the degradation which naturally follows, and has always followed hitherto, may be averted."

He ſhould have ſaid, and no doubt meant to ſay, *for a time averted*; for he afterwards admits, page 6, that to ſpeak of the abſolute perpetuity or prolongation *ad infinitum* of national wealth and power is only a convenient fiction of language, like that of the contract between the king and the people, and the conſtitutional laws of a country being of permanent and eternal duration: and he alſo admits that neither virtue nor happineſs is to be found among a fallen people.

But whether the degradation in queſtion may, or may not be averted, "is the ſubject of the following Inquiry; which, if it is of importance to any nation on earth, muſt be peculiarly ſo to England—a nation that riſes ſtill, beyond the natural level aſſigned to it by its population, but whoſe earneſt wiſh ought to be directed rather to preſervation than extenſion; to defending itſelf againſt adverſity, rather than ſeeking ſtill farther to augment its power." It was neceſſary for our author, in his preface, to obſerve alſo, that it is not concerning accidental cauſes that he enquires, but only concerning ſuch as are permanent; that is, cauſes that are conſtantly acting and produce permanent effects. There ariſes on the preſent ſubject an important, and to ſpeak in parliamentary language, a previous queſtion, namely, whether "ſtates have neceſſarily by the conſtitution and nature of things the ſame periods of infancy, manhood, and decrepitude, that are found in the individuals that compoſe them?" Mr. P. thinks with Mr. Burke—he might have added Profeſſor Fergufon, and other writers—that they have not. And indeed, he juſtly obſerves, that if they had the preſent inquiry would be of no ſort of utility.

"It is of no importance to ſeek for means of preventing what of neceſſity muſt come to paſs: but if the word neceſſity is changed for tendency or propenſity, then it becomes an inquiry deſerving attention; and, as all ſtates have riſen, flouriſhed, and fallen, there can be no diſpute with regard to their tendency to do ſo. There can be no difference of opinion concerning the utility of an inquiry into thoſe mighty events that have removed wealth and

and commerce from the Euphrates and the Nile to the Thames and the Texel? Does not the ſun riſe, and do not the ſeaſons return to the plains of Egypt and the deſerts of Syria, the ſame as they did three thouſand years ago? Is not inanimate nature the ſame now that it was then? Are the principles of vegetation altered? or have the ſubordinate animals refuſed to obey the will of man, to aſſiſt him in his labour, or to ſerve him for his food? No; Nature is not leſs bountiful, and man has more knowledge and more power than at any former period: but it is not the man of Syria or of Egypt, that has more knowledge or more power. There he has ſuffered his race to decay, and along with himſelf his race has degenerated. If an inquiry into the cauſes of the revolutions of nations is more imperfect and leſs ſatisfactory than when directed to thoſe of individuals and of ſingle families, if ever it ſhould be rendered complete, its application will at leaſt be more certain. Nations are exempt from thoſe viciſſitudes which derange the wiſeſt of human plans on a ſmaller ſcale. Number and magnitude reduce chances to certainty. The ſingle and unforeſeen accident that overwhelms a man in the midſt of proſperity, never ruins a nation. Unleſs it be ripe for ruin, a nation never falls; and when it does fall, accident has only the appearance of doing what was, in reality, already nearly accompliſhed. This is no phyſical cauſe for the decline of nations. Nature remains the ſame. And if the phyſical man has degenerated, it was before the authentic records of hiſtory."

Theſe extracts from our author's preface will enable our readers to form a ſufficiently accurate idea of the nature of his deſign. Of its execution, we do not heſitate to ſay, that it is ingenious, able, and, as far as a deſign of ſuch magnitude and novelty can poſſibly be expected to be, ſatisfactory: ſatisfactory, at leaſt, in this reſpect, that the inveſtigation in which he leads the way, may, by the joint labours of men of genius and induſtry, conduct mankind to the eſtabliſhment of knowledge, more certain and practical, on a very important ſubject.

As Mr. Playfair's deſign is unfolded in his preface, ſo we have a recapitulation of his general reaſonings and inferences, in the eighth chapter of his third and laſt book, entitled CONCLUSION.

"The great end of all human effort is, to improve upon the means which nature has furniſhed men with, for obtaining the objects of their wants and wiſhes, and to obviate, to counteract, or do away thoſe inconveniencies and diſadvantages which nature has thrown in the way of their enjoyments.

"With the mind the ſame courſe ſhould be uſed as with material bodies. It is impoſſible, in either caſe, to create; but we may turn the good to as profitable an advantage as we are able, and counteract the bad.

"To attempt to hinder men from following their propenſities when in power, is always arduous, generally ineffectual, and frequently impracticable; beſides, when it can be done coercively, it infringes too much on the liberty and enjoyment of mankind. A controuling power ſhould be employed as ſeldom as poſſible.

"To attempt to ſmother the paſſions is vain; to controul them, difficult. Beſides it is from energy, ariſing from paſſions or propenſities, that all good, as well as evil, ariſes. The buſineſs, then, will neither be to curb nor to cruſh, but to give a proper direction. This is to be done by good habits,

when young, and a proper education, which cannot be obtained by individual exertion, without the aſſiſtance of Government; an aſſiſtance, therefore, which it is bound to give.

"The general tendency of wealth and power is, to enervate people, to make them proud and indolent, and, after a certain time, they leave a country. Individuals have no means to counteract this tendency, unleſs the governing power of the country gives a general impulſe to them, in caſes where they can act, and acts itſelf, with care and attention, where individuals can do nothing.

"In the caſe of education and manners; in the caſe of providing for children, individuals may do much; but government muſt not only give the means, but the impulſe. In the caſe of the ſoil becoming inſufficient for the inhabitants, and of taxes and national debt increaſing, government may ſtop the progreſs; and in the caſes of individual bodies trenching on the public weal, as well as in the tendency of inventions, capital, &c to emigrate to other countries, the government may counteract, and, perhaps, totally prevent them all.

"In all caſes, individuals will and muſt follow their lawful propenſities, both in the means of employing capital, and expending revenue; that is, they muſt be left free, in a general way, and only interrupted and regulated in particular caſes; but, ſometimes, the means muſt be furniſhed them of going right, and in other caſes the inducements to do ſo augmented. We ſhall take the ſubjects in the ſame order that they followed in the ſecond book.

"Though the manners of people arrived at maturity, can only be regulated by their education, when young, if that is properly attended to, it will be ſufficient; for though it will not prevent the generation that has attained wealth, from enjoying it according to the prevailing taſte, it will prevent contamination being communicated with increaſed force, as it now is, to the children. The evils will then go on in a ſimple proportion; they now go with a compound one, and the evils ariſing from the luxury of each generation are doubled on that which follows after. If that is prevented, it will be all that probably is neceſſary; at all events, it is probably all that is poſſible.

"In taxation, the government ſhould ſtudy to do away what is obnoxious in its mode of collection, for that does more injury to the ſubject, in many caſes, than an equal ſum would do, levied in another manner; and when payments are to be made, the mode ſhould be rendered as eaſy as poſſible. Every unneceſſary trouble ſhould be avoided in collecting a tax. In the tax on receipts and bills, why ſhould the ſums to which they extend not be printed on them, ſo as to prevent error, which is ſometimes attended with great loſs, and always with inconvenience? If this had been done, how many lawſuits, how many nefarious tricks, would have been prevented? But, not to ſpeak of thoſe inconveniencies only, how much uſeleſs trouble, uneaſineſs, and uncertainty, would have been ſaved in the common way of tranſacting buſineſs? In moſt caſes, the ſubject is treated as if neither his time, nor his conveniency, nor his feelings, were worth attending to. This is equally impolitic and unjuſt: there is, perhaps, no country where people are more careful to keep within the pale of the law, than in England; but when they are within it, and have power, no people uſe it with a more inſulting rigour; and for this there is no redreſs.

"In many caſes, this would be entirely prevented, by proper attention in

in firſt laying on the tax. There ſhould be a board of taxation, to receive and digeſt, and examine, the ſuggeſtions of others. In ſhort, pains ſhould be taken to bring to perfection the ſyſtem. At preſent, it is left to chance; that is to ſay, it is left for thoſe to do who have not time to do it, and, of conſequence, the blunders committed are ſeen by all the world.

"The encroachments of ſeparate bodies on the public, it is entirely in the power of the ſtate to prevent. It is owing to weakneſs or careleſſneſs, or ignorance, that government admit of ſuch encroachments, and they are eaſily to be prevented, partly, as has been ſhewn, by poſitive regulation, and partly by counteracting them, whenever they appear to be proceeding in a direction any way doubtful. When they do ſo, the concluſion may be, that they are working for themſelves; and in that caſe, they ought to be very minutely examined into; and, in all public bodies, and men belonging to a claſs that has a particular intereſt, generally derive their means of trenching on the public from government, it may very eaſily controul their action, or counteract the effect.

"As lawyers have the adminiſtration of juſtice amongſt themſelves; as the executive part is in their hand, the law-makers ſhould be particularly careful to make them amenable by law for bad conduct; it ought not to be left in the boſom of a court, to ſtrike off, or keep on, an improper man. It is not right, on the one hand, that attornies, or any ſet of men, ſhould be ſubject to an arbitrary exertion of power; and it is equally unfair for them to be protected by having thoſe who are to judge between them and the public, always belonging to their own body. In defence of this, it is ſaid, that attornies are ſervants of the court, and that the buſineſs of the court being to do juſtice, their correction cannot be in better hands. This is a tolerably ingenious aſſertion, if it were ſtrictly true; but the court conſiſts both of judge and jury; whereas, in this caſe, the judge aſſumes all the power; that is to ſay, when a caſe is to be determined relative to the conduct of a lawyer, a lawyer is to be the ſole judge; and the jury, who repreſent the public, are to have their power ſet aſide; thus, when their opinion is moſt wanted, it is not allowed to be given. Under ſuch regulation, what redreſs can be expected? As for the taxing coſts by a maſter, it is rarely that a client, from prudential motives, dares appeal; and, when he does, the remedy is frequently worſe than the diſeaſe; and, even in this caſe, a lawyer judges a lawyer. Without ſaying any thing againſt the judgments, it will be allowed, that in neither caſe is the principle of Magna Charta adhered to, of a man being judged by his peers; beſides, in every other fraud, there is puniſhment proportioned to the crime. In this caſe there is no puniſhment, unleſs the extortion is exorbitant, and then the puniſhment is too great. It ought to be proportioned to the offence, as in caſes of uſury, and then it would be effectual; but to let ſmall miſdemeanors go free, and to puniſh great ones beyond meaſure, is the way to elude puniſhment in all caſes. A man ought to pay his bill; let the attorney take the money at his peril, and let there be a court to judge fairly, at little expence, and with promptitude, and puniſh the extortion by a treble fine. This would anſwer; but all regulations, relative to law, are left to lawyers themſelves; and the fable of the man, the lion, and the picture, was never ſo well exemplified. Never, in any caſe, was redreſs more wanted; perhaps never was it leſs likely to be had.

"The unequal diviſion of property, as has been ſhewn, ariſes partly from bad laws, and partly from neglect of regulation. It is, indeed, one of

the moſt delicate points to interfere in: nevertheleſs, as it has been proved, that laws do already interfere between a man and the uſe of his property (and that it is, in ſome caſes, neceſſary that they ſhould do ſo), the queſtion is reduced to one of circumſtances and expediency; it is not one to be determined, in the abſtract, on principle. It is alſo of too nice a nature to be touched roughly by general regulation; but, if large eſtates in land, and large farms, were taxed higher in proportion than ſmall ones, it would counteract, to a certain degree, the tendency of landed property to accumulate in any one perſon's hand; and, except in land, property ſeldom remains long enough in one family to accumulate to a dangerous degree.

"The increaſed conſumption of a nation, which we have found one of the cauſes of decline that increaſes with its wealth, may be more effectually prevented than any other; not by interfering with the mode in which individuals expend their wealth, but by managing it ſo, that vegetable food ſhall always be in abundance; and if ſo, the high prices of animal food, and the low price of vegetables, will anſwer the purpoſe of counteracting the taſte for the former, which is the cauſe of the dearth, and brings on depopulation; and therefore its hurtful effect will be prevented.

"To this gentlemen of landed property may object, and no doubt will object, but let them conſider how rapidly ruin is coming on. At the rate matters now go, it would not be ſurpriſing, but a natural effect, if moſt of the fields in Britain were converted into paſture, and our chief ſupply of corn obtained from abroad. The rent of land would, indeed, be doubled, the wages of labour would riſe more than in an equal proportion, and a very few years would complete the ruin of this country. The landed proprietors ſurely would not, for any momentary gain, riſk the ruin of themſelves and of their country, for both may be the conſequence of perſiſting in this ſyſtem. Or, if they perſiſt in it, will the government, which has other intereſts to conſult and to protect, allow that ſingle one to ſwallow up the reſt?

"It is true, the freedom of trade will be invoked; but the freedom of trade is a principle, not to be adopted without limitation, but with due regard to times and circumſtances; let it then never be invoked, upon a general queſtion, without examination. Though this is the true way of arguing the queſtion, let freedom of trade be taken in another way: let it be conſidered as a general principle; it will then be immutable, and not be changed. The preſent corn-laws muſt, on that principle, be done away, and no bounty allowed for exportation or for importation, which, indeed, would be the beſt way; but at all events, let us have but one weight and one meaſure for both parties, and not invoke freedom of trade to protect the corn-dealers when prices are high, and enact laws to counteract the effects of plenty, which produces low prices.

"On this ſubject, government muſt ſet itſelf above every conſideration, but that of the welfare of the country: it is too important to be trifled with, or to be bartered for any inferior conſideration.

"The prices of our manufactures will ſoon become too high for other nations. Our inventions, to abbreviate labour, cannot be perpetual, and, in ſome caſes, they can go no farther than they have already gone; beſides, the ſame inventions, copied by nations where labour is cheaper, give them ſtrong ſuperiority over us.

"If increaſed conſumption was the leading cauſe of the deſtruction of Rome, to which money was ſent from tributary nations, and employed to purchaſe

purchaſe corn (ſo that its ſupply was independent of its induſtry), how much more forcible and rapid muſt be its effects in this country, living by manufacturers, and having no other means to procure a ſupply from ſtrangers, when this is neceſſary.

"The burthens of our national taxes continuing the ſame, thoſe for the poor increaſing, our means diminiſhing; what could poſſibly produce a more rapid decline?

"The danger is too great and too evident to require any thing farther to be ſaid; particularly as the laſt ten years have taught ſo much by experience.

"It is unneceſſary to repeat what was ſaid about the mode of reducing the intereſt of the national debt, without ſetting too much capital afloat; without breaking faith with the creditors of the State, or burthening the induſtry of the country.

"On the increaſe of the poor, and the means of diminiſhing their numbers, enough has been ſaid. That muſt originate with government in every caſe, and in ſome caſes excluſively belongs to it. They muſt act of themſelves with reſpect to the very poor, and to their children; with thoſe who are not quite reduced to poverty, they ſhould grant aid, to enable them to ſtruggle againſt adverſity, and prevent their offspring from becoming burthenſome to the public.

"The other affairs well attended to, capital and induſtry will loſe their tendency to leave the country; and if they ſhould continue to leave it, the caſe will be deſperate; for, after the lands are improved, and the beſt encouragement given to the employment of capital, and to the greateſt extent, nothing more can be done: it will find employment elſewhere.

"The efficacy of a remedy, like every thing elſe in this world, has a boundary; but the extent and compaſs of that depends, in a great degree, on exertion and ſkill, and particularly ſo in the preſent inſtance. It remains with the government to make that exertion, either directly itſelf, or by putting individuals in the way to make it.

"The government of a country muſt then interfere, in an active manner, in the prevention of the interior cauſes of decline. As to the exterior ones, they do not depend on a country itſelf; but, ſo far as they do, it is excluſively on the government, and in no degree on the individual inhabitants.

"The envy and enmity which ſuperior wealth creates, can only be diminiſhed by the moderation and juſtice with which a nation conducts itſelf towards others; and if they are ſufficiently envious and unfair to perſiſt, a nation like Britain has nothing to fear. But we muſt ſeparate from envy and enmity, occaſioned by the poſſeſſion of wealth, that envy and enmity that are excited by the unjuſt manner in which wealth is acquired."

To this extract from that part of our author's concluſion which he conſiders as applicable to this country, we ſhall add the following, which is an application of the preſent enquiry to nations in general.

"If there is a leſſon taught by political economy that is of greater importance than any other, it is that induſtry, well directed, is the way to obtain wealth; and that the modes by which nations ſought after it, in the early and middle ages, by war and conqueſt, are, in compariſon, very ineffectual.

"Nothwithſtanding that princes themſelves are now convinced of the

truth of this, by a ſtrange fatality, the poſſeſſion of commercial wealth has itſelf become the cauſe of wars, not leſs ruinous than thoſe that formerly were the chief occupation of mankind.

"It was diſcovered, a few centuries ago, that ſmall principalities, and even ſingle cities, acquired more wealth by induſtry, than all the mighty monarchs of the middle ages did by war; but we are not yet advanced to the ultimate end of the leſſons that experience and reaſon give in regard to the intereſts of nations, with regard to wealth and power.

"To ſuppoſe that mankind will ever live entirely at peace is abſurd, and is to ſuppoſe them to change their nature. Such a reverie would only ſuit one of the revolutioniſts of France; but let us hope that there is ſtill a poſſibility to leſſen the cauſes of quarrels amongſt nations. The true principles of political economy lead to that, and the object is ſufficiently important.

"By *agriculture* and *manufactures*, that is, by producing ſuch things as are conducive to the happineſs of man, the aggregate wealth of mankind can alone be increaſed.

"By commerce, which conſiſts in conveying or ſelling the produce of induſtry, the aggregate wealth of mankind is not increaſed, but its *diſtribution is altered*.

"As individuals, and ſometimes nations, have obtained great wealth, not by producing, but by altering the diſtribution of wealth produced; that is, by commerce: that ſeems to thoſe who aim at wealth, to be the greateſt object of ambition.

"If every nation in the world were induſtrious, and contented with conſuming the articles it produced, they would all be wealthy and happy without commerce: or, if each nation enjoyed a ſhare of commerce, in proportion to what it produced, there would be no ſuperiority to create envy.

"Variety of ſoil and climate, difference of taſte, of manners, and an infinity of other cauſes, have rendered commerce neceſſary, though it does not increaſe the aggregate wealth of mankind; but nations are in an error when they ſet a greater value on commerce than on productive induſtry.

"Some nations are ſituated by nature ſo as to be commercial, juſt as others are to raiſe grapes and fine fruits; therefore, though one nation has more than what appears to be an equal ſhare of commerce, it ought not to be a reaſon for envy, much leſs for enmity.

"Some nations alſo find it their intereſt to attend chiefly to agriculture. Others may find it neceſſary to attend more to manufactures; but that ought to be no cauſe of enmity or rivalſhip.

"With a view, if poſſible, to diminiſh a little the envy and rivalſhip that will ſubſiſts, let us take a view of this buſineſs in its preſent ſtate.

"Britain, the wealthieſt of nations, at this time, ſells little of the produce of her ſoil, and a great deal of the produce of her induſtry; but ſhe purchaſes a great deal of the produce of the ſoil of other countries, though not much of their induſtry. In this there is great mutual convenience, and no rivalſhip. In fact, her wealth ariſes nearly altogether from internal induſtry, and by no means from that commerce that is the envy of other nations; for it is clear, that whoever produces a great deal may conſume a great deal, without any exchange of commodities, and without commerce.

"The Engliſh, number for number, produce more, by one half, than any

any other people; they can, therefore, conſume more; they are, therefore, richer.

"If France would cultivate her ſoil with the ſame care that we attend to manufactures (at the ſame time manufacturing for herſelf as much as ſhe did before the Revolution), ſhe would be a much richer country than England, without having a ſingle manufacture for exportation. Her wines, brandies, fruits, &c. &c. would procure her amply whatever ſhe might want from other nations. Let France make good laws to favour induſtry, and, above all, render property ſecure, and ſhe will have no occaſion to envy England.

"Ruſſia, part of Germany, Spain, Italy, and Portugal, are all in a ſimilar ſituation with France in this reſpect; they will each be as rich as England the moment they are induſtrious, and have as many inventions for the abbreviation of labour.

"Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Pruſſia, and ſome parts of Germany, are more or leſs in the ſame ſituation with England; they require to pay attention to manufactures, for they have not the means of raiſing produce enough to exchange for all they want.

"If there is any occaſion for rivalſhip, or ground for envy, it is then but very ſmall; and it happens, that the rivalſhip which exiſts is between thoſe nations that, in reality, ought to be the leaſt envious of each other; the nations who have the ſeweſt quarrels are thoſe who really might be rivals.

"Rivalſhip is natural between thoſe who are in ſimilar ſituations. France, Spain, and Portugal, might be rivals. England, Holland, Pruſſia, and Denmark, might alſo be rivals; but there can be no reaſon for France envying England her manufactures and commerce, any more than for England envying France for her climate, ſoil, extent of territory, and population.

"The way to produce the moſt, being to give induſtry its beſt direction, nations, differently ſituated, ought never to be rivals or enemies on account of trade.

"If thoſe who regulate the affairs of nations, were to conſider this in its true light, there would be leſs jealouſy and more induſtry.

"There appears to be only one real cauſe for war, ſo far as it is occaſioned by a wiſh to obtain wealth; and that ariſes from poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and America.

"If there were no ſuch poſſeſſions, or if they were more equally divided, there would be very little cauſe for war amongſt nations.

"It may very poſſibly, at ſome diſtant time, be an object for a general congreſs of nations, to ſettle this point; ſo that it ſhall be no longer an object of jealouſy. This can be done only by abandoning entirely, or dividing more equally; but at preſent the animoſity and enmity occaſioned is (are) conſiderable, though not well founded.

"The Spaniards are not envied for the poſſeſſion of Peru, nor the Portugueſe for the Brazils, though they draw more wealth from them than ever England or Holland did from their foreign poſſeſſions; yet, England is, and Holland was, an object of envy, on account of poſſeſſions abroad. This is the more unreaſonable, that the Spaniards and Portugueſe keep the trade ſtrictly to themſelves, while England allows nations, at peace with her, the moſt liberal conditions for trading with her Indian poſſeſſions; conditions indeed, that give them ſuperiority over ourſelves. This conduct ought not to bring down upon England, envy or enmity (though it does); for the fact is, that if all nations were at peace with England, they might, if they had

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capital and ſkill (and that they have not is no fault of England), trade with India to great advantage, while we have the trouble of defending our eſtabliſhments, and of keeping the country.

"Before the revolution, France obtained more produce from St. Domingo alone, in one year, than Britain did from all her Weſt India iſlands together in three years, and much more than England did from all her foreign poſſeſſions together; yet France was never obnoxious to other nations on that account.

"It appears, then, very evident, that the envy and jealouſy do not ariſe from the *magnitude or value of foreign poſſeſſions*, but from ſome other cauſe, though it is laid to that account. This cauſe is worth enquiring into. It appears that Holland and England have, alone, been cauſes of jealouſy to other nations, on account of foreign poſſeſſions; but, that Spain, Portugal, and France, never have, though there was more real reaſon for envy and jealouſy.

"The reaſon of this appears to be, that thoſe nations who excited no envy eſcaped it, becauſe their indolence, or internal economy prevented them from becoming rich; but that Holland and England, which, in reality owed their wealth chiefly to internal induſtry, and very little of it to foreign poſſeſſions, have excited great envy, and that England does ſo to the preſent hour.

"It is, then, wealth ariſing from induſtry, that is the object to be aimed at, and that cannot be obtained by war or conqueſt. The purpoſe is not advanced, but retarded by ſuch conteſts; and if thoſe, who rule nations would condeſcend to enter into the merits of the caſe, they would find, not only that the happineſs of the people, and every purpoſe at which they aim would be better anſwered than by conteſting about the means of wealth, which conſiſting in internal induſtry does not admit of transfer. One nation may be ruined, and another may riſe (as indeed they are continually doing) but one nation does not riſe merely by ruining another; the wealth of a nation, like the happineſs of an individual, draws the ſource from its own boſom. The poſſeſſion of all the Indies would never make an indolent people rich; and while a people are induſtrious, and induſtry is well directed, they never can be poor.

"It is to be hoped, that the time is faſt approaching when nations will ceaſe to fight about an object that is not to be obtained by fighting, and that they will ſeek for what they want by ſuch means as are ſafe and practicable."

Though from the foregoing extracts the reader will be enabled to judge in ſome meaſure, both Mr. Playfair's deſign and execution, we cannot refrain, in viewing a work of ſuch novelty and importance, to preſent our readers with a yet fuller exibition of both. One of the leading principles, indeed the moſt eſſential in the preſent work, is, that—

"The ſuperior energy of poverty and neceſſity, which leads men, even under many diſadvantages, to act inceſſantly in whatever way ſeems likely to raiſe them to a level with thoſe that are richer, is the ground-work of the riſe and fall of nations, as well as of individuals. It is a continued and regular exertion directed to a proper object, that is wanted to obtain wealth; to procure this we muſt imitate nature and create neceſſity. But in proportion

portion as a nation grows wealthy, that neceſſity is done away. It is of the art of prolonging neceſſity, or rather of reconciling neceſſity with affluence and eaſe, for which we are going to ſearch, that we may, by that means, reconcile affluence with induſtry."

Hence our author is led to conſider the general operation of wealth on the habits of life, manners, education, and ways of thinking and acting of the inhabitants of a country. He finds it directly to his purpoſe to diſcover what the natural operation is, by which induſtry leaves a country—to the enervating habits of wealth, deſcending by a conſtant gradation from induſtrious ages, and induſtrious individuals, to effeminate, indolent, and idle poſterity; he would oppoſe the education of youth of both ſexes, under the impulſe and inſpection of Government. This is the grand remedy. Other regulations, as modes of taxation, relieving the weight of public debt, means of ſupporting the poor, the reduction of certain monopolies, &c. are propoſed by our author, for the encouragement of induſtry and adventure; but his grand counterpoiſe to progreſſive luxury and enervation is EDUCATION. By education in general, he underſtands what makes man uſeful, reſpectable, and happy in the line for which he is deſtined, whether for manual labour or for ſtudy; for a high or low ſituation. What is uſeful becomes a queſtion of which he treats, in ſome meaſure depending on place, and ſtill more on circumſtances. But good principles, honor, honeſty, he obſerves, are equally neceſſary in every work of ſociety. In every mode of education the importance of theſe ſhould be inculcated; and that they may be adhered to, every man, either by inheritance, or talents, or habits of induſtry, ſhould have it in his power to command the means of living in the way that he has been brought up.

"When the time comes that it is fixed on what line of life a young man is to adopt, then there ſhould be ſchools for different branches, where there ſhould be knowledge taught analogous to the profeſſion. For the mercantile line, for agriculture, for every line of life, boys ſhould be prepared; and above all, it ſhould never be neglected to inſtil into them the advantages of attention to induſtry, to doing their duty, and in every caſe making themſelves worthy of truſt.

"Public examinations, ſuch honours and rewards as would be gratifying, but not expenſive, for thoſe that excelled, would produce emulation. Though perhaps, it is not of very great importance to excel in ſome of the ſtudies to which a young man applies at ſchool, yet it is of great importance to be taught that habit of application that produces excellence.

"With regard to the education of the lower claſſes, it would be no great additional burthen to the nation if there were proper ſchools eſtabliſhed in every pariſh in the kingdom, at the expence of the public, in order that there might be a proper control over thoſe who teach, and over what is taught. Without going ſo far as to compel people of the lower claſſes to ſend their children to ſchool, they might be induced to do it for a ſhort time; and, at all events, care ſhould be taken that the teachers were fit for the office they undertake.

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"In no country do the lower claſſes neglect the care of their children more, or ſet them a worſe example, than in England; they are moſtly brought up as if the buſineſs of eating and drinking were the chief purpoſe of human exiſtence; they are taught to be difficult to pleaſe, and to conſider as neceſſary what, in every other nation in Europe is conſidered by the ſame rank of people as ſuperfluous.

"Although the lower orders have as good a right as the moſt affluent to indulge in every enjoyment they can afford, yet, to teach this to children, without knowing what may be their lot, is doing both them and ſociety an injury. A great number of crimes ariſe from early indulgence of children, and from neglecting to inſtil into them thoſe principles which are neceſſary to make them go through life with credit and contentment."

Mr. Playfair, in a note obſerves, that twenty pounds given to each pariſh for the eſtabliſhment of a ſchoolmaſter, who ſhould be allowed to add what thoſe who were able could pay, might, perhaps, anſwer the purpoſe, and would not amount to a great ſum. We preſume he has in view only England and Wales; for, as to Scotland, parochial ſchools were eſtabliſhed by the Scottiſh parliament throughout the whole kingdom, after the Reformation: a circumſtance, which, we are ſurpriſed that Mr. P. did not notice. Theſe ſchools have certainly produced very great effects. They certainly have had, and ſtill have a very large ſhare in breeding that ſpirit of adventure and enterprize for which even the lower claſſes in Scotland are famous. But theſe ſchools have alſo a tendency to make young people diſſatisfied with the occupations of their fathers, to fly at higher game, to drain every uſeful hand from mechanichal employment, and, in a word, to produce all thoſe evils which Dr. Mandeville lays to the account of free ſchools, in his celebrated *Fable of the Bees, or private Vices public Benefits*. Mr. P. by the bye, agrees with Dr. Mandeville in many things, though not in the point of free ſchools. So alſo does Dr. Adam Smith. As to the latter, it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſuppoſe that he has not, in many things copied or followed Dr. Mandeville, though he does not acknowledge it; in the ſame manner that he drew largely from Turgot and the other French economiſts, without any acknowledgment *. But, to return to our author—the Lacedemonian Legiſlator,

* See particularly his obſervations on the nature of money and value of induſtry and labour, Vol. I. p. 270; and on the prodigious effects of the diviſion of labour, V. II. p. 267. Even Mr. Hume may be ſuſpected of ſtealing from Mandeville. Compare Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Belief, with the following, "aſk not only the divines and moraliſts of every nation, but likewiſe all that are rich and powerful, about real pleaſure, and they'll tell you with the Stoics that there can be no true felicity in things mundane and corruptible. But here look upon their lives and you'll find they take delight in no other. What muſt we do in this dilemma? ſhall we be ſo uncharitable as to ſay that all the world prevaricates, and that this is not their opinion, let them talk what they will? or ſhall we be ſo ſilly, as relying on what they ſay, to think them ſincere in their ſentiments, and to not believe our own eyes?

lator, Lycurgus, preſerved, by his inſtitutions, the ſevere virtues of his countrymen, and their independence, for ſeven hundred years: but he quenched the flame of pleaſure by withdrawing the fuel. Mr. P. attempts a more arduous taſk, to nouriſh luxury, without which there cannot be induſtry and commerce; and yet to maintain the virtues of ſobriety, temperance, diligence, and contentment, among the maſs of the people. "Can a man, ſays Solomon, take coals into his boſom and not be burnt?" As to the poſſibility of inſpiring "good principles, honour, honeſty, and integrity, by means of education," it is not for want of either teaching or preaching, if theſe do not already lift up their heads and flouriſh. But Mr. P. propoſes ſome improvements in the modes of education. Some of theſe, if they can be carried into practice, may, perhaps, be attended with good effects. We wiſh they may. But with the exception of what he ſays on the eſtabliſhment of parochial ſchools, his other projects, on the head of education, do not appear to us to be very promiſing, or in every inſtance eaſily practicable. His ſtrictures on the keeping a great number of girls together at Boarding Schools, beyond the age of fourteen, are juſt and important. There are many truths, of a moral and political nature, illuſtrated in the Inquiry before us, with ſingular felicity. The moſt important of all, indeed the general reſult of the whole is, that a nation in the midſt of the moſt ſplendid career of proſperity ſhould be more anxious to preſerve than to extend its acquirements, external and internal. It is not wiſe, perhaps, to haſten with too much ſpeed to the utmoſt degree of perfection in any national purſuit that it is in our power to attain. It would be wiſe to advance to the goal, not rapidly, but by ſlower degrees:—"Perfection is never long, or eaſily rendered ſtationary: when things do not go forward, they naturally go backward*." To employ arms and the public revenue for the fartheſt poſſible extenſion of colonization and commerce is downright madneſs. Nothing ſudden is deep-rooted and laſting in the political any more than in the phyſical world. It would be well for nations to attend more to the duration than the intenſity, ſo to ſpeak, of their exiſtence. If their riſe would be more ſlow, they would hover longer round the ſummit, and they would go down the hill again by more leiſurely and eaſy gradations.

We have been ſeduced into a more copious account of this work

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eyes? or ſhall we rather endeavour to believe ourſelves and them two, and ſay with Montague, that they imagine, and are fully perſuaded, that they believe what yet they do not believe? Theſe are his words: 'Some impoſe on the world, and would be thought to believe what they really don't: but much the greater number impoſe on themſelves not conſidering, nor thoroughly apprehending, what it is to believe.

Fable of the Bees, Vol. II. p. 136.

* "Difficiles in perfecto mora eſt: naturaliterque quod procedere non poteſt recedit." M. VELL. PATERC. HIST. ROMAN, Lib. I. Caput xvi.

than

than our limits prescribed, by the novelty of the subject, and interest of the matter. And yet it is not without difficulty and regret that we refrain from extracting some of Mr. P.'s strictures on the encroachments of lawyers, and of that *esprit de corps* which pervades all public bodies from parish vestries upwards.

Whatever may be thought of the efficacy of those preventives which are prescribed by Mr. Playfair for averting, or averting for a time, the decline and fall of nations, it must be allowed that they have a tendency this way. If the means recommended by Lord Bacon fail of PROLONGING HUMAN LIFE, they are at least life, and salutiferous. If the ends proposed respecting the lives of both individuals and states be not attained, yet many important truths are brought to light in the pursuit of them, in the same manner as the most valuable discoveries in chemistry have been made by the alchymists while in search of the philosopher's stone.

We are now to present our readers with a few of Mr. Playfair's *nuts in the husk*, by way of proof and illustration of what we have observed above on the subject of his style, generally slovenly and inaccurate, often uncouth, and sometimes almost unintelligible; or, at least, not to be understood without some pains. In his preface, page 9, parag. 2, he says—

"There remains but one other consideration *in reply to this*; and that is, whether states have necessarily, by the constitution and nature of things, the same periods of infancy, manhood, and decrepitude, that are found in the individuals that compose them?"

What is the objection to which this reply is made? Let the most attentive and penetrating reader peruse the whole preface up to this quotation, and we defy him to point out any one paragraph or sentence in which any objection or doubt is stated. We can only infer, from the general scope of Mr. P.'s reasoning, that he supposes it may be questioned, or doubted, whether the causes of decline be not only natural, but necessary; and to that question or doubt, he replies by stating the very same question, though in other words, and discussing it. He is conscious of what passes within the closet of his own pericranium; but the reader is not. The reader requires the door to be opened by the aid of words.

P. 87, parag. 3.—"But all these avail nothing against habits of industry, and being taught to expect nothing from others, but to depend all on one's own powers. With this single, but signal, advantage, the sons of the wealthy citizens are always yielding to the son of the peasant."

What?—The advantage is certainly on the side, not of the former, but of the latter.

Page 84.—"Britain *can* only be firm and just [he should have said, just and firm] in its conduct towards other nations, give up useless possessions, defend its true rights to the last point, encourage industry at home, and take every step to prevent the operation of those causes of decline that we have been examining."

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Is this all that Britain *can* do?—No: but Mr. P. means, and ſhould have ſaid, that this is all that is neceſſary for the end in queſtion. In one place, Mr. P. ſpeaks of "wealthy, or, at leaſt, affluent nations," or "WEALTH, at leaſt, affluence." We value Mr. Playfair's matter very much. It would, doubtleſs, be valued more by others, if he were attentive to his manner; but if he has not time, or does not chooſe to learn how, to ſhave his own beard, why not call in the aid of a barber?

It only remains for us to take notice of Mr Playfair's mode of expreſſing ideas by engraved lines or charts. This mode of conveying ideas, which is very ingenious, poſſeſſes, among other advantages, that of ſetting all the cenſures of grammarians and rhetoricians, wholly at defiance. The charts are accompanied with proper deſcriptions or explanations. They exhibit the migrations, the riſe, the duration, and the decline and fall of the wealth and power of nations, in a manner wonderfully eaſy and impreſſive. They require no exertion of thought, beſides that of attention to the explanations.

It may be obſerved that there is a diſpoſition, a turn, a conſtant effort of the mind, to clothe every idea—both abſtract ideas and thoſe derived from the other ſenſes—in the garb and colour of SIGHT. This being, with reſpect to knowledge, the predominating ſenſe, extends its influence and, in ſome meaſure, its reign over the other four, as well as all that has been called ideas, ideas of reflexion, ſubjects of conſciouſneſs, and, by a moſt ingenious, ſubtle, and accurate metaphyſician, though no writer,* reſenſations. But this is not the circumſtance that firſt ſuggeſted the invention of lineal arithmetic to our author. Though fertile in the reſources of genius himſelf, he owes, and acknowledges himſelf indebted for this invention to his excellent brother, the Rev. Mr. John Playfair, moſt honourably known to the philoſophical world as the editor of Euclid, and the author of Proofs and Illuſtrations of the Huttonian Philoſophy, and who has lately been tranſlated from the Mathematical Chair to that of Natural Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Edinburgh.

"I think it well," ſays Mr. W. Playfair (in an advertiſement prefixed to his work), "to embrace this opportunity, the beſt I have had, and, perhaps, the laſt I ever ſhall have, of making ſome return (as far as acknowledgment is a return), for an obligation of a nature never to be repaid, by acknowledging publicly, that, to the beſt and moſt affectionate of brothers, I owe the invention of thoſe charts.

"At a very early period of my life, my brother, who, in a moſt exemplary manner, maintained and educated the family his father left, made me keep a regiſter, expreſſing the variations by lines on a divided ſcale. He taught me to know, that whatever can be expreſſed in numbers can be repreſented by lines. The chart of the thermometer was on the ſame principle with thoſe given here. The application only is different."

* General Robert Melville, of Mount Melville, Fifeſhire.

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In Chart 1, repreſenting the riſe and fall of nations that have been particularly diſtinguiſhed for wealth or power, there is one thing wanting, that is referred to in the explanation. This cannot, properly ſpeaking, be called a DEFECT in the engraving, which is a very curious and impreſſive exhibition of the migrations and viciſſitudes of wealth and power: As a ſomewhat of redundancy in the deſcription, "The part ſhaded of a darkiſh colour, and growing gradually lighter at both edges, repreſents thoſe centuries of ignorance which ſucceeded the fall of the Roman empire." (P. 78.) This part of the deſign may be ſupplied in future editions, when the plate, ſo improved, may be ſent to the purchaſers of the preſent edition.

In page 13, we meet with a reference to Appendix (A.) and in page 21, to Appendix (B). But Mr. Playfair informs us in a note at the end of the work, that the deſign of an Appendix was altered "from the conſideration that readers of hiſtory do not require ſolitary facts, by way of illuſtration, though ſuch are (or *may* be, for they are not always ſo) eaſy to be produced." We cannot as critics but proteſt againſt this utter rejection of Appendixes. For the ſame reaſon preciſely, Mr. Playfair ſhould avoid making notes. For Appendixes are nothing elſe than bundles of notes and illuſtrations; yet we are indebted to Mr. Playfair himſelf, for a great variety of notes, very well calculated for the proof and illuſtration of different particulars. The volume is very properly wound up, with a very judicious and pretty copious Index.

Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783. By Robert Beatſon, Eſq. L.L.D. 6 Vol. Longman and Co. London; A. Conſtable and Co. Edinburgh; and A. Brown, Aberdeen. 1804.

THE three firſt volumes of this intereſting work were publiſhed before, and were very favourably taken notice of, by different reviews, in 1791.

The firſt and ſecond volumes contain a minute and circumſtantial account of the naval ſervices and tranſactions of this country, and the military operations connected with them in different parts of the globe, from 1727 to 1762 incluſive. And to theſe the third volume ſerves as an appendix, in which thoſe materials, that would have tended to incumber the text and interrupt the narrative, ſuch as the deſcriptions of places, public letters, capitulations, naval and military returns, lines of battle, &c. &c are carefully collected and chronologically arranged.

The fourth and fifth volumes compriſe the naval proceedings of Great Britain, with ſuch military operations as were contemporaneous and connected with them from the peace of Fontainbleau in November, 1762, to the treaty of Paris in 1782.

And the ſixth volume is an appendix to the fourth and fifth, containing

taining ſuch papers, documents, and materials, as could not with propriety be introduced into the text.

As the profeſſed object of Doctor Beatſon, in this performance is to give a diſtinct, minute and circumſtantial narration of the naval ſervices and tranſactions of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783, and of ſuch military operations only, as were dependent on, or at leaſt naturally connected with them, it cannot in any reſpect be regarded either as a general hiſtory of this country, or even a complete particular hiſtory of her ſervice both by ſea and land during that period. He might, perhaps, without impropriety, have called it the hiſtory of the naval tranſactions of Great Britain, and of ſuch land-ſervice as were connected with them from 1727 to 1783. But he has modeſtly declined aſſuming the name of *hiſtory* for it, as he informs us from a diffidence in his own abilities to give it that high poliſh and finiſhing which a well-written hiſtory requires. His ſtyle, however, though ſimple, naked, and unadorned, is better calculated for the correct narration of truth, which is the eye of hiſtory, than one that is laboured, ſtately, affected, flowery, or highly finiſhed.

Although his principal object in this work was to recount minutely and particularly the maritime affairs of Great Britain, he deemed it expedient, uſeful, and requiſite, to record ſuch military operations as had any relation to them, that his readers might be able to perceive the effects of both ſervices judiciouſly combined and their mutual influence on each other. Our inſular ſituation naturally creates an inſeparable connexion between them in moſt caſes, and renders the cooperation of ſhipping on almoſt every military enterprize to a certain degree indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Our troops themſelves ought, therefore, in time of peace, to be inſtructed in the uſe of the oar and the management of boats and ſmall craft, and to be made a ſort of amphibious animals before they take the field, in order to render them uſeful in various ways, and their operations ſucceſsful on actual ſervice. Such a ſyſtem of ſerviceable inſtruction might eaſily be carried into effect without preventing them from acquiring a knowledge of all the eſſential parts of tactics and diſcipline. The habituating of them in time of peace not only to ſuch ſervices, but alſo to the erection of works, and the performance of every other duty and ſpecies of fatigue occaſionally that are requiſite on a campaign, would give them immenſe advantages over troops unaccuſtomed to them. The principal part of their time and attention is generally directed towards trifling objects, manœuvres, and exerciſes, that are better calculated for pleaſing the eye than defeating an enemy, that are not only uſeleſs in the field, but utterly impracticable in action. The truth, indeed, is this, that marines are the natural troops of this country.

This work begins where Dr. Campbell in his lives of the Admirals leaves off; and, although it extends down only to 1783, the author informs us, that he means to continue it to 1789, and that this continuation of it is in great forwardneſs.

In regard to his ſtyle, he obſerves, that he meant it to be plain,

and wiſhed it to be perſpicuous. We think he has accompliſhed his intention, and obtained his wiſh. It may not, however, be improper to lay before our readers, a ſpecimen or two of his manner of deſcribing naval actions.

The one is the engagement between Sir Edward Hawke and M. De Conflans, on the 19th November, 1759, with his obſervations thereon.

"On the 19th, the wind at laſt became fair; when Sir Edward Hawke ordered the Maidſtone and Coventry frigates a-head of the fleet, the one on the ſtarboard, and the other on the larboard bow. Early in the morning of the 20th, he ordered the Magnanime a-head to make the land. About half an hour after eight, the Maidſtone made the ſignal for ſeeing a fleet; and, ſoon thereafter, the Magnanime made the ſignal that they were enemies. Sir Edward Hawke immediately made the ſignal for a line-of-battle abreaſt, in order to draw the ſhips that were aſtern up with him; and ſoon afterwards, he made the ſignal for the ſeven ſhips neareſt the enemy to chaſe, draw into a line-of-battle a-head, and to endeavour to ſtop them, until the reſt of the ſquadron could get up, hoping by this means to bring on a general engagement. When the Maidſtone firſt got ſight of the enemy's fleet, they were in chaſe of Commodore Duff's ſquadron, which they would ſoon have overpowered.

"On their diſcovering Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, they fell into great confuſion, but ſeemed at laſt to come to a determination to fight. They recalled their ſhips that were in chaſe of Commodore Duff's ſquadron, and endeavoured to form a line. Every one thought, from the equality of the two ſquadrons, the battle would be long and bloody; yet in all the Britiſh fleet, there was not a ſailor but reckoned on victory. The diſpoſition of the enemy was of great ſervice to us, as, while they were forming their line, our ſhips approached them faſt. When nearly up with them, M. de Conflans ſeemed to have changed his plan of operations; and, inſtead of waiting to engage the Britiſh fleet, he made off. They were then near their own coaſt, with the dangers of which they were well acquainted, and at the ſame time knew how to avoid them. Perhaps M. de Conflans imagined, that getting the Britiſh fleet to follow his among the rocks and ſhoals, with which the ſhore abounds, and of which we were in a great meaſure ignorant, was the beſt and ſureſt expedient he could fall upon to defeat it, eſpecially as the weather was tempeſtuous, and the day almoſt at the ſhorteſt. The enemy endeavoured to keep their fleet together, and ſteered right before the wind for the ſhore, which was not more than four leagues to leeward.

"At two o'clock, they began to fire at our headmoſt ſhips; and about half an hour afterwards, the Warſpight and Dorſetſhire being cloſe up with the enemy's rear, Sir Edward Hawke made the ſignal for engaging. Soon after the Revenge, Magnanime, Torbay, Montague, Reſolution, Swiftſure, and Defiance, came into action. The battle now raged with great fury. The Formidable, in which was M. du Verger, the French Rear-Admiral, was attacked by the Reſolution, when, after ſuſtaining a ſevere cannonade from her, and a broadſide or two from every Britiſh ſhip as they paſſed, the Formidable ſtruck about four o'clock. Captain Speke ſent his boats and took poſſeſſion of her. The loſs of men on board the Formidable was dreadful; M. du Verger, and upwards of two hundred men being killed.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and all the ſhips in the rear, uſed every means in their power to get into action. The Theſée ſuſtained a warm action with the Magnanime; but the latter being diſabled, by one of our ſhips running foul of her, ſhe fell aſtern. The Theſée was then attacked by the Torbay, Captain Keppel, the former of which ſoon after went to the bottom. This melancholy accident happened through a piece of ſelf-pride of her Captain, who had ordered his lower tier of guns to be run out when he firſt engaged with the Magnanime; and ſoon after he began to engage the Torbay, a heavy ſquall of wind came on. Having omitted to order his lower ports to be ſhut, and the pilot informing him, that the veſſel was by this means ſhipping a great deal of water; he was piqued at being taught his duty, perſiſted in keeping the ports open, and ſoon after, the Theſée ſunk. Of a crew which conſiſted of eight hundred men, only twenty were ſaved; theſe were picked up the next morning by the Britiſh from the topmaſts of the wreck, which appeared above water. Before this accident, her Captain, M. de Kerſaint, was eſteemed a good officer. Owing to the ſame cauſe, the Torbay was in the greateſt danger of a ſimilar fate; when Captain Keppel, by ſuperior ſeamanſhip, and ordering the lower ports to be ſhut, ſaved the ſhip; but a great deal of the Torbay's powder was ſpoiled, which obliged Captain Keppel to order his men, when they were going to engage the Theſée, not to throw away a ſhot. Soon after this, the enemy's ſhip the Superbe went to the bottom, ſuppoſed to have periſhed from the ſame cauſe which proved fatal to the Theſée.

"Sir Edward Hawke was extremely anxious to get along-ſide of the Soleil-Royal; on board of which was M. de Conflans; but the French Admiral, not reliſhing ſuch a potent antagoniſt, kept going off, leaving the rear of his fleet engaged. Lord Howe in the Magnanime, ſoon got cloſely engaged with the unfortunate Theſée; when the Warſpight eagerly puſhing on, in order to ſtop the enemy's van from getting off, ran foul of his ſhip. The Magnanime and Warſpight were ſoon ſeparated, without ſuſtaining much damage from each other. His Lordſhip then renewed the attack of the Theſée, when being again run foul of by the Montague, the foreyard of his ſhip was carried away. The enemy's ſhip made off; and, before the two veſſels could get clear of each other, ſhe was out of reach, to the great grief of Lord Howe, who was heard to exclaim, that by this unlucky diſaſter, they would loſe their ſhare of the glory of the day. But obſerving the French Heros to the leeward, and ſomewhat diſabled, he bore down ſo cloſe upon her, that, in ranging along-ſide, he carried away the fluke of one of his anchors. He attacked this ſhip with the greateſt bravery, and ſoon compelled her to ſtrike. She came to an anchor; but it blowing very hard, no boat could be ſent on board of her: and her Captain run her aſhore in the night, and landed his men. The Britiſh ſhips had now got well up with the enemy's fleet. The Royal George was in the centre firing at every ſhip within reach. The Vice-Admiral, Mars, Hero, &c. were all puſhing hard to come in for a ſhare of the glory of the day. A little before night, the enemy's fleet divided; and M. de Beaufremont, the French Vice-Admiral*, with the Tonnant, Orient, Intrepide, Magnifique, Dauphin Royal, Juſte†, Dragon, Brilliant, and Bizarre, went off to the ſouthward, within the Four-bank, ſuppoſed with a deſign to draw the Britiſh after them, in order to lead them on the bank. Sir Edward

* This is taken from the journal of an officer of knowledge ~~and experience.~~

† She was wrecked the next day at the mouth of the river Loire.

Hawke judged rightly in not purſuing them. The daylight was almoſt gone; and being on an enemy's coaſt, of which he was in a great meaſure ignorant, ſurrounded with iſlands, rocks, and ſhoals, no pilots on board, that would take charge of the ſhips, and, in addition to theſe, a lee ſhore, and ſtormy weather, he made the ſignal for the fleet to come to an anchor. Darkneſs alone ſaved the remainder of the enemy's fleet, and put an end to the action. A few hours more day light, and probably they would all have been taken or deſtroyed.

"From a groſs defect or impropriety in the night ſignals then in uſe, and which were eſtabliſhed by the authority of the Admiralty, the very ſalutary meaſure adopted by Sir Edward Hawke, of bringing the fleet to an anchor at the time he did, might have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, and might have proved the deſtruction of the victorious fleet of Britain. By theſe inſtructions, the ſignal to anchor by night was, two guns fired from the Admiral's ſhip, without lights, or other means being uſed by which they could be diſtinguiſhed from any other guns firing at the ſame time. It is very obvious, therefore, that towards the concluſion of a battle, only terminated by the want of light, there muſt be firing on all ſides; and that conſequently, two guns fired from the Admiral's ſhip, could not, in ſuch a ſituation, be diſtinguiſhed as a ſignal. The obedience to ſuch a confuſed order was ſuch as might be expected: only a few of the ſhips which were near the Admiral, knew any thing of his having anchored: the others either ſtood out to ſea, or anchored on different places of the coaſt, as they were urged to that meaſure by neceſſity. From this divided ſtate of the Britiſh fleet, it is evident, that had the French ſhips kept in a collective body, which they ought to have done, by following the route of M. de Beaufremont within the Four-bank, they might have attacked the few ſhips which remained at anchor near Admiral Hawke, in the morning of the 21ſt, with ſuch ſuperior force as muſt have given them a deciſive and complete victory.

"Theſe facts ſuggeſt ſome very ſerious and important reflections on the ſubject of ſignals; as, in this inſtance, they appear to be of ſo much conſequence, that by a defect in them alone, Britain might have been expoſed to an invaſion, and France left miſtreſs of the ſea, notwithſtanding the efforts of a ſkilful and gallant commander, ſeconded by the exertions of the moſt active and intrepid ſeamen embarked in a ſuperior fleet. It perhaps may be matter of ſurprize to ſome of the inhabitants of this iſland to be informed, that the ſame ſignals are ſtill in force, and continue to direct the evolutions of the Britiſh fleet*; and that they were formed during the laſt century. It may alſo appear ſtrange, that among all the various improvements which have pervaded naval affairs ſince that time, no Lord High Admiral, or Board of Admiralty, have ever beſtowed ſufficient time in conſidering of a proper change in this part of the ſea-ſervice. If it proceeds from want of ſufficient power in the Admiralty to make the alterations, ſo much wanted, no time ought to be loſt in applyig to Parliament to inveſt them with the neceſſary authority, ſo as to have the naval inſtructions thoroughly examined, and a new code drawn up containing the neceſſary alterations; which code ſhould be inſpected and approved of by a Court of Inquiry, conſiſting of the beſt informed naval officers. To ſome, this may appear trifling; but the firſt naval characters in the kingdom know it

* "1790."

to

to be a matter of ſuch moment to Britain, that on it the ſafety of her fleets, by night as well as day, and the proper management of them in time of battle or other danger, in a great meaſure depends."

The other is the action that has been variouſly talked of, between Commodore Johnſtone and M. de Suffren, at Port Praya, in St. Jago, in 1781.

"By the beſt accounts of this extraordinary affair; it appears that it was the information which he had received, of the unprepared ſtate of the Britiſh ſquadron, the negligent poſition in which it was arranged, and the fatal ſecurity into which it was ſeemingly lulled, that prompted the Chevalier de Suffren to make the attack. The Bay is ſo formed, that it could have admitted of an excellent diſpoſition of the ſhips. The depth of water in it gradually increaſes, as it recedes from the ſhore, from three to fifteen fathoms, and the points of land at each extremity are ſomething leſs than a league aſunder. In ſuch a ſituation, the ſmalleſt and moſt defenceleſs veſſels might have been anchored neareſt the ſhore; next to theſe, as the water deepened, might have been placed the ſtoreſhips and Indiamen; and without theſe the Commodore with the war ſhips, to protect the whole. Inſtead of adopting ſo judicious an arrangement, the fleet had unfortunately come to anchor in the moſt intermixed manner: and in the midſt of this heap of confuſion was the Commodore's ſhip, the Romney of fifty guns. Happily, however, the Hero of ſeventy-four, the Monmouth, of ſixty-four, and the Jupiter of fifty guns, were on the outer-moſt range, and theſe ſaved the whole from deſtruction. No veſſel was kept cruizing in the offing to give early notice of an enemy's approach, and on the 16th of April no ſuch approach ſeems to have been expected: for, on that day, great numbers of the different crews were on ſhore, ſome employed in the various ſervices of watering, embarking live cattle, obtaining fruits and vegetables, others in fiſhing, and many taking a little recreation. The whole number abſent amounting to about fifteen hundred perſons. The Commodore, diſpleaſed with the ſituation of his fleet, was alſo abſent, giving directions for ſome ſhips which had drifted too near each other to remove, when the Iſis of fifty guns, which, with a fireſhip and a bomb ketch, had, on their return from the Iſland of May, anchored farther out in the bay than any of the fleet, made the ſignal about half paſt nine in the morning, for ſeeing eleven ſail in the offing towards the N. E. The Commodore, immediately on obſerving this, returned on board the Romney, and made the ſignal for all perſons to come from the ſhore, and to repair on board of their reſpective ſhips. This ſignal was enforced by the repeated firing of guns; and a boat was ſent to the ſhore, with orders to expedite the re-embarkation as much as poſſible. A ſignal was likewiſe made to unmoor, and another to prepare for battle. The Commodore then went on board the Iſis, from which he plainly diſcovered five large ſhips of the line, and ſeveral ſmaller ſhips, ſtanding in for the land. By this time, M. de Suffren had ſeparated his line of battle ſhips from his convoy, and was making ſignals by ſuperior and inferior flags, which enabled the Commodore to determine with certainty that they were French ſhips. He then returned on board the Romney, calling to the Eaſt India ſhips, as he paſſed and repaſſed, to prepare for battle. A quarter before eleven, the ſtrange ſhips appeared coming round the eaſt point of land, drawn up in a line of battle a-head and leading into the bay. That they intended to attack the King's fleet was then pretty evident; for they had ſprings which were paſſed to their cables along the outſide of their ſhips;

ſhips: and although the port was neutral, it is a well known fact, that the French, when it ſuited their conveniency, or when they poſſeſſed a ſuperior force, were ſeldom ſcrupulous in reſpecting ſuch rights. Beſides, as the Portugueſe fort and garriſon were utterly incapable of affording protection to the fleet, or of maintaining the rights of ſovereignty, there was every reaſon to conclude, that theſe would be little regarded. The Commodore was not therefore diſappointed in conjecturing, that a battle was at hand.

" Never was the Britiſh fleet attacked at ſo much diſadvantage as this. Beſides the injudicious poſition in which it was found by the enemy, it ſuffered from various other embarraſſments. One of theſe was, that the decks of moſt of the ſhips were encumbered with water caſks and live ſtock, for the removal of which, the ſuddenneſs of the attack did not allow ſufficient time. It proved a moſt fortunate circumſtance for the Britiſh, that M. de Suffren was either badly ſeconded by his Captains, or that he did not, on this occaſion, diſplay thoſe eminent abilities, which ſhone with ſo much luſtre, in the many hard battles which he afterwards fought with Sir Edward Hughes in the Eaſt Indies. He deprived himſelf of the ſuperiority of force which he poſſeſſed, by attacking the Britiſh ſquadron with three ſhips only, and allowing his other two ſhips to get into the thick of their fleet, for the purpoſe of making prizes. With great appearance of reſolution and courage the French ſquadron advanced; and their Commodore led on, within two cables length of the Monmouth, Jupiter, and Hero, paſſing the Diana frigate, Terror bomb, and Infernal fireſhip, which lay without the reſt of the ſhips. When he had done this, M. de Suffren, in the Heros of ſeventy-four guns, hoiſted his broad pendant, and his ſquadron diſplayed their colours. He then hauled up his courſes, and fired two ſhot at the Iſis from his larboard bow as he luffed up. Immediately after that, permitting his ſhip to ſhoot up in the wind, as far as the force with which ſhe was ſailing would carry her, he dropt his anchor a-breaſt of the Monmouth, and began to fire as faſt as poſſible at the different ſhips. His ſails, however, were then flying in the greateſt confuſion, ſo that the ſpring which he had on his cable did not hold, when the ſhip was checked to bring up; and he drove a-breaſt of the Hero of ſeventy-four guns.

" No ſooner had the French Commodore fired his two guns at the Iſis, than that ſhip, ſeconded by the Hero, Moumouth, and Jupiter, and aſſiſted by the Diana and other ſhips, opened every gun they could bring to bear upon the enemy, with great power and effect, Commodore Johnſtone making the ſignal for battle at the ſame time. The Annibal of ſeventy-four guns, commanded by Mr. de Tremignon, was the next ſhip that followed M. de Suffren, anchored a-head of him, and commenced a furious cannonade. The next of the enemy's ſhips was the Arteſien of ſixty-four guns, commanded by a M. de Cardillac. She endeavoured to paſs through the Britiſh fleet, in order to attack the Romney: but being unable to effect this, ſhe anchored aſtern of their Commodore, and continued to engage there for a ſhort time, with her ſails unfurled and flying about, until ſhe boarded the Fortitude and Hinchinbrook Eaſt India ſhips. Her Captain being then killed, ſhe put to ſea. The Vengeur, the fourth French ſhip, ran on different lines, luffing and bearing up as ſhe paſſed among the ſkirts of the Britiſh ſhips, but in ſo great confuſion, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that ſhe was able to clear the reaf of rocks, which ſtretches out from the weſt point of the bay. The Sphynx of ſixty-four guns was their fifth ſhip. She alſo run in among the convoy, firing at

every

every one of them within her reach; and as ſhe paſſed along, endeavoured to board ſeveral, but in every attempt was foiled.

"The unfortunate ſituation of the Romney was ſuch, that ſhe was in a great meaſure deprived of her ſhare of the glory that fell to the ſhips which repulſed the enemy. She could fire only a few of her guns, through openings, of which it required great management to avail herſelf, without injuring the convoy. Being thus cut off from taking an active part in the engagement, Commodore Johnſtone, accompanied by General Medows, went on board of the Hero, then in warm action, and keeping up a tremendous fire. When the battle had continued about twenty minutes, moſt of the India ſhips and ſtore-ſhips had recovered from their ſurpriſe, and kept up a fire which greatly annoyed the enemy. Nothing could exceed the courage diſplayed on this occaſion, by ſuch of his Majeſty's ſhips as were engaged. Though oppoſed to ſhips that carried much heavier metal than they did, fighting near an hour, they rendered the ſituation of the French Commodore ſo unpleaſant, that he was glad to follow the example of his ſecond aſtern, by cutting his cable and getting out of the bay in the beſt manner he could. The Annibal was now the only ſhip that the enemy had in action: and ſhe of courſe became the object at which the whole fire of the Britiſh fleet was directed: ſhe was ſoon completely diſabled: her ſails and rigging were demoliſhed, all her maſts went by the board, and even a piece of her bowſprit tumbled along with them into the water. The fire which ſhe returned, when in this dreadful ſituation, was ſlow and ineffectual: her colours were ſhot away; and ſome ſuppoſed that ſhe had ſtruck. This, however, was denied by her crew, who fired ſome guns after that accident. Having remained in this woeful condition for about a quarter of an hour, ſhe cut her cable, went round on her heel, drove before the wind, which then blew pretty freſh from the ſhore, and ſoon rejoined M. de Suffren, who waited for her at the entrance of the bay, in order to cover her retreat, leſt, in her diſabled ſtate, ſhe ſhould have been purſued by the frigates of the Britiſh ſquadron.

"Upon the retreat of the Annibal, Commodore Johnſtone returned to his ſhip the Romney, on which his broad pendant had been flying during the whole time of the engagement, and made a ſignal for all the Captains to come on board. After hearing the condition of every ſhip in the ſquadron, he gave orders for the ſhips of war to cut and ſlip, as faſt as they could get to ſea, in order to follow up the victory: and likewiſe directed every ſhip that was in their way to ſlip their cables alſo, that nothing might impede his Majeſty's ſhips in the purſuit of the enemy. It is greatly to be lamented, that while this was doing, the Commodore had not left orders with the Captain of ſome ſloop of war, or with the commander of ſome of the armed tranſports, to conduct the convoy to a proper rendezvous, whilſt he, with all the capital ſhips, frigates, and San Carlos armed ſtoreſhip, went to attack the enemy; leſt he ſhould be carried ſo far by the purſuit, or ſo diſabled in the action, as not to be able to beat up again to the iſland of St. Jago. A few minutes would have been ſufficient for giving this order; and no danger could have accrued to the convoy, from being conducted to the rendezvous by ſo ſlender an eſcort, for the fleet under M. de Suffren was the only force from which they had any thing to dread in theſe ſeas. This overſight ſaved the enemy's fleet from deſtruction."

Dr. Beatſon has introduced into theſe Memoirs many ſenſible and judicious obſervations on leading events, occurrences, and public

tranſactions. Take, for inſtance, his remarks on the Peace of Fontainbleau towards the cloſe of the ſecond volume:

"After the recital of ſuch glorious ſucceſſes, the reader will no doubt be greatly ſurprized to find how very inadequate was the peace juſt made; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the King of Pruſſia's affairs were now taking a favourable turn, and that they required no conceſſions on our part to obtain better conditions for him. The ſame may be ſaid of the King of Portugal; while, by our ſucceſſes in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, the whole American dominions of Spain lay at our mercy. By this famous treaty of peace, we gained, in America, the whole province of Canada, with the iſlands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louiſiana which lies on the eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi, the town of New Orleans excepted, and the free navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi. The French were permitted to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations. The iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, were ceded to them for curing of their fiſh, and the conducting of their fiſhery; but they were not to erect any fortifications there, or to keep a garriſon ſtronger than fifty men. Spain to relinquiſh her claim to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain to be permitted to cut logwood, and build houſes, but not to erect fortifications. All fortifications that were erected, to be demoliſhed. Spain to reſtore any places ſhe may have conquered in Portugal, and to cede to Great Britain the province of Florida; in conſideration of which, Great Britain was to reſtore the Havannah and its dependencies to Spain. Martinico, Gaudaloupe, Marigalante, to be reſtored to France, together with the neutral iſland of St. Lucia. Great Britain to retain the Grenades and Grenadines, with the neutral iſlands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. In Europe, the iſland of Minorca to be reſtored to Great Britain, and the iſland of Belleiſle to France. The fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed. In Africa, Great Britain was to retain Senegal, and reſtore the iſland of Gorée to France. In Aſia, all our conqueſts made from France in this part of the globe, to be reſtored; but with this reſtriction, that ſhe was to erect no fortification in the province of Bengal.

"The terms of the peace were loudly arraigned; yet, at the ſame time, they had many advocates in their defence. The immenſe extent of our American dominions, now that Great Britain can call Canada and Florida her own, would leave our American ſubjects at full liberty to purſue their different avocations, without any European power diſturbing them. The natives could be eaſily kept in awe, when unſupported. The proſpects held out for improvements in commerce, were boundleſs; and promiſed adventurers ſuch immenſe returns, as would gratify the utmoſt avidity. Such was the language of the friends of Adminiſtration; but thoſe attached to the Oppoſition, and they were not a few, drew a very different picture. The full ſecurity, exclaimed they, that is to be enjoyed by the Americans, will not tend to the advantage of Britain, when they have nothing to fear. They will forget the favours they have received from the mother country, when they are no longer in need of her ſupport. They will endeavour to aggrandize themſelves, and get clear of the controul with which their commerce is fettered; and when the temper of the firſt emigrants to the weſtern continent was reviewed, gratitude and loyalty could not be ſuppoſed to be ingraſted on their deſcendants. In their opinion, Canada ſhould have been reſtored to France; the limits of Nova Scotia extended; the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John retained; and France excluded from the Newfoundland fiſhery. Spain ſhould have been

permitted

permitted to keep Florida; it never was an object worth the contending for; and conſidering that the Britiſh poſſeſſed the key to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, as long as they held the Havannah, they ſhould not have parted with it, without a very valuable conſideration;—a part of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, or the iſland of Porto Rico, and our right to the logwood trade eſtabliſhed; a territory on the Spaniſh Main in the bay of Honduras, and bay of Campeachy, ceded to us, together with the iſland of Ruttan, for which the Spaniards ſhould have had the iſland of Minorca. The French ſhould have either been obliged to yield up their half of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, or the iſland of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, to Great Britain. Belleiſle to be reſtored to them, with Gorée in Africa. It ſhould likewiſe have been a ſtipulation between our Court and that of Madrid, that if the enterprize againſt the Philippine iſlands proved ſucceſsful, an equivalent ſhould have been given before they were reſtored. Had this been the caſe, one of thoſe iſlands might have been ſecured to us; and by means of it, we might have become rivals to the Dutch in the ſpice trade. But by the terms of peace, the beſt opportunity was loſt of humbling the pride of the Houſe of Bourbon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be again in the power of Great Britain."

Theſe Memoirs are well calculated for affording the public both intereſting amuſement and much uſeful information. And an attentive peruſal may be attended with the greateſt advantage to naval officers, and particularly young gentlemen of that profeſſion. For faithful deſcriptions of the ſplendid achievements of naval commanders furniſh profitable inſtruction and uſeful patterns for imitation; and correct accounts or delineations of the miſtakes and blunders of individuals contribute greatly to prevent the commiſſion of ſimilar ones by others.

This country, by her inſular ſituation, is naturally commercial. Her proſperity is inſeparably connected with the encouragement, protection, and advancement of her commerce. So ſtrongly is this idea impreſſed on the minds of Britiſh ſubjects, that our negotiators themſelves, inſtead of looking forward to futurity, inſtead of having the whole globe as it were before their eyes (as every perſon intruſted with negotiation ought to have), have ſometimes ſacrificed her diſtant, and beſt political intereſts to near and immediate proſpects of commercial advantages Our commerce, however, cannot flouriſh for any length of time without the protection of our navy. And from its great and ſplendid ſucceſſes, it muſt be allowed, that the ſtate itſelf has frequently, in time of war, derived pecuniary aid and aſſiſtance.

We are convinced that the author has been indefatigable in his exertions to obtain accurate information on the tranſactions he has deſcribed, and we believe that his deſcriptions of naval operations may be relied on. He does not profeſs to give a complete narrative of our co temporary military operations. It is often, indeed, extremely difficult for a perſon in his ſituation to get exactly at truth reſpecting theſe and the cauſes that regulate and influence them, which frequently, in official accounts themſelves, are induſtriouſly kept out of ſight, and thus, when they meet the public eye, they are in ſome meaſure cloaked and diſguiſed. Even in thoſe, who are ſpectators of them, much candour and

and good ſenſe, as well as accuracy of obſervation, are requiſite to enable them to deſcribe them fairly and correctly, and to trace their cauſes to their true and genuine ſource. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that Dr. Beatſon, with the hiſtorians of the American war, has fallen into ſeveral miſtakes in regard to military enterprizes and operations at the commencement, and during the progreſs of that rebellion, particularly thoſe in Canada. Theſe, however, we conſider, as having been on his part unavoidable, and mention them, not with the ſmalleſt intention of leſſening, in the public opinion, the value and importance of this work, which is certainly entitled to a moſt favourable reception. But we cannot help obſerving, that he aſcribes to the then Governor of Canada, merit, which belonged to others, whilſt he takes no notice whatſoever of his almoſt unparalleled blunders, miſtaken confidence and ſecurity, weakneſs, want of foreſight, energy, and contrivance, that loſt us every poſt in that extenſive province, Quebec alone excepted, which was ſaved by other hands. The gates of that place remained open for twenty-four hours after Colonel Arnold appeared before it, who, unable to account for ſo extraordinary a circumſtance, ſummoned a council of war to deliberate with his principal officers, whether he ſhould not attempt to penetrate through them into the town. The council was of opinion, that he ought not, naturally enough ſuppoſing that they were left open as a decoy for them, with an intention to enſnare them. Arnold never afterwards mentioned the circumſtance without regretting that he thought of conſulting any of his officers on the occaſion. Had he indeed acted with his uſual promptitude, he would have got poſſeſſion of the place without reſiſtance. The Lieutenant Governor was panic-ſtruck, and having received no inſtructions from the Governor about its ſafety, could not be prevailed on by Colonel Maclean, or any other perſon, to give any directions for its ſecurity. That officer, who ought always to be regarded as the principal preſerver of that important poſt, finding this to be the caſe, took the buſineſs into his own hands, ordered the gates to be ſhut, ſome guns to be pointed and fired at the enemy, and went about among the merchants, and other inhabitants, exhorting and encouraging them to ſtep forward manfully in defence of themſelves and their property, and to ſhare the duties of the garriſon with the few men under his command, which they readily and chearfully aſſented to. It is not our province at preſent to give an hiſtorical narration of any tranſactions whatever. The time, however, is not, perhaps, far diſtant, when an account of all the military operations in that extenſive colony, from the beginning to the end of the American rebellion, with a developement of the cauſes that influenced them, and of thoſe that chiefly occaſioned the failure of the two expeditions from it under General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger in 1777, may be preſented to public view in the plain undiſguiſed garb of truth.

We are alſo too well acquainted with Marquis Cornwallis's proceedings in America, and the affair of York town, to ſubſcribe implicitly

citly to the exceſſive praiſe beſtowed by Dr. Beatſon on that General's conduct, as able, judicious, and wiſe. His favourite ſcheme of penetrating into, and over-running Virginia with ſuch a force as he commanded, in ſpite of the numerous difficulties and unforeſeen incidents, which he neither reckoned on encountering, nor was capable beforehand of forming a juſt eſtimate of, was from the firſt a wild project. He was under no abſolute neceſſity of going to York-town; and after he took a poſition there, he occupied it injudiciouſly. He embarraſſed himſelf in ſome meaſure by his unſkilful movements; and although he had every claim to goodneſs of intention, he certainly, without achieving any thing material or advantageous to the cauſe he was engaged in, brought on, by his own miſmanagement and want of military capacity, that cataſtrophe, which ſevered from this country the moſt of her American colonies, and drew to a cloſe that tedious and very expenſive tragi-comical ſcene, which, by vigorous meaſures, and well-conducted operations, might have been completely finiſhed in leſs than three months after its commencement.

A General View of the Writings of Linnæus. By Richard Pulteney, M. D. F. R. S. Second Edition, with Additions, and Memoirs of the Author, by W. G. Maton, M. D. F. R. S. Vice-Preſident of the Linnæan Society, &c. To which is annexed, the Diary of Linnæus, written by himſelf. Pp. 595. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards. Mawman. 1805.

TO praiſe is, doubtleſs, more agreeable than to cenſure: he is a malignant man to whom it is not more congenial; he is a weak one in whom it is a habit, and a baſe one in whom it originates in an intereſted motive. The preſent age is not wanting in ſuch writers, whoſe vapid eulogies form a ſtriking contraſt with the ruthleſs effuſions of pre-determined ſatire. Both equally corrupt public taſte; both circumvent genuine moral ſentiment; and neither the partial praiſe of friends, nor the ſatire, ſtill leſs the invective, of enemies, can ever be conſidered as bearing any relation to the noble and ſolemn character of criticiſm. The ſacred duty of the critic is much more exalted than many of theſe writers ſeem to comprehend; and it neceſſarily requires all the conſcientious fidelity of bearing witneſs between man and man, and the accurate knowledge of an enlightened and upright judge, who ſums up the *pro* and *con*, with perſpicuity and impartiality, to the final deciſion of a jury—the literary public. He who would affect to become a critic from motives of perſonal revenge, is a monſter whoſe heinous atrocity language is unable to deſcribe; and he whoſe unprincipled vanity and ignorance induce him to court the influence of domeſtic or ſocial friendſhip to bias public judgment, betrays at once the folly and knavery of thoſe who would ſeparate honour from virtue,

tue, and wiſh for applauſe at the expence of truth and moral rectitude. We regret to think that ſuch characters are not merely imaginary; and all who conſider the influence of literature on the moſt worthy and uſeful claſs of ſociety, muſt acknowledge a neceſſity for the exerciſe of the higheſt candour and juſtice in works of criticiſm. Poſſeſſing, as we do, the moſt unlimited liberty of diſcuſſion, in a national view, it is the part of wiſdom to enjoy it without abuſe. Its abuſe in any ſhape, indeed, is an evil more to be dreaded at preſent than any other with which we are, or likely to be, threatened. Eſtimating then the volume before us, with that impartial juſtice due, as well to the author as the public, it is with reluctance that we are compelled to object to its expenſive magnitude, and to its contents, which are too often trifling, and even diſhonorable to ſcience. Of the juſtneſs of this opinion, our readers will be convinced in the progreſs of our analyſis. As to the object of the work, we readily admit its general utility. A knowledge of ſyſtems, though extremely apt to engender vanity and habits of too ſuperficial thinking, is nevertheleſs favourable to the diſcovery of analogies in nature, to quickneſs of perception, methodical arrangement, perſpicuity, and facility, that tend to correct the eccentricities, and ſtrengthen the powers, of the youthful mind. There is nothing, however, that requires ſuch a rigid exerciſe of the judgment, as the application of ſyſtems to our obſervations of natural objects; and the utmoſt care ſhould be taken not to contract the habit of viewing things through a ſyſtem, inſtead of previouſly contemplating features, and afterwards contraſting analogies whence a ſyſtem ſhould naturally ariſe. It is, indeed, juſtly obſerved by Locke, that ſyſtem-makers always bring ſomething to our knowledge; but it ought to be remembered, that there is a great difference between the original genius that forms, and that which implicitly adopts, ſyſtems, and that the latter oftener impede than accelerate the progreſs of real knowledge. The general tendency of the preſent work will appear in the ſequel.

Dr. Maton commences with a preface, in which he endeavours to account for the origin and progreſs of the extraordinary document that *he* calls the "Diary of Linnæus," until it came into his poſſeſſion. It appears, indeed, in a very "queſtionable ſhape;" but the editor diſcovers ſo little addreſs in the management of facts and dates, that we feel little diſpoſed to aſcribe it to him. On the contrary, in the very attempt to elucidate, he has ſtrangely perplexed the moſt ſimple and common occurrences in life; and the ſchoolboy that would be confuſed with ſo plain a caſe, would be more likely to ſuffer from the whip of his maſter, than from the envy of his companions. We ſhall ſtate the preſumed facts, from which Dr. M. has had the ingenuity to infer contradictory ſuppoſitions, merely by neglecting or forgetting the common artifice or mode of apologiſing for the introduction of ſuch groſs ſelf-approbation as would otherwiſe neceſſarily convict its author of extravagant vanity. Perhaps, indeed, Dr. M.'s devotion to his

his great maſter prevented him from thinking, that any apology for ſuch writing was neceſſary on the part of Linnæus, or ever once ſuſpecting the exiſtence of this naturaliſt's inflated vanity: if ſo, we pity him moſt ſincerely.

It appears, that Linnæus, in 1762, wrote to his friend Archbiſhop Menander, that "he had drawn up his own panegyric," his "*curriculum vitæ*," and, with a due ſenſe of ſhame, obſerves, that "*propria laus ſordet*, he ſhould not have mentioned it to any other perſon." In 1769, he again reverts to his *curriculum vitæ*, in one of his letters, and apologizes, on account of his age, for his glaring ſelf-love. In January 1770, menaced by diſeaſe, and alarmed by the death of many of his old friends, Linnæus finally reſolved to ſend it to the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould tranſlate it into Latin, and ſend it to the French Academy. The *curriculum vitæ*, abſurdly and erroneouſly tranſlated "Diary," is continued to the end of 1769; yet Dr. M. is grievouſly embarraſſed to account for its being mentioned by Linnæus in 1762, with the ſomewhat modeſt, apologetical expreſſion, *propria laus ſordet*, and ſtrangely ſuppoſes, that it was forwarded at that period, but not received by the Archbiſhop till 1770! In oppoſition to dates, our author makes this ſuppoſition, that implies a conſciouſneſs of much of the Diary, at leaſt the latter part, being merely a fabrication, although he gives a tranſlation of one of Linnæus's letters, in which he expreſsly mentions the day (in January 1770), and perſon, by whom he had ſent his memoirs to Dr. Menander. Of this diſgraceful medley we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; but we cannot help regarding it, if not entirely, at leaſt by far the greater part, as ſpurious; the effuſions of a dotard, and a groſs inſult to the memory of this moſt induſtrious and ſyſtematic author. It is, indeed, acknowledged to have been written by different perſons, and therefore ought not to have been foiſted on the public as the genuine production of Linnæus.

To the "Memoirs of Dr. Pulteney," we turned with all that eagerneſs which the remembrance of the latter days of a friend excites, for a more complete knowledge of him in his youthful moments. Notwithſtanding the indefiniteneſs of the term Memoirs, it ſtill raiſes our expectation of meeting with ſome new information of the origin, progreſs, particular characteriſtic, and final departure of a character ſomewhat diſtinguiſhed above the maſs of ſociety. We expected, at leaſt, ſome account of his method of ſtudy, peculiar bias of his mind, and mode of thinking; his paſſions, virtues, and vices; his acts of munificence and philanthropy (if any); and, above all, the *means* by which he acquired his knowledge, and ſo extenſive a fortune in an obſcure country-town (Blandford, Dorſet), that it might be uſeful to ſucceeding generations. Theſe are points which Dr. M. has either totally neglected, or very ſlightly touched; and he muſt be very little curious who would be ſatisfied with the ſcanty, and not always accurate, information that is contained in our author's thirty quarto pages. Had the editor conſulted Dr. Arnold of Leiceſter, or the Philoſophical Magazine

Magazine for 1802, he would have found ſome more authentic and uſeful information reſpecting the ſubject of his Memoirs.

It is ſtated, that Dr. R. Pulteney was born in 1730, at Loughborough, in Leiceſterſhire; that, of thirteen children, he was the only one who attained maturity; that, being educated in the Calviniſtic faith, he was early apprenticed to a (diſſenting) apothecary, with only the rudiments of a grammar-ſchool education; and that from his uncle, Mr. G. Tomlinſon of Hathern, he imbibed a taſte for botany and natural hiſtory. From Dr. Arnold, a pupil of Dr. P. we learn, that, by the example and inſtruction of Mr. Tomlinſon, he began to form catalogues of plants, and a Hortus Siccus, at the early age of eight or nine years; and that at twelve, in 1742, he diſcovered the *campanula patula* in Buddon Wood, the ſeeds of which he afterwards ſent to the botanic gardens of Chelſea, and the Britiſh Muſeum. About this period of his juvenile labours in botany, he was principally aſſiſted by the immortal writings of Ray, and the wooden cuts of flowers, with the vulgar deſcriptions then in uſe. Theſe extraordinary indications of early talents and particular taſte are, perhaps, rarely ſucceeded, as in the preſent ſubject, by an adequate production of genius and induſtry, and ought not to have been totally omitted by Dr. M. In 1750 he began to write, and diſpatched his anonymous communications to the Gentleman's Magazine, a dry catalogue of which are here given, to the extent of twenty different ſubjects of botanical knowledge, beſides ſome botanical and medical papers, communicated to the Royal Society. Dr. P. continued in the very limited ſphere of a village apothecary, purſuing his botanical ſtudies, until 1764, when, by great good fortune, he had become acquainted with that veteran friend of talents and virtue, Dr. Garthſhore, who not only urged him to accompany him to Edinburgh, to be examined for a phyſician, but, by his connection and influence in that Univerſity, procured him the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, without his having ever ſtudied in any college or regular ſchool of medicine, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of that Univerſity. This ſolitary and unprecedented approbation of genuine merit ſtill remains without imitation, and is equally honourable to the judgment of the patron, the perſon patronized, and to the approving college, as no two profeſſors were ever farther removed from thoſe arts of quackery that diſgrace many regular, but weak-minded, phyſicians of the preſent age. Our editor negligently omits or miſrepreſents part of this circumſtance, which forms an epoch in the hiſtory of Dr. P. that gave a new character and deſtination to the remainder of his life; and in gratitude for which he not only continued to entertain the livelieſt eſteem for his early friend, Dr. Garthſhore, but left him at his death a handſome legacy, and another on the demiſe of Mrs. Pulteney.

On the few characteriſtic ſketches of Dr. P. with which our author (we regret that we cannot ſay, biographer) entertains us, we muſt be permitted ſome obſervations. We would not detract from merit, nor withhold

withhold its due reward, ſtill leſs cenſure the partiality of gratitude and friendſhip, with ſome modern pſeudo-moraliſts; but we muſt ever deprecate all attempts to exalt the merits of one character by a diſingenuous depreciation of others. When the editor tells us, that Dr. P. "ſtudiouſly kept himſelf aloof from the petty diſſenſions and cabals which ſo frequently ſubſiſt in a country town," he gives an example of prudence: when he adds, "being fully aware that too great a familiarity of intercourſe with the general maſs of the people, is deſtructive of that reſpect which it ought to be the firſt object of a phyſician to ſecure, he preferred remaining at his poſt, in converſe with his books," he expreſſes a melancholy truth, of monaſtic origin, that ſhews the neceſſity of policy rather than virtue to acquire diſtinction. The iſolated ſituation of Dr. P. preſcribed to him the power of evincing the truth or falſehoood of the following aſſertion. "He was no leſs anxious to preſerve independence and dignity of character among his medical brethren, neither entering into any of thoſe *humiliating leagues*, nor courting any of thoſe *intereſted intimacies*, which are ſo *frequent* between different orders of practitioners." We ſhall leave this inſinuation to the conſideration of certain honorary quacks, who have accumulated fortunes rather by their ſpeculations on humanity, than by the number of cures that they have effected; to aſſociated profeſſors, and to the contempt of the more open, diſintereſted, upright, and philoſophical part of this moſt uſeful profeſſion. We doubt not but the editor is correct, in aſſerting Dr. P.'s "conſcientious diſcharge of his profeſſional duties," as that was the moſt probable means of augmenting his fortune; and that he enjoyed a conſiderable portion of domeſtic happineſs, although the ſubſequent ſplendour and luxury of his widow are no proofs of it, nor of her ſatisfaction with her former enjoyments. Dr. P.'s natural delicacy of conſtitution, his never being bleſſed with a family, and his unceaſing devotion to his botanical ſtudies, contributed no little to limit his ſocial pleaſures, and conſequently his domeſtic entertainments. The latter, we preſume, conſiſted principally in receiving letters from his philoſophical friends, among whom, it is ſaid with much truth, that Mr. Lambert was particularly diſtinguiſhed. In the enumeration of Dr. P.'s literary communications, however reſpectable and important they may be in the hiſtories of Leiceſterſhire and Dorſetſhire, they will gain little honour, we fear, from their collocation in that ſuperficial ſkeleton, Aikin's "England Delineated," long ſince irrecoverably ſunk in oblivion. The concluding character of the author is drawn in Dr. M.'s beſt manner.

"The powers of his (Pulteney's) mind ſhewed no ſigns of approaching imbecillity: neither had that torpor crept upon his feelings which is ſo apt, in advanced life, to diminiſh the activity of benevolence, and to make the greateſt profeſſional experience ſurvive its own utility. His whole conduct was guided by the ſtricteſt integrity, and the moſt ſcrupulous ſenſe of honour. No man ever maintained more uniformly a ſpirit of independence, and that conſcious dignity of mind which never ſuffered him to deſcend to the

the meanneſs or hypocriſy of a courtier *. The ſame ſelf-reſpect withheld him from deviating into the ſmalleſt ſpecies of intemperance: ſo exemplarily pure were his habits, that no expreſſion ever fell from his lips that indicated the ſlighteſt indelicacy of thought, or even the fainteſt tincture of profaneneſs. His manners were remarkable for their ſimplicity, and, among thoſe whom he loved, exhibited all the amiable playfulneſs † and unreſervedneſs of unſophiſticated youth. In his intercourſe with the world, he was generally ſomewhat reſerved; yet, to the young and inquiſitive, he was remarkably communicative. Poſſeſſing a mind candid, liberal, and enlightened, he abhorred every ſpecies of conceit and dogmatiſm; and, with an uniform, unequivocal reſpect for religion ‡, he united none of the prejudices of the ſectary, nor did his notions of it ever claſh with the ſpeculations of rational philoſophy."

Believing it more conducive to public good to record virtues than vices, we, of courſe, ſubſcribe to this character; and we could have pardoned even a more animated tribute of gratitude to the memory of a friend, for the valuable donation of many intereſting MSS. But we have our doubts, that the Doctor's "reſpect for religion" was rather the effect of early education than of real piety and rational belief; that the undiminiſhed "activity of his benevolence," in attending patients until his death, might not be a little influenced by the conſoling certainty of its reward; that, menaced as he was with diſeaſe, and devoted to his favourite ſtudy, temperance was in him rather a neceſſary habit than a virtue; and that, from the tenor of his life, we can with much more certainty pronounce him rather without vice than a man of active virtue. The charitable ſphere of a country phyſician is ſtill more limited than that of his practice; and it is not with him as with a London practitioner, that in proportion as his popularity increaſes, ſo does the number of claimants on his humanity. The joint influence of diſtance and diſeaſe preſent an inſurmountable obſtacle to any great increaſe of poor patients beyond thoſe of the particular village, whilſt

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* We truſt the author will bluſh on re-reading this ſentence, ſo unjuſtly and baſely aimed at one of the worthieſt men of the preſent age. It may indeed be one of the many examples of philoſophers uſing vulgar phraſes, for which they have really *no* ideas, and, if ſo, it is ſtill reprehenſible.—Rev.

† Surely Dr. M. has tranſcribed this ſentence from ſome popular work, and inſerted it here by miſtake. Dr. P. whoſe high Calviniſtic education had, at an early period, extinguiſhed the genuine ſentiment of piety, was one of thoſe men, of auſtere, puritanical manners, who delight more in external forms than in liberal or rational principles, and who alike repreſs every ſentiment of innocent mirth and of benevolence. "He was *always* reſerved in the extreme; cloſe and *secret* for his own intereſt."—Rev.

‡ Was this reſpect evinced by abandoning the Diſſenters, only to ſhow a more decided indifference to every ſentiment of piety; by abſenting himſelf from all religious communication, only to prove the ſuperiority of his judgment; and by a ſovereign contempt for all religious or devotional writings?

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the eager hopes of ſpeedy relief attract ſuch numbers of citizens that afford an inexhauſtible field for the acquiſition and diſplay of knowledge and benevolence. Had Dr. Pulteney's time been more occupied in adminiſtering relief to the poor and diſtreſſed, and his purſe oftener opened to the voluntary ſupport of numerous charitable inſtitutions, he would have had leſs time for botanizing, ſtill leſs would he have bequeathed the enormous ſum of 40,000l.; but he would have been a much more exalted character in the eſtimation of impartial poſterity. For his talents, although they were not pre-eminent, we entertain a due reſpect; and if his liberality and private munificence (for death-bed charities are nothing) were as well aſcertained, his reputation would have been much more general and permanent. As it is, his parſimony and his heirleſs fortune will be but cited as apologies for extravagance and diſſipation. Had his editor duly appreciated theſe circumſtances, and conſulted his own intereſt and reputation, he would not for a moment have diſturbed the peaceful repoſe of the author and his works, by publiſhing this ſplendid volume, the greateſt uſe of which will be, from its fine paper and large margins, the formation of three claſſed common-place books for ſome future "Diaries" of ſtudents in natural hiſtory.

With the "General View of the Writings of Linnæus," the botanical public is long well acquainted; and, however novel and important it might be on its firſt publication, the general diffuſion of natural knowledge has rendered it leſs intereſting at the preſent day. Perhaps, indeed, it has ſomewhat contributed to ſuperſede itſelf, by naturalizing, in a familiar manner, the works of the great Swediſh naturaliſt. The additions and alterations in this edition are, however, conſiderable; but we lament that the latter are not always improvements. Of the additions it may be remarked, that they illuſtrate the maxim—"A weak friend is the moſt dangerous enemy;" and the fame of Linnæus and Pulteney, if not materially injured, will be but little extended by Dr. Maton. We were indeed almoſt induced to believe, that he conſidered groſs vanity as a virtue in Linnæus, as he gravely informs us, that, in conſequence of ſome criticiſms on this naturaliſt, he violated the confidence of private friendſhip, by "publiſhing the various honourable teſtimonies given to his talents, and the exalted approbation expreſſed of his works by the moſt eminent men of ſcience then living. Theſe were given in diſtinct extracts of letters from the reſpective authors, without comment, and without even glancing at his opponents. This performance he entitled, *Orbis eruditi judicium de Caroli Linnæi, M. D. ſcriptis*, and prefaced it by ſome ſhort *memoranda* of his life, and a liſt of his works." Such conduct requires no comment; but we are ſurprized that it ſhould now be detailed to the world. It is regretted that we have no analyſis of the ſyſtems adopted ſubſequent to Linnæus, as that of Juſſieu, &c.; but the editor ought to have known, that M. Mouton-Fontoneille, of Lyons, has publiſhed a view of all the botanical ſyſtems that have appeared till 1802, with a necrological account of their authors. Our

editor alſo frequently aſcribes feelings and motives of action to Linnæus, on the aſſumed authority of the Diary, which are neither ſanctioned by that compilation, nor by fact, ſuch as his ſuppoſed diſlike of the medical profeſſion, &c. The account of Linnæus's diſcovery reſpecting pearls is extremely confuſed and imperfect; and the unauthenticated memorial in the Appendix, attributed to Archbiſhop Menander, ſeems rather an imitation of French gaſconade, than a grave petition. It is worthy of remark, and we thank Dr. Maton for the fact, that Linnæus was adjudged only a ſilver medal (a circumſtance which he prudently concealed), while his pupil Bergman received a gold one, for his anſwer to the queſtion, "How to diminiſh the damage done to fruit trees by the *larvæ* of inſects?" The fame of this chemiſt's mathematical accuracy will long ſurvive that of the botaniſt's claſſifications.

The arrangement of this analytical view is more ſtrictly chronological than formerly, and commences with the *Genera Morborum*, which are borrowed almoſt entirely from Sauvages. Linnæus's notions of animal life, taken from Newton's ideas of æther, are pitiably ſilly; yet, ſtrange to tell, the editor admires them for their *ingenuity!* On Dietetics, the favourite work of ten years, we have only the boaſt, "*in his (diæteticis) plura collegi quam quod novi ullus alius.*" The Syſtema Naturæ, or view of the animal, vegetable, and mineral Kingdoms, comes next under our editor's review, in which he is ſtill more defective. If the original plan of Dr. P. admitted of any important improvement, it was certainly that of giving a tabular ſketch of all the ſubſequent ſyſtems in the different branches of natural hiſtory; and although Buffon has very few juſt claims to the title of naturaliſt, yet his extravagant notions, and the falſe brilliance of his language, have given a temporary popularity to his works, that renders a ſketch of his ſyſtem and that of La Cepede of ſome importance. By theſe means alſo the works of Linnæus would have been contraſted, and that merit, inſtead of reſting on bombaſtic and hyperbolical effuſions of blind admiration, would have been founded on reaſon and experience. The editor has indeed gratified us a little by ſome references to Shaw's Zoology and Latham's Birds, but very fortunately for theſe ingenious naturaliſts, he has not mangled their works by attempting to give a complete view of their ſyſtems.

On Entomology he ſeems ignorant of the excellent works of Fabricius, and only obſerves that, notwithſtanding the "*Entomologica ſyſtematice emendata*" of that author, the Linnean claſſification ſtill retains its original eſtimation, and *ought* not to be deviated from." Dr. M. ſhould have known that the ſyſtem of Fabricius is generally adapted on the Continent; that the Muſeum of Natural Hiſtory at Paris is arranged according to his claſſification, and that this authority, when oppoſed, as in the preſent caſe, to national vanity, is equal to "ſome of the firſt writers on the ſubject." All thoſe who aſpire to the character of naturaliſts ſhould be acquainted with the works of Fabricius. Latreille, and La Marck, thoſe "indefatigable *helminthologiſts* (as the editor

editor is pleaſed to call the profeſſors of this ſcience) later than the times of our author." The vice-preſident is no little aſtoniſhed that the number of inſects "deſcribed in Gmelin's edition of the Syſtema Naturæ amounts to nearly 11000:" how great will be his aſtoniſhment when he learns that in Fabricius the number exceeds 15000!!

In the enumeration of the Linnean claſſes of vegetables, that Withering and Sibthorp reduced to 20, the editor appears not to have known that the late Cavanilles, Profeſſor at Madrid, reduced them to 15! Among the preliminary notices in this miſcellany, we find the following account of the *origin* of the Sexual Syſtem.

"Linnæus had read in the Leipſic Commentaries a review of Vaillant's '*Discours sur la Structure des Fleurs*,' by which he was induced to examine very cloſely the *stamina* and *pistilla*. Theſe appendages he diſcovered to be eſſential to the vegetable, and to aſſume as much variety as the petals; and hence conceived that they might be made the foundation of a new ſyſtem, the firſt ſketch of which he drew up in oppoſition to an academical diſſertation by Peter Ugla, in 1729, entitled '*Γαμος φυτων, sive Nuptiæ Arborum.*' He preſented this little MS. tract to Celſius, who ſhewed it to Profeſſor Rudbeck; and the latter was ſo highly pleaſed with its novelty and ingenuity, that he immediately expreſſed a deſire to be made acquainted with the author, and ſhortly afterwards appointed him tutor to his children."

We are no little pleaſed with the delicacy and juſtneſs of the editor's compliment to the worthy Baronet, the Preſident of the Royal Society, whoſe talents and zeal for the diffuſion of uſeful knowledge poſterity will more juſtly appreciate. The hiſtorical view of the origin and progreſs of Engliſh writers on Britiſh Botany is not the leaſt intereſting part of the editor's additions.

"The firſt attempt to ſeparate the native from the exotic botany of this iſland was made by Dr. W. How, whoſe work is named *Phytologia Britannica, natales exhibens indigenarum Stirpium sponte emergentium.* London, 1650, 12mo. The plants are arranged in alphabetical order, and are above 1200 in number: but it muſt be obſerved, that many of them are mere varieties, and ſtill more, not actually natives. This *Phytologia* was followed, in 1667, by the *Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum* of Dr. Merret, who profeſſing to ſupply How's deficiencies, enumerated 200 additional plants; many of theſe, however, were as little entitled to places in a Britiſh Flora as others introduced by How. The accurate Ray, who publiſhed his *Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ*, only three years afterwards, did not venture to regiſter more than 1050: but to this number he afterwards added about 50, in the new edition of his catalogue, printed in 1677, and at length in the ſecond edition of his *Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum*, (1696, 8vo.) he augmented the liſt to full 1600 ſpecies, of which few have ſince been expunged, ſo cautious was this excellent botaniſt not to admit doubtful natives into his enumeration. In the year 1724, ſome time after the death of Ray, a third edition of his *Synopsis* was publiſhed by Dillenius, containing 450 additional ſpecies, on the authority of various contemporary botaniſts, but more eſpecially of the editor himſelf, and of Drs. Sherard and Richardſon. From the pen of an obſcure individual, named Wilſon, the *Synopsis* aſſumed, in 1774, an Engliſh dreſs, and, by the addition of a botanical dictionary, and ſeveral figures, became

well calculated to render the ſcience more generally underſtood in the country: indeed this work is to be conſidered as the firſt methodical *Flora* of England publiſhed in the vernacular language. None of theſe writers, however the ſcientific had been ſubſtituted for alphabetical arrangement from the time of Ray, had as yet attended ſufficiently to genuine ſpecific diſtinctions. Hence the 2200 plants contained in Dillenius's edition of the Synopſis did not ſtand the teſt of Linnean rules, which reduced the *Flora Anglica* very conſiderably; ſo that Hudſon, in the firſt edition of his work, bearing that title, (1762, 8vo.) did not include in it more than 1566 ſpecies. The *Flora* of Hudſon was the earlieſt performance (if we except the *Flora Britannica* of Hill, which ſcarcely deſerves mention here) that profeſſed to deſcribe in a complete manner, agreeably to the ſyſtem of Linnæus, the native plants of theſe iſlands. To this work, which came to a new edition, and was much augmented in 1778, ſucceeded the "Botanical Arrangement of Britiſh Plants," by Dr. Withering (in 1776), who, though not the firſt * writer that publiſhed the Britiſh Linnean Flora in Engliſh, has been excelled by none in his endeavours to render the ſtudy of indigenous botany eaſy and uſeful to his countrymen in general. The "Botanical Arrangement," after having gone through three editions, (the laſt of which was completed in 1790,) increaſed the Britiſh Catalogue to 2600 plants. In 1790, an elegant ſeries of figures was commenced by Mr. Sowerby, which, with the deſcriptions of Dr. Smith accompanying them, renders Engliſh botany more ſuſceptible of being eaſily ſtudied than ever, and with the new *Flora Britannica*, of which the ſcientific ſtudent is anxiouſly awaiting the completion, may be conſidered as eſtabliſhing the phytology of our iſland on a baſis of greater accuracy and authority than any other country in the world can hitherto boaſt of."

Our Linnean Preſident is here more conſiſtent than liberal or philoſophical, otherwiſe we ſhould have had the names of Hull and other botaniſts, (perhaps not all followers of Linnæus, indeed,) who have contributed to augment our knowledge of the Engliſh Flora.

The view of the mineral kingdom is prefaced by ſome obſervations on the baſis of mineralogical ſyſtems, in which we have the following poſtulate: "It is not perhaps an inaccurate analogy to conſider chemiſtry as being, with reſpect to mineralogy, what anatomy is to zoology." Had Dr. M. ſaid what anatomy is to the practice of ſurgery, he would have approached nearer the truth. Gmelin certainly betrayed a great defect of judgment, in precipitately ſubſtituting the ſuperficial ſyſtem of Werner for that of Linnæus in his edition of the *Syſtema*. It was a venial ſpeculation, prior to the diſcovery of the ſimple earths, to ſuppoſe that common flint was formed from chalk; but it is not now worthy of notice, unleſs the editor means to bring the penetration of Linnæus into flint in competition with that of Newton, who diſcovered the diamond to be combuſtible. Indeed, while Linnæus adheres to the arranging of ſuperficial anologies, he is correct and intelligible, but when he wanders beyond this ſphere into

* "There is a generic and ſpecific deſcription of Britiſh plants, tranſlated from the *Gener.* and *Specif. Plant.* of Linnæus, by James Jenkinſon, Kendal, 1775, 8vo. plates."

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the regions of more recondite philoſophy, he is weak and erroneous: and even from this work it appears, notwithſtanding ſo much gaſconade in eulogies, ſtriking of medals, titles of nobility, &c. that his original diſcoveries might be all written in a much leſs compaſs than the leaf of a *Linnæa*. From Newton he borrowed his ideas of the law of nature, from Sauvages, his Noſology, from Artedi, his Ichthyology, from Ray (principally) Swammerdam, Reaumer, De Geer, and others his Ornithology and Entomology; and laſtly his grand fabric, the Sexual Syſtem from our countryman, "Sir Thomas Millington, Savillian profeſſor of geometry in the univerſity of Oxford, who appears to have been the firſt that gave the hint to Dr. Grew." The whole doctrine may be expreſſed in the following poſition; namely, "That the influence of the *farina* from the *anthera* of flowers upon the *ſtigma* is eſſentially neceſſary to give fertility to the ſeed." Linnæus, like moſt of our modern ſyſtem-makers, has had the addreſs to avail himſelf of others' labours in order to conſtruct a fabric deſtined to immortalize his own name by engulphing that of every other more original and profound philoſopher. This is one of the many inſtances of vanity and ambition obtaining a more diſtinguiſhed niche in the temple of fame than the more modeſt and recondite labours of ſuperior intellects.

The concluding part of the General View is occupied with accounts of all Linnæus's detached papers publiſhed in the Tranſactions of the Academy of Stockholm, and the *Amænitates Academicæ*, a collection of diſſertations, chiefly inaugural, in ten volumes, only ſeven of which were publiſhed by Linnæus. Of the analyſis here given we are modeſtly informed, that it is only "to be regarded as little more than an enlarged table of contents; and that it is impoſſible by means of any abridgment, to give an adequate idea of the merit of this miſcellany, or of its utility as exhibiting dilated explanations of our author's philoſophical and medical principles." We cannot perceive any "impoſſibility of giving an adequate idea" of this work in an epitome, neither is it ſo rare, nor of ſuch peculiar merit, as we are here taught to believe, and we doubt not but the labour of the author to naturalize theſe diſſertations will perfectly ſatisfy his readers with regard to any latent curioſity for ſeeing the entire work. Perhaps indeed few of thoſe will even have the reſolution to drudge through the incoherent maſs as we have done, to cull a very few ideas of moderate merit from a huge chaos of puerile, worthleſs ſpeculations. In juſtice, however, to Dr. M.'s modeſty, ſpeaking of his work as "an enlarged table of contents," we muſt ſay that he has given every thing that could be by any means intereſting to the Engliſh public in the *Amænitates Academicæ*. To this there is one ſerious exception, which we regret that the author has obliged us to make, the total omiſſion of the names and habitudes of 491 plants, in the *Pan Suecus*, that Dr. Pulteney tranſlated and arranged in order to give a tabular view of the different edible plants, that they might be cultivated according to the nature of the ſoil or the peculiar taſte of the animals which they were to feed. This was perhaps the ſole article of great practical ulility,

for the omiſſion of which the author apologizes, by alledging the neceſſity and his own inability of correcting it according to the preſent improved ſtate of cultivation. But on a ſubject ſo important to agriculture, why not lay his country friends under contribution for aſſiſtance? Inſtead of teaching the farmer how he might adapt his live ſtock to the nature of his ſoil, ſo that all thoſe vegetables commonly denominated weeds might be *uſeful*, the editor contents himſelf with obſerving, "it appears that the horned cattle ate of the plants which were offered to them only 276 ſpecies, and they rejected 218; the goats of 449 kinds refuſed 126; the ſheep of 387, refuſed 141; the horſes of 262, refuſed 212; and of thoſe which were offered to ſwine, 72 were eaten and 171 rejected." The long-leaved water-hemlock (cicuta veroſa) is fatal to cows, yet ſheep and horſes fed on it with impunity, and goats greedily devour it; a fact known to Lucretius;

——Videre licet pingueſcere ſæpe Cicuta
Barbigeras pecudes, homini quæ eſt acre venenum.

The editor's account of the *Sapor et Odores medicamentorum*, trifling conceits of Linnæus, aſcribing the qualities of medicines to their taſte and ſmell, is a proof of the great difference between a reaſonable and a reaſoning author; this detail would have been much better omitted than that of the *Plantæ Tinctoriæ*, which Dr. Pulteney analyzed with great clearneſs and practical utility; but it would appear that Dr. M. conceived it beneath him to publiſh any thing applicable to the arts, and that he wrote ſolely for philoſophers! His love, indeed, of uncommon things is repeatedly diſplayed, and not content with making Spaniſh chocolate of cocoa, ſugar, and cinnamon, he gratuitouſly adds vanilla and ambergris! The ſolanum dulcamara Dr. M. has found uſeful in cutaneous diſeaſes, particularly thoſe of the leprous character; from 2 to 4 drachms of the dried ſtalks boiled in a pint of water is a doſe, to be taken every morning and evening. We ſhould gladly notice any remedy for ſuch diſeaſes that would tend to preſerve the people from the mercileſs fangs of quacks, whoſe bills and deceptious mixtures for beautifying the ſkin and complexion, render great numbers extremely unhappy, and entail debility on the infant generation. For the analyſis of the three laſt volumes of the *Amænitates Academicæ*, by Dr. M. we can ſee no reaſon; they are neither rare nor poſſeſs any peculiar merit; and if we may believe the expreſs declaration of Linnæus himſelf, who, in his *curriculum vitæ*, diſclaims all knowledge or connection with any ſuch works, their collocation in the General View is very injudicious. We lament, indeed, their incorporation in this work, as foreigners muſt think, from their preſent form of publication, that Engliſhmen are now beginning to appreciate thoſe effuſions on natural hiſtory that have been only their juvenile amuſements. Inſignificant, however, as theſe *theſes* may be, their publication is much leſs to be regretted than that of the *curriculum vitæ*, or, as our claſſical editor ſtrangely tranſlates it, "Diary," although it is not even an annuary, and proceeds thus, 1707-14-17-19-22,

19-22, 1724, &c. We had almoſt determined to decline noticing this bombaſtic farrago, and would have ſimply diſmiſſed it with adviſing the editor to cut the pages, from 511 to 583, out of the volume, had it not been that ſome witling might avail himſelf of this childiſh compilation to caſt a ridicule, not only upon the memory of the immortal Swede, but upon every other naturaliſt whoſe works he could not comprehend. As friends, therefore, intereſted in the progreſs of natural hiſtory, it is not without conſiderable repugnance that we fulfil an ungrateful duty in the expoſition of the groſſeſt vanity, and muſt be pardoned for ſtill conſidering a great number of thoſe pages as the compoſition of ſome ſuperannuated old woman.

The Memoirs are prefaced by a chronological ſeries of the principal events in the life of this botaniſt, amounting in all to 28, which finiſh with the building of his own muſeum at Hammarby, in 1768. This ſketch of the important circumſtances in his *curriculum vitæ*, and a catalogue of his writings, without the motto, *Puteſt è caſa vir magnus exire*, would have been quite enough from the author's own pen. That, it ſeems, would not have pleaſed our editor, who commences not only at the natal hour of his hero, but with a pompous topographical account of the pariſh in which he was born.

"Stenbrohult is a pariſh of Smaland, ſituated on the confines of Skane, in a very pleaſant ſpot, adjoining to the great lake Moklen. It is ſurrounded on all ſides, except to the weſt, where it fronts the lake, by well-cultivated lands. At a little diſtance to the ſouth, the eye is relieved by a beech-wood; to the north, the lofty mount Taxas rears its head, and Moklen lies on the oppoſite bank of the lake. To the eaſt, the fields are encompaſſed with woods, which weſtward incloſe broad meadows, and large ſpreading trees. In ſhort, Flora ſeems to have laviſhed all her beautes on the ſpot that was to give birth to our botaniſt.

"Carl Linnæus was brought into the world, between the hours of twelve and one, in the night dividing the 12th and 13th (22d and 23d, N. S.) of May, 1707: a delightful ſeaſon of the year, in the Calendar of Flora, being the months of *frondescence* and *florescence!* His parents received their firſt-born with joy, and devoted the greateſt attention to impreſſing on his mind the love of virtue, both in precept and example. The ſame thing that is ſaid of a poet, *nascitur non fit*, may be ſaid without impropriety of our botaniſt. From the very time that he firſt left his cradle, he almoſt lived in his father's garden, which was planted with ſome of the rarer ſhrubs and flowers; and thus were kindled, before he was well out of his mother's arms, thoſe ſparks which ſhone ſo vividly all his lifetime, and latterly burſt into ſuch a flame!!!"

Theſe paſſages bring to our recollection the exquiſite *Florilegium* of Friar Gerundio de Campazas, and might well be an effuſion of that celebrated Spaniſh preacher. Had not Dr. M. given us a ſpecimen of his claſſical taſte, in praiſing his author's account of his pedeſtrian tour in Lapland, written in Latin, we could never have aſcribed ſuch rhodomontade to the pen of Linnæus. It is evidently the poſterior production of a child, that, delighted with piling up its little toys and

glaſs fragments, laughing falls with the fabric it has raiſed. We recommend this account of the naturaliſt's tour to the French editors of the Life of Don Quixotte, and we ſhould expect to ſhare their gratitude in return, did we not know that that emotion is unknown in their country: they may nevertheleſs render *grace* to Dr. M. for the following happy explanation; thus, on foot, "had he travelled 700 Swediſh, or between 4 and 5000 Engliſh miles this year!!!" Linnæus left Upſal on the 13th of May, and to travel 5000 miles "over the Lapland Alps on foot," botanizing, or "in queſt of plants and minerals;" to conſtruct rafts "in the middle of the night," paſs cataracts, combat the *Finmarkers*, like Bartram with the alligators in Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and "learn the art of aſſaying," all before the commencement of winter in theſe northern regions, are feats worthy of the renowned Baron Munchauſen, and the biographical pen of Vice-preſident Maton! If the reader ſhould doubt this, we have already mentioned the expence of the work, where he will find all theſe things, and many more, at pages 521-2; and alſo how Linnæus ſaw the ſun at midnight from the mountains at Vallivari, and ſomething of the good offices of a curate's *wife*! On his return, he gave the Academy of Sciences an account of his expedition, and received 112 ſilver dollars (10l. ſterling) "his travelling expences." Notwithſtanding all Linnæus's travelling, "he learned neither Engliſh, French, German, Laplandiſh, nor even Dutch (language), although he had ſtaid in Holland three whole years*. In 1738, Linnæus married his long-betrothed wife, Miſs Moræa, and commenced the practice of medicine the following year at Stockholm. Shortly after, he was elected profeſſor of botany, and "during his ſummer lectures, he took out with him about 200 pupils, who collected plants and inſects, made obſervations, ſhot birds, kept minutes, and after having botanized from ſeven o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening, every Wedneſday and Saturday, returned with flowers in their hats, and accompanied their leader with *drums* and *trumpets*, through the city [of Upſal] to the garden. Several foreigners, and people of diſtinction from Stockholm, uſed to attend Linnæus's excurſions; indeed, at this time, the ſcience had attained the higheſt degree of popularity!" Although our editor is ſufficiently animated even to admiration of the philoſophical powers of *drums* and *trumpets*, yet he cannot ſolve another of his embarraſſing queſtions, whether it was the king of Sweden, or of Spain, that wiſhed to ennoble his author. "In 1765, Linnæus worked at the 12th, or laſt, edition of the *Syſtema Naturæ*, and the whole of the autumn on the *Clavis Medicinæ*, which would have employed the *moſt learned man for an age!*" With this we ſhall take our leave of the botaniſt's "Diary," not wiſhing to dwell on

* Were it worthy of mentioning, we would remark that Thomas Paine, after living eleven years in Paris, could not intelligibly aſk in French for a draught of his favourite beverage, pure brandy.—Rev.

many

many more extraordinary expreſſions than what we have juſt cited, and only remark, that the true piety expreſſed by Linnæus in his *curriculum vitæ*, is a proof, that a knowledge of nature is eminently favourable to religion, even in men of the greateſt vanity.

The calculations in theſe Memoirs are ſhamefully negligent, 600 copper dollars are eſtimated to be 15l. and 9000, 250l.; 112 ſilver dollars at 10l., and 1000 at 80l.; we fear that our Editor will himſelf experience the effects of his neglect of arithmetical accuracy in the fate of his work. Much in the ſame ſtile of eſtimation, we are told that "*Suhm* in his *Hiſtor. Liter.* ſays, of all thoſe who have gained the praiſe of the learned world, ſix only are mentioned *as immortal.* Galileo, Newton, Leibnitz, Boerhaave, Linné, and *Gram* (a very obſcure hiſtory-writer)!" This too has been erroneouſly aſcribed to Linnæus; but the judgment of ſuch authors is beneath criticiſm, and it is only extraordinary that any perſon could be found ſo credulous as to believe, or ſo weak as to tranſcribe the babblings of mere dotage. Peace to the manes of the "Prince of Botaniſts;" his fair fame will ſuffer but little from this feeble pencil; and his real portrait ſhall ſtill diſplay the hand of a maſter, notwithſtanding the blotches of a miſerable dauber. We may be told, indeed, that men like to diſcover weakneſſes in a great character; but all ſuch defects only ſerve for prompt apologies in the mouths of the truly vicious, who rejoice at knowing the imperfections of others that they may thereby ſanction their own. They cannot therefore be too ſcrupulouſly caſt behind the impenetrable veil of oblivion. This is one of the many reaſons for regretting and cenſuring the imprudent publication of theſe deſultory, egoiſtical ſelf-adulations that belie themſelves. Of the learned Doctor we muſt beg leave to aſk in what language he has publiſhed his additions and alterations in the preſent volume? Dr. Pulteney's work was originally in plain Engliſh, but as it now appears from the hands of our editor, it is neither Engliſh, Swediſh, nor Latin. Where is *Upſala*, *Dalarne*, &c.? With the famous academy of Upſal we have long been acquainted; and one of our beſt tragic poets has immortalized the name of Dalecarlia; but neither our knowledge, nor that of our Gazetteers extends to ſuch combinations of letters as *Upſala*, *Dalarne*, that are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, neither Swediſh, nor any other language whatever. Equally foreign to Engliſh are the names *Carl*, *Georg*, *Boerhaaven*, &c.; but we ſhall leave the ingenious and learned editor to receive the thanks of the printers for introducing a new character, a cypher over the vowels, as *Skåne* (Skania, or Scania), which is quite as intelligible to the Engliſh claſſical reader as the Chineſe characters on a tea-cheſt! We muſt alſo indicate ſome of the ſymptoms of Dr. M.'s diſeaſe, the *cacoethos corrigendi*, and leave the public to preſcribe the remedy. Dr. Pulteney ſays, (p. 215, 8vo) "The ardor of Linnæus's inclinations to the ſtudy of nature from his earlieſt years, and that uncommon application which he beſtowed upon it, gave him a moſt comprehenſive view, both of its pleaſures and uſefulneſs, at the ſame time that it opened to him a wide field, hitherto but little cultivated, eſpecially in his

his own country. Hence he was early led to regret, that the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, as a public inſtitution, had not made its way into the Univerſities." Dr. Maton (p. 496, 4to.) "The ardor of Linnæus's attachment to the ſtudy of nature from his earlieſt years, and his uncommon application to the *philoſophy* of that *purſuit*, gave him a moſt comprehenſive view both of its pleaſures and of its uſefulneſs, at the ſame time that it opened to him a wide field, before but little cultivated, eſpecially in his own conntry. Hence he was early led to regret, that natural hiſtory had not, by public inſtitution, been more cultivated in Univerſities." Perhaps Dr. M. thinks drums and trumpets proper "application to the *philoſophy* of a *purſuit*;" and that to mangle the very ſimple language of his author, retaining only the original ideas, is the philoſophy of an editor! Says Dr. P. "it has been objected to Linnæus, that he has introduced a number of terms not *authoriſed* by claſſical authority;" but Dr. M. "not *warranted* by claſſical authority." Theſe few examples will ſhow our elegant editor's zeal to improve the original work of his departed friend; and ſhould it not ſpeedily attain a ſecond edition, it muſt be from the ſame cauſe as that which he has ingeniouſly aſſigned for Dr. P.'s Sketches of Botanical Writers; viz. that the firſt edition is not all ſold.

On the general character of this expenſive publication it is painful to dwell. Knowing, as we do, the ſuperiority of our philoſophy from an impartial and comparative eſtimate of the ſcientific works of foreign countries, and having for ſome time witneſſed the deleterious effects, both moral and political, of the general diffuſion of ſuperficial works on philoſophy, it is our bounden duty to raiſe the voice of juſtice and truth againſt the propagation of ſuch flimſy and deceptious effuſions in our own country. This is the more neceſſary in the preſent caſe, as the work proceeds from a vice-preſident, whoſe literary honours ſhould be ſuppoſed the reward of his merit from one of the firſt Natural Hiſtory Societies in the world: a ſociety, the correſpondence of whoſe preſident, and of many of its members, we well know, is courted by ſome of the firſt naturaliſts and philoſophers now living. Example is powerful in proportion to the real or ſuppoſed authority; and two or three frivolous publications ſanctioned by ſome reſpectable names, might thus for a time compromiſe the literary honour of our country. Wealth begets indolence, and indolence produces ignorance and vice, evils that are infinitely more to be apprehended than all the impotent menaces of invaſion. Had the editor extracted only what might be uſeful, and ſupplied the deficiencies from modern diſcoveries; had he not ſo credulouſly adopted as genuine the Memoirs of Linnæus, though avowedly not in his own hand-writing: had he not been ſo diffuſe in expreſſions merely of a dotard, nor been ſo regardleſs of the purity of his native tongue, by introducing dog-latin and Swediſh phraſes, he might have produced an octavo volume for one third of the price, that would have done honour to Engliſh literature. In its preſent ſtate, every judicious friend of ſcience muſt deprecate this puerile, ſlaviſh, and unſcientific idolatry of a maſter; every lover of literature proteſt

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againſt this literary harlequin of *Succo-latino* Engliſh; and every real naturaliſt and moraliſt deplore the publication of ſuch a work!

We regret that experience has proved the use of wood-ſtrawberries neither a preventative nor a cure for the gout, as experienced by Linnæus in himſelf: It is acknowledged that they proved fatal in two caſes, that ſhould render their uſe as a remedy extremely cautious. From Dr. Maton we have been taught to expect a very important and intereſting work on teſtaceological writers, that are ſo imperfectly known even to naturaliſts. We would wiſh it ſpeedily to appear.

Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Eſq. with a Collection of his genuine Bon Mots, Anecdotes, Opinions, &c. moſtly Original, with three of his Dramatic Pieces, not publiſhed in his Works. By William Cooke. 3 Vols. 13s. 6d. Phillips.

THIS work may be ſaid to fill up a chaſm in Dramatic Biography. Why the life of our Engliſh Ariſtophanes was not publiſhed ſooner, is a natural inquiry, though, perhaps, the preſent period is not unſeaſonable. Foote was in his day ſo much the ſubject of univerſal converſation and curioſity, that his cotemporaries were well acquainted with his hiſtory, and therefore it will be moſt intereſting to a new race of readers. And as it is now publiſhed by a cotemporary, who has proved himſelf well qualified for the undertaking, and who probably has been collecting materials for his work up to the time of publication. The delay may be conſidered an advantage, eſpecially as the materials are not of a temporary or periſhable nature. The wit and humour of Foot will always be read with avidity and pleaſure.

The following account of the work is given by Mr Cooke ia his Introduction:

"Inſtead of making an apology for writing the life of Samuel Foote, an apology ſhould, perhaps be made for not having given to the public long ago, ſome account of this very extraordinary man; who, independently of many other talents, ſtands ſo ſingular as a modern dramatic writer, that even at this day we have little hopes of "looking upon his like again."

"This neglect can only be accounted for on conjectural principles. His ſatirical turn, no doubt, made him many enemies, and theſe had an intereſted reaſon on this ſubject; while others, though they might have a quick reliſh for his wit and converſation, may not have felt themſelves capable "to carry a bon-mot ſteadily." Some, too fully qualified for the office of a biographer, may be liable to indolence, often attendant upon genius; which propoſes and procraſtinates till, delay becoming habit, "the buſineſs of to-morrow" goes off "from day to day, to the laſt ſyllable of recorded time."

"It is now, near thirty years ſince the death of Foote; and yet, except a meagre collection of a few dates and facts publiſhed in the Biographia Dramatica (like what we ſometimes find in the miſcellanies of the French poets), and ſince, literally retailed in a number of theatrical catch-pennies, no written account of him is extant. Of his jeſts, bon-mots, &c. there have been many profeſſed publications; but thoſe who are in the leaſt acquainted with

with the character of Foote, muſt ſee at one view, that in theſe, his name has been merely adopted to deceive the crowd, who know not how to diſcriminate ſterling from adulterated metal.

" He was from ſeeing this literary object in ſo periſhable a ſtate, and from wiſhing to preſerve a name of ſuch celebrity from floating down the tide of oblivion, that the preſent editor has been induced to publiſh theſe Memoirs: but, it is now neceſſary for him to ſtate his own pretenſions.

" Very early in life he had the pleaſure of being introduced to this genuine ſon of comic humour; and finding in him all the charms of converſation which could attach a young man with a literary and lively turn of mind, he was careful in recollecting, and noting down as many of his anecdotes, converſations, bon-mots, &c. as [illegible] would permit; not with any intent, at that time, [illegible], but as the records of a man who drew on him the gaze of the fashionable and literary world—as the reminiſcences of hours which afforded ſuch exquiſite delight.

" On the death of Foote, which happened about nine years after their firſt acquaintance, the editor had the pleaſure of continuing in acquaintance with many reſpectable perſons who were the intimates of his late friend's earlier days, and who had ſeen him in all the retractions of his varied life. From theſe he was curious to glean as much of his manners, habits, and converſation, as he could; and, from their readineſs to oblige, as well as their researches of an old and valuable friend (whoſe name, which he is not permitted to mention here, would be a paſſport for every thing curious or authentic, in literary or dramatic hiſtory), he has collected ſuch materials as embolden him to publiſh theſe volumes.

" He is at the ſame time ready to allow, that the work might have been more enlarged, had it been begun immediately after the death of Foote, by ſome of thoſe cotemporaries here alluded to; when the ardour of congenial talents, and the racineſs of events, would have made greater and more forcible impreſſions: but under the actual circumſtance, he not only preſumes that his performance will be found the beſt that has yet appeared, but is rather ſanguine in thinking it the beſt that can now be affected.

" The firſt part conſiſts of Memoirs of Foote, in which every thing material relative to his life and dramatic purſuits, is accurately ſtated, from written documents, and the beſt traditional information.

" In the ſecond will be found a collection of his bon-mots, &c. Some of theſe have appeared in other collections; but ſuch as had the ſimilitude of being genuine have been admitted; the editor not thinking himſelf at liberty to refuſe them a place here, merely, becauſe they had been involuntarily dragged into bad company.

" Of the characters, anecdotes, opinions, &c. moſt were related by Foote himſelf, and many by the literary ſociety in which he lived. Some, being either referred to in the range of converſation, or growing out of a correſponding ſubject, the editor thought fit to ſubjoin, from a wiſh to the original matter a richneſs of appropriate colouring and diverſification.

" In ſhort, this part may be conſidered, not only as the ſchool of Foote, but of his time; where the hero is diſcovered amongſt his friends and cotemporaries " in his night gown and ſlippers;" where the wit, the whim, the humour, the taſte, and general character, of the man will be beſt ſeen; and where, perhaps will be found the beſt apology for many parts of his life; as " he who had ſuch jocular propenſities, with ſuch inexhauſtible

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ſources for pleaſing mankind, could have no ſerious views of ever becoming their enemy."

The firſt volume of this work, containing the Memoirs, is written with eaſe and preciſion, the narative is diverſified with anecdotes of other diſtinguiſhed characters, but as a piece of biography alone it is very intereſting. The Life of Foote was chequered with extraordinary viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune; and is not without inſtruction, as his misfortunes were moſtly the reſult of imprudence, or the effects of that reſentment which perſonal ſatire was calculated to excite. Mr. Cooke does not ſeem to palliate his faults or failings, he appears to relate facts with fidelity, and occaſionally to touch the lights and ſhades of character, with a ſkilful, as well as impartial hand.

The ſecond volume opens with a deſcription of Foot's perſon, habits, and peculiarities. An eſtimate is next given of his literary and dramatic talents, with a compariſon between him and Garrick. Here, as in other parts of the work, Mr. Cooke exhibits a critical knowledge of dramatic ſubjects, and an intimate acquaintance with the Hiſtory of the Stage.

The remainder of the ſecond volume, and a part of the third contains a copious collection of anecdotes, bon-mots, characters, opinions, &c. ſet down indiſcriminately under characteriſtic titles. This part, though highly entertaining, is liable to objection, not for any licentious wit or indelicacy, but as containing many things which have no relation whatever to the ſubject of theſe Memoirs; and which therefore give this portion of the work too much the appearance of a general Miſcellany of Wit. Foote's Life alone afforded a ſufficiently rich banquet, without having recourſe to extraneous matter. Indeed the author ſeems to have anticipated this objection, when he expreſſes a hope, "that in rambling over the flowers of literature, and the fates of literary men, no apology will, perhaps, be neceſſary for introducing annecdotes of other extraordinary characters which are not generally known."

The dramatic pieces which conclude this work, though rather ſlight productions, contain wit enough to ſhew them to be genuine. Foote's letter (here given) addreſſed to Dr. Madden, in conſequence of that gentleman's attack on the author of the "Minor," contains an uncommon diſplay of ancient dramatic learning, as well as a curious ſpecimen of fine irony, and keen ſatire. Indeed, the Life of Foote, as now publiſhed, contains more witty and entertaining matter than any ſimilar publication in our language. As to Mr. Cooke's numerous digreſſions and epiſodes, though, in our opinion, unneceſſary, they will have many admirers; and will be particularly reliſhed by collectors of wit, who may likewiſe learn from this work (if ſuch a talent is to be learnt by imitation) to relate annecdotes and bon-mots with conciſeneſs, taſte and effect.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANIES.

A Deſcription of Prince of Wales's Iſland, and the Streights of Malacca, with its real and probable Advantages and Sources to recommend it as a Marine Eſtabliſhment. By Sir Home Popham, Knight of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, and Fellow of the Royal Society, Pp. 72. 2s. 6d. Stockdale. 1805.

A VERY tempeſtuous ſouthweſt monſoon in the year 1791, when Sir Home Popham was bound from Bengal to Bombay, obliged him to bear up for the Streights of Malacca, and he anchored at Prince of Wales's Iſland. This place appeared to him to poſſeſs ſo many advantages as a harbour that he took pains in examining its interior productions, and its different capabilities. The reſult of his inquiries and perſonal obſervations he communicated to Mr. Light, who was at that period governor of the iſland. His public avocations, however, having ſince that time directed his attention to other countries, the ſubject in ſome meaſure lay dormant: but the impreſſion that it would become a matter of ſerious conſideration, has led him to enter, in the preſent tract, into a full diſcuſſion of its actual and probable reſources. Sir Home is decidedly of opinion that it poſſeſſes geographical, commercial, and political advantages, over every other ſituation in India; and that the combinations which he had introduced, would alſo increaſe its claim to the notice of government, and ultimately tend to its being made a permanent and reſpectable military and naval poſition. The Memoir, of which this is the ſpirit, as appears from the date, was laid before His Majeſty's miniſters, March 1799: though it was not publiſhed till the deſign of a military and marine eſtabliſhment at this place was made a ſubject of public diſcuſſion; which terminated in favour of the meaſure. The advantages of this iſland, which was called Pulo Penang, had alſo become apparent to Sir John Macpherſon, when Governor General of India; under whoſe adminiſtration it was transferred to the Engliſh by an amicable arrangement with the king of Quidah, its former ſovereign. Sir Home Popham in his deſcription and memorial relative to Prince of Wales's Iſland, ſets himſelf, and we think not unſucceſsfully, to prove that Bombay, however proper for a marine eſtabliſhment in one ſtate of Engliſh Commerce and Settlements in India, no longer continues to be the fitteſt place for our principal port; that the extenſive poſſeſſions acquired by the company on the Eaſtern coaſt and in adjacent countries, render an Eaſtern the moſt advantageous ſide for a marine eſtabliſhment; that the cauſes which rendered a former attempt to eſtabliſh a port on the Ganges ineffectual, are of permanent operation, and will prevent the ſucceſs of every experiment of the kind on any branch of that river; that Prince of Wales's Iſland from its harbour, its roads, its materials for ſhip-building, and its contiguity to the ſcene of naval operations, is the poſition the moſt completely adapted for a naval yard ſecurely fortified; that by the fertility of its ſoil, its productions, and its climate, it affords the means of ſubſiſtence, and the probability of health; that from its central ſituation and command of the Streights of Malacca, it will be a Mart for the interchange of the commodities of the Eaſtern and Weſtern India; and thus that it will encreaſe private riches and public revenue; that in the natural courſe of Britiſh

tiſh induſtry, ſkill, and ability, it will monopolize the trade with China, and the opulent intermediate countries, to Malacca and Sumatra, and be an emporium for the commerce of the Eaſtern part of Southern Aſia, ſubordinate to London, which will become an emporium for the whole; that its military and political advantages are of the higheſt importance; that a force may be there ſtationed without the expence of ſending ſoldiers from Europe or the danger of our weakening our Indian armies. Major Macaliſter who had been at the head of the Europeans on Pulo Penang fourteen years, and who has ſince been appointed commander of the military force in the late eſtabliſhment here, gave in a memorial to the principal members of adminiſtration of the ſame purport. Every one who knows Prince of Wales's Iſland confirms their deſcriptions. And the proſperity of that favoured ſpot, rapidly encreaſing every day, verifies the whole. If a general hiſtorian were to give a laconic deſcription of the Britiſh empire at the preſent period, he might adopt the words of Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Roman empire in his day—Proſperæ in Oriente, adverſæ in Occidente res—Prince of Wales's Iſland is likely to prove a greater acquiſition to the wealth and power of Great Britain than that of the immenſe regions of Louiſiana to the North Americans.

An Account of Louiſiana, being an abſtract of documents delivered or tranſmitted to Mr. Jefferſon, Preſident of the United States of America, and by him laid before Congreſs, and publiſhed by their Orders. Pr. 43. 1s. 6d. Printed at Waſhington, and re-printed at Philadelphia, and all the other States of the Union: London re-printed for Hatchard. 1805.

THE preciſe boundaries of Louiſiana, weſtwardly of the Miſſiſſippi, though very extenſive, are at preſent involved in ſome obſcurity. Nor are there ſufficient data for aſſigning with preciſion its northern extent. According to its limits when formerly poſſeſſed by France it ſtretches to the Eaſt, as far at leaſt as the river Perdigo, which runs into the bay of Mexico eaſtward of the river Mobille. This country was diſcovered and peopled by the French, whoſe monarchs made ſeveral grants of its trade, in particular to Mr. Croſat in 1712, and ſometime afterwards, with his acquieſcence, to the well known company projected by Mr. Law. This company was relinquiſhed in the year 1731. By a Secret Convention on the 3d of November 1762, the French government ceded ſo much of the province as lies beyond the Miſſiſſippi as well as the iſle of Orleans to Spain; and by the treaty of peace wuich followed in 1763, the whole territory of France and Spain eaſtward of the middle of the Miſſiſſippi to the Ibberville, thence through the middle of that river and the lakes Maurepas and Pont Chorthein to the ſea was ceded to Great Britain. Spain having conquered the Floridas from Great Britain during the revolutionary war of America, they were confirmed to her by the treaty of peace of 1783. By the treaty of St. Ildefonſo, of the 1ſt October 1800, his Catholic majeſty promiſes and engages on his part to cede back to the French republic, ſix months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and ſtipulations therein contained relative to the duke of Parma, "the colony or province of Louiſiana, with the ſame extent that it actually has in the hands of Spain, that it had when France poſſeſſed it, and ſuch as it ought to be after the treaties ſubſequently entered into between Spain and other ſtates." This treaty was confirmed and enforced by that of Madrid, of the 21ſt March, 1801. From

France

France it paſſed to the Americans by the treaty of the 30th of April, 1804, with a reference to the above clauſe as deſcriptive of the limits ceded.—From this geographical and hiſtorical ſketch, by which we ſee the prerogatives of nature prevailing at laſt over human power and human conventions—Louiſiana paſſing from the hands of European governments, to the vaſt and ſtill ruling empire of America.; From this hiſtorical ſketch the account paſſes to the diviſions and ſub-diviſions of the province, ſettlements, the inhabitants, and their origin, militias or military force, improvements and capabilities, laws, courts of juſtice, coſts of courts, and their officers, crimes, criminal juriſprudence and puniſhments, learning—if learning can be conſidered as having any place in a country where there is but one public ſchool where the Spaniſh language alone is taught, and where not more than half the inhabitants are able in any degree to read or write—the church, officers of government, taxes and duties, expences and debt, impoſts and exports, ſhipping and trade. All theſe heads are particularly intereſting to the Americans, who are conveniently ſituated for trade to that province, and among whom the migrating or reſtleſs and wandering propenſity is very ſtrong and active. Two ſettlements have already been made on the banks of the Miſſouri, where the country is exceedingly fertile, moſtly by emigrants, even from the inviting Kentucky. In proportion, however, as they are particularly intereſting to the Americans, they are unintereſting to other nations. Yet here and there we meet with ſtatements and deſcriptions that are calculated to draw general attention. Such for inſtance is the general deſcription of Upper Louiſiana.

"When compared with the Indiana territory, the face of the country in upper Louiſiana is rather more broken, though the ſoil is equally fertile. It is a fact not to be conteſted, that the weſt ſide of the river poſſeſſes ſome advantages not generally incident to thoſe regions. It is elevated and healthy, and well watered with a variety of large rapid ſtreams, calculated for mills, and other water works. From Cape Girandeau, above the mouth of the Ohio, to the Miſſouri, the land on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi is low and flat, and occaſionally expoſed to inundations; that on the Louiſiana ſide, contiguous to the river, is generally much higher, and in many places very rocky on the ſhore. Some of the heights exhibit a ſcene truly picturesque. They riſe to the height of at leaſt 300 feet, faced with perpendicular *lime and free ſtone*, carved into various ſhapes and figures by the hand of nature, and afford the appearance of a multitude of antique towers. From the tops of theſe elevations, the land gradually ſlopes back from the river, without gravel or rock, and is covered with valuable timber. It may be ſaid with truth, that for fertility of ſoil, no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Miſſiſſippi; the land yields an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life, and almoſt ſpontaneouſly, very little labour being required in the cultivation of the earth. That part of upper Louiſiana which borders on North Mexico is one immenſe *prairie*, it produces nothing but graſs; it is filled with buffalo, deer, and other kinds of game: the land is repreſented as too rich for the growth of foreſt trees.

It is pretended that Upper Louiſiana contains in its bowels many ſilver and copper mines, and various ſpecimens of both are exhibited. Several trials have been made to aſcertain the fact, but the want of ſkill in the artiſts has hitherto left the ſubject undecided.

The ſalt works are alſo pretty numerous; ſome belong to individuals, others to the public. They already yield an abundant ſupply for the conſumption

ſumption of the country; and, if properly managed, might become an article of more general exportation. The uſual price per buſhel is 150 cents in *cash* at the works. This price will be ſtill lower as ſoon as the manufacture of the ſalt is aſſumed by government, or patronized by men who have large capitals to employ in the buſineſs. One extraordinary fact relative to ſalt muſt not be omitted. There exiſts about 1000 miles up the Miſſouri, and not far from that river, a *ſalt mountain!* the exiſtence of ſuch a mountain might well be queſtioned, were it not for the teſtimony of ſeveral reſpectable and enterprizing traders who have viſited it, and who have exhibited ſeveral buſhels of the ſalt to the curioſity of the people of St. Louis, where ſome of it ſtill remains. A ſpecimen of the ſame ſalt has been ſent to Marietta. This mountain is ſaid to be 180 miles long, and 45 in width, compoſed of ſolid rock ſalt, without any trees or ſhrubs on it. Salt ſprings are very numerous beneath the ſurface of the mountain, and they flow through the fiſſures and cavities of it. Caves of ſalt petre are found in Upper Louiſiana, though at ſome diſtance from the ſettlements. Four men on a trading voyage lately diſcovered one ſeveral hundred miles up the Miſſouri. They ſpent five or ſix weeks in the manufacture of this article, and returned to St. Louis with 400 weight of it. It proved to be good, and they ſold it for a high price.

"The geography of the Miſſiſſippi and Miſſouri, and their contiguity for a great length of way, are but little known. The traders aſſert, that 100 miles above their junction, a man may walk from one to the other in a day; and it is alſo aſſerted, that 700 miles ſtill higher up, the portage may be croſſed in four or five days. This portage is frequented by traders who carry on a conſiderable trade with ſome of the Miſſouri Indians."

Such facts are not only intereſting to merchants and adventurers, but ſome of them are conducive to the advancement of both geography and geology.

Outlines of English Grammar, calculated for the Use of both Sexes at School: in which the practical Rules of the Language are clearly and distinctly laid down, and the speculative Difficulties as much as possible avoided. By John Walker, Author of the Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, Elements of Elocution, &c. Pp. 113. Johnſon. 1805.

IF the queſtion were put, what is the moſt numerous claſs of authors? it would not, perhaps, be eaſy to decide whether it be that of writers of Novels or writers of Grammars. But if the queſtion were put, what is the moſt common and trite of all ſubjects of authorſhip, the anſwer is prompt. It is beyond all doubt that of Grammar. It was ſo, perhaps, in the decline of the Roman empire, when grammarians and rhetoricians took place of orators, ſtateſmen, and hiſtorians. Grammarians may be divided into two claſſes; the philoſophical, and the verbal. Of the former we have examples in Ammianus Marcellinus among the Romans, and Dr. Wallis, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Horne Tooke among the moderns: of the latter, in almoſt every ſchoolmaſter, and not a few of the aſſiſtants at ſchools; in which laſt number we underſtand we are to arrange Mr. John Walker. On a general view of this author's publications—their ſubjects, as well as the important and diffuſe manner in which he treats, if not trifles, yet matters of extremely little conſequence, one is in ſome doubt at firſt to determine, whether it be not his aim to burleſque literature, and turn book-making into ridicule—Critical Pronouncing Dictionaries, Keys to the Claſſical Pronunciation of

Greek, Latin, and Scripture proper Names, Terminational Vocabularies, where the words are properly claſſed according to their endings, Academic Speakers, Teacher's Aſſiſtant, ELEMENTS of ELOCUTION—why, to enter deeply into theſe labours with Mr. Walker, would occupy the beſt part of the age proper, and uſually, where circumſtances allow, devoted to education. As to the pronunciation of Greek and Latin words, according to rules drawn from uſage, what is the uſe of making a book on what is in uſage? But Mr. Walker ſays the *best* uſage. It is well known, and the Wincheſter, and other great ſchools in England, have now admitted, and Mr. Walker himſelf ſeems to admit, that the Engliſh pronunciation of Latin words, is very anomalous, and not conſonant, in general, at leaſt with that of the Greeks and Romans, or with that of every nation on the Continent, even Germany, the great ſource of the Engliſh tongue not excepted. Yet Mr. Walker teaches the Engliſh to pronounce Greek and Latin words by rules analogical to the pronunciation of Engliſh words; which pronunciation, to foreigners, to whom alone it is ever at all neceſſary to ſpeak in Latin, would be unintelligible. He would teach the Engliſh what there is no need of teaching at home, and which cannot be of any uſe abroad. This is even worſe than trifling.

We cannot neglect the preſent opportunity of making ſome obſervations on Mr. W.'s Teacher's Aſſiſtant, which are importunately demanded from a literary reviewer, who ought to detect and expoſe falſe pretenſion, as well as faulty execution. He ſays, in his preface or introduction, p. xiii. "In the courſe of this work, I have derived ſo little aſſiſtance from other writers, that I might perhaps paſs uncenſured for plagiariſm, if I were to be ſilent on this head: but candour obliges me to confeſs ſome obligations to Knox's Eſſays, to Jones's Letters from a Tutor to his Pupil, to Letters from Honoria to Marianne, to Bright's Praxis, and perhaps to a few others ſcarcely worth mentioning. But moſt of theſe I have been obliged to modify in ſuch a manner, as to make them ſuitable for an exerciſe; but by far the greater part, with all their faults, are my own."

Of Mr. Walker's originality, or manner of new-modifying Eſſays, we have ſpecimens in the three laſt in the collection, namely, 1ſt, On the delicacy of paſſion; 2d, That delicacy of taſte is not ſo dangerous as delicacy of paſſion; 3d, That delicacy of taſte enlarges our pleaſures, and improves our tempers. Now, in the firſt place, as theſe three eſſays are not the production of any of thoſe writers to whom Mr. Walker owns obligations, we may be led to ſuppoſe that they are, beyond all doubt, his own. But this belief or fancy is wholly diſſipated, when we caſt our eyes on Mr. Hume's Eſſay on the Delicacy of Taſte and Paſſion, from which they are wholly taken. Yea, but perhaps Mr. Walker has new-modified the compoſition of Mr. Hume. Yes: he has done ſo, by dividing it into three ſchool-eſſays; and the principal heads, as in the other eſſays, are marked, numerically, in their order by way of notes, at the foot of the page. In many others of the eſſays, we recognize, in like manner, the real maſters or owners. In ſhort, we very much doubt whether there be one of the thirty-three eſſays that can with propriety be called his own, or which he has not copied, with ſome omiſſions and ſlight variations from one, or culled from ſeveral diſcourſes or eſſays by other writers. The other parts of his Aſſiſtant conſiſt of what he calls THEMES and REGULAR SUBJECTS. He does not ſeem to underſtand the meaning of the word "theme," which ſignifies a poſition or ſubject, but confounds it with an eſſay on a theme. As for what he calls regular

ſubjects,

ſubjects, all ſubjects are regular, and equally regular too: that is, they have all their proper and regular, or orderly place or poſition in nature. They are all of them matters of fact, or matters of reaſoning. They all of them belong to ſome predicament, order, claſs, or claſſification, genus, ſpecies, or other. The irregularity ſuppoſed exiſts only in the mind of Mr. Walker.

Our Teacher's Aſſiſtant appears in the publication immediately under review, in the character of a maſter of ſchoolmaſters.

Before the time of Dr. Wallis—Dr. Gill, Benjamin Johnſon, and all other writers on the ſubject of Engliſh grammar, endeavoured to bend its analogies and genius to thoſe of the Latin tongue, giving many uſeleſs rules concerning the caſes, genders, and declinations of nouns, and the conjugations, moods, and tenſes of verbs, as well as the government of nouns and verbs. All this, Dr. Wallis obſerves, has no affinity or analogy to the Engliſh language. The whole of this buſineſs of ſyntax, or grammatical conſtruction, is performed by the help of prepoſitions or auxiliary verbs. The genius of our language being thus totally different from that of the Latin, Dr. Wallis aſks, "Why trouble our heads with a fictitious and uſeleſs aſſemblage of caſes, genders, moods, and tenſes? There is no foundation for thoſe diſtinctions in the Engliſh tongue." By the bye, this is the ſubſtance of all that is contained in the copious writings of Mr. Horne Tooke, againſt the doctrines of Mr. Harris, on the ſubject of Univerſal Grammar.

The obſervations of Dr. Wallis formed an æra in the hiſtory of Engliſh grammars; in ſo much that almoſt our grammars, as Mr. Walker juſtly obſerves, ſeem now to lean to an excluſion of Latin terms, and Latin forms of conſtruction, and that a new kind of grammatical language has been invented. This leaning, Mr. W. thinks unneceſſary: and in this light, to the extent to which it has been carried, it appears to us alſo. "Becauſe ſome of the old grammars were too fond of the Latin terms, and Latin forms of conſtruction, the moderns have attempted to exclude them altogether: and thus, by avoiding one fault, have fallen into another. There is no advantage to be gained by this change, even in the education of ladies; and for boys who are to have a Latin education, an Engliſh grammar in the Latin form is by far the moſt eligible."

That many excellent grammars have been lately produced, Mr. W. admits; but he conceived that there "was a middle claſs of pupils, beyond the age of childhood, and before that of maturity, to which theſe grammars were not perfectly accommodated. The abridgements of theſe grammars appeared to be too ſcanty, and the others (the grammars of which they were abridgements) too redundant; and ſuch a grammar Mr. W. has endeavoured to ſupply." If former abridgments were too ſcanty, why not make an abridgement not ſo ſcanty? But Mr. W. has ſupplied the defect, he ſays, "in a method ſomewhat different from his predeceſſors." As to this difference of method, it is not great in point of extent, and ſtill leſs in point of utility or importance. It is, in fact, no improvement at all.

Mr. Walker obſerves ſtill farther, "that any method, which is the produce of our own judgment, may with greater readineſs be conveyed to others than the method of another perſon (meaning, not that the method may be conveyed, but inſtruction in or by the method), though really preferable." If this be ſo, every ſchoolmaſter ſhould make a grammar for himſelf, as Mr. Walker has done. In ſhort, Mr. Walker is at a *non-plus* to

find any pretext whatever for writing a new grammar. He admits that we have "many excellent grammars:" but then there was none, before the preſent, by Mr. Walker. If thoſe "excellent grammars" are ſomewhat too copious, or, as he expreſſes himſelf, too redundant, then a ſkilful teacher will paſs over ſome parts, containing, perhaps, what is too nice and intricate, in the education of young pupils—a practice which, we underſtand, is very common. This endleſs fiddle-faddle about grammars, and ſtraining at the appearance of novelty and invention, deſerves to be expoſed, as utterly inconſiſtent with the dignity of literature. Yet Mr. Walker's grammar is not a bad one; nay, a tolerably good one; and he appears in a much more reſpectable light as a teacher, than as a Teacher's *Aſſistant*.

A Treatise on the Construction and Copying all kinds of Geographical Maps. In four Parts, containing Plans of the Globular, Stereographic, and Mercator's Projections of the World; Projection of Maps of particular Parts; Description of Instruments for drawing the Meridians and Parallels of Latitude with great Facility; and Directions for inserting Places, drawing Rivers, Coasts, Boundaries, &c. and for copying, colouring, mounting, and other Minutiæ of Mapping. Illustrated with Plates and Wood Cuts. By Thomas Dix. Pp. 36. 8vo. 3s. Scatcherd. 1805.

PROJECTORS and map-engravers, and finally the public, will be much obliged to the author for his attempt to facilitate the ſtudy of geography, and the conſtruction of maps in general. Was a knowledge of the principles and methods of deſigning maps and plans more generally diffuſed, not only our maps but our charts would be improved, and ſcience would give additional ſuccour to navigation and commerce. In this little treatiſe, it has been the object of Mr. Dix to diveſt the elementary principles of delineating maps of the mathematical character on which they are founded, and to give familiar examples, better adapted to the capacity of youth. This he has accompliſhed, but with more brevity than ſimplicity; and we could have wiſhed that he had been a little more minute and copious in detail. We have, indeed, two repreſentations (figures 1ſt and 4th) of the globular and ſtereographic projections of the ſphere on the plane of the equator, both with the ſame identical lines and figures; but we have no ſpecific difference marked, nor any reaſon given for the bold aſſertion, that "the globular is equal to the ſtereographic (the moſt uſual) in point of facility, and much ſuperior in point of correctneſs." To the point of facility we agree, but we have many reaſons to queſtion that of ſuppoſed ſuperior correctneſs, and it was incumbent on the author to have exemplified this opinion, inſtead of pronouncing ſuch hyperbolical eulogium on Mr. Arrowſmith. Mr. Dix ſeems to forget, in this caſe, that the earth is not a perfect globe. In the plate of Mercator's Projection, the author has inſerted the names of only a few capital cities, many of which are certainly not the moſt uſeful or important; for inſtance, why mention Madrid, an inland town, without commerce, and omit the capital of Portugal, Liſbon, with which we are in daily intercourſe? It cannot be too often repeated, that books deſigned for the inſtruction of youth loſe nothing of their eaſe and ſimplicity, by carrying with them ſomething of practical utility. The plates are very well engraven, and we expect with eagerneſs the promiſed "Atlas for Children," from the ſame hands, provided that it is not a mere outline,

like

alike deſtitute of novelty and intereſt, but accompanied with the real "geographical features," namely, the direction and elevation of the principal mountains, the courſe of currents, height of tides, &c. on the coaſts: ſubjects of great importance to ſcience, and particularly favourable to ſentiments of piety and virtue in youth, that have been hitherto ſhamefully neglected by teachers of geography, and manufacturers of maps. With meagre outlines, the public is already ſated: let Mr. Dix, as in the preſent work, produce ſomething new, that will awaken reflection, and inſtruct youth, in a convenient manner and on reaſonable terms.

Rudiments of Reason; or, the Young Experimental Philosopher: being a Series of familiar Dialogues, in which the Causes and Effects of the various Phænomena of Nature are rationally and familiarly explained. A new Edition carefully revised and enlarged. By the Rev. Thomas Smith. Pp. 405. 12mo. Harris. 1805.

EDITORS or booksellers ſeem greatly deficient in their duty to the public, in not endeavouring to improve and correct every ſucceſſive edition of any work that meets with approbation. The preſent volume affords a ſtriking proof of this ungrateful neglect; and although we are given to underſtand, that this edition is carefully reviſed, we have only been able to find the form of the volume changed, but not its contents. Theſe are diſgraced by the admiſſion of ſome erroneous and obſolete phraſes, that could eaſily have been retrenched without prejudice. The ſubjects, as formerly, are divided into nine dialogues, on phyſics, motion, mechanical powers, hydroſtatics, pneumatics, fire, water, colours, and viſion, and are diſcuſſed with conſiderable elegance and perſpicuity. The conciſeneſs, variety, and comprehenſiveneſs of the ſubjects of Encyclopædian knowledge, would have conſtituted theſe rudiments of more than common merit, in what relates to phyſics, had the editor availed himſelf of the modern diſcoveries. It would, indeed, have been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to have elucidated ſo many ſubjects, with equal clearneſs, in the ſame compaſs, in any other form; and thoſe who feel diſguſted with the verbous colloquiſm of many dialogues, will be obliged to acknowledge the facility, eaſe, and graceful manner of theſe family diſcourſes in phyſical ſcience. The editor has, indeed, attempted to do rather too much, by endeavouring to aſſign a cauſe for every common appearance in nature, many of which depend on very remote influences. He is, too, more plauſible than correct; and his total ignorance of chemiſtry is a glaring defect throughout the work. A proof of this deficiency of neceſſary knowledge is given at page 37, where he ſuppoſes that the ſolution of litharge on paper, expoſed to the air, becomes black, in conſequence of vapours ariſing from a ſolution of orpiment in a cloſely-ſtopped bottle, inſtead of aſcribing it to the action of the atmoſphere. At page 184 is a table of weights, wholly unintelligible. It is certainly a moſt reprehenſible inſult to the guardians and teachers of youth in the preſent age, to give two dialogues on the phænomena of *fire* and *water*, by a writer who appears not to have known that there are ſuch ſciences as *electricity* and *pneumatic chemistry!* To the end of the volume is prefixed a vocabulary of technical terms, that might have accompanied ſome work of alchemiſtry in the 15th century. Who would now ſpeak of fermentation occaſioned by acids and alkalis; of "nitre drawn from ſalt-petre?" or conſider ſulphur and oil, reaction and reſiſtance, &c. as ſynonyms? Upon the

whole, the work is totally unfit for youth; and the title-page evinces the progreſs of the modern art of puffing, or literary quackery, in aſſuming to treat of experimental philoſophy, when the contents only embrace a ſmall part of what is uſually denominated phyſics.

Thoughts on Public Truſts. 12mo. Pp. 203. Conſtable and Co. Edinburgh, Longman and Co. London.

TO trace the various cauſes which conſpire to raiſe a nation to freedom and to glory, or thoſe which contribute to the erection and ſubverſion of a government, requires a genius of the firſt order, tempered by the niceſt rules of moral prudence, correct obſervation on the paſſions and habits of man, and enriched by an amplitude of learning, which have fallen to the lot but of few men. But notwithſtanding theſe high and awful conſiderations, the vanity of ſome few idle men, or the deſigns of thoſe who are actuated by a baſer motive, have ſtimulated them, both in ancient and modern times, to undertake the difficult talk which we have juſt deſcribed. That the author whoſe work is now before us has neither genius nor learning, his book bears indiſputable teſtimony; but that he has neither vanity, nor any bad deſign in the publication of it, is not quite ſo clear. It profeſſes, in the firſt place, to take a curſory review of the Roman conſtitution, from the earlieſt periods; of the nature and tendency of the powers entruſted to the public functionaries of that government; and of the cauſes which united to ſubvert it: and all this attempt of learning and ſagacity, with no other apparent view than to bring into diſcredit the order of patricians in the Roman republic; and to elevate *his* ſovereign people, the mob, to that order in political ſociety, which God, and the peace of the world, ſubſervient to his will, have denied. We are next preſented with remarks in the ſame ſtrain, and with the ſame object, upon "the nature and tendency of the powers intruſted by the National Aſſembly to the public agents in France," and upon "the conſtitution of the American States, &c." And, laſtly, this truly *original author* has been pleaſed to give us "a ſketch of a conſtitution, for an extenſive populous country, upon the Roman principle." We recollect to have read, ſome few years ſince, with much pleaſure, the Oceana of Harrington, not becauſe we conſidered his theory as worthy of imitation, but as being enriched with conſiderable fancy and learning. During the time in which Harrington wrote, the monarchy was ſubverted; and the *ſaints* were crying aloud to heaven for a perfect commonwealth. No wonder, therefore, that he attempted to meet their wiſhes.

In the ſcheme which our author propoſes, both the electors and the elected muſt have arrived at the age of forty years; the election to be determined by ballot, and property to form no qualification, either in thoſe who are to conſtitute the ſenate, or the *rabble* by whom they are to be choſen! And, as might be expected, this piece of ſtate machinery is not to be directed by a monarch, but by an annual magiſtrate, or conſul. It may be curious to ſee this ſimple contrivance at work.

"The national ſenate to meet on a certain day annually, and to have ſupreme controul over all the current national buſineſs, over the military force, over the conſul and all national officers; and, when it judges proper, may propoſe a law or a tax, or to engage in a war; and if no objections are made within a certain time, the laws are enacted, and the war declared in the name of the people; ſilence being taken for their conſent. But if

an actual majority of the ward-voters, or of the wardens and jurymen, give inſtructions to their reſpective ſenators to vote againſt any meaſure, they muſt vote accordingly; and if a majority of ſenators are inſtructed to vote againſt a meaſure, it muſt be given up."

From this ſpecimen, the whole work may be eſtimated: and were it written with the leaſt ſhadow of ability, we ſhould certainly expoſe its dangerous principles, in terms of marked ſeverity; becauſe it might then have a circulation, and do ſome miſchief.

The people of this country, thank Almighty God! enjoy a form of government, differing eſſentially from that which our author virtually recommends them to ſubſtitute in its place. It is a ſyſtem of polity which has grown out of the experience of ages, and has been perfected by the ſober ſuggeſtions of prudent and wiſe men. And, woe! to thoſe daring fools, who, under the ſpecious guiſe of exacting the applauſe of mankind for their ingenuity, diſſeminate their own crude and miſchievous ſyſtems, with no other view than to entice the ignorant and unwary, firſt to admire, and then to imitate.

Commercial Arithmetic, with an Appendix on Algebraical Equations, being an Introduction to the Elements of Commerce. By Chriſtopher Duboſt, Author of the Merchant's Aſſiſtant. Pr. 228. 6s. Booſy.

THIS is rather a light production, containing little new, except the names of rules, which are here changed, though we cannot ſee for what purpoſe, except it be to give an air of novelty to the work. Why conjoined Proportion is called "*the Rule of Equation*," or the Rule of Three, "*the Rule of Fraction*," we are left to gueſs. As to the contracted modes of long diviſion, &c. they were known in England long before the days of Cocker; but they have been generally rejected, as tending "to make more haſte than good ſpeed." The algebra, here introduced in the index, is mere ſmattering. Indeed this ſcience muſt be fundamentally ſtudied by commercial men, before they can, with advantage, or even with ſafety, apply it to mercantile computations.

DIVINITY.

The Progress of Error concerning the Person of Christ, represented in a Sermon, delivered at the Unitarian Chapel, in Essex-street, March 31, 1805. By Thomas Belſham. 8vo, Pr. 36. Johnſon. 1805.

MR. Belſham has the *modesty*, in this calm, phlegmatic declamation, miſcalled a *ſermon*, to ſtigmatize as *idolaters* not only every member of the Eſtabliſhed Church of theſe realms, but every Chriſtian, properly ſo called; that is, every one who believes in the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt; and whoever does not is, unqueſtionably, no Chriſtian. To allow ſuch blaſphemy to paſs with impunity, in a country, the laws of which expreſsly forbid it, is *toleration* with a vengeance! This man is nothing more than a miſerable echo of Dr. Prieſtley, poſſeſſing all his malignity, but a very ſcanty portion of his learning. In the diſcourſe before us, he repeats the miſerable jargon of his maſter, with many of his bold aſſertions, utterly unſupported by proof, and many of his flagrant falſehoods, the former of which have been confuted, and the latter expoſed, again and again. It inculcates no one Chriſtian precept, enforces no one religious duty, nor contains a ſingle

admonition that can either improve the underſtanding, or meliorate the heart. Hiſtorical facts are miſrepreſented, and the Scriptures moſt groſsly perverted. Such wretched ſtuff may poſſibly paſs current with moſt of the ignorant followers of Mr. Lindſey, whoſe knowledge extends not beyond the leaves of their ledger, or cash-book; but how it is received *by the Chancellor of one of our Universities*, who is a frequenter of the Chapel in Eſſex-ſtreet, it is not more eaſy to conceive, than it is that a *profeſſed Unitarian* ſhould be ſuffered to hold ſuch an office. We think we can anſwer for the *other* Univerſity, that a Chancellor, who ſhould thus publicly renounce his divine Redeemer, would not be ſuffered to retain it many hours after the fact was known.

We agree with Mr. Belſham, in one of his poſitions, that—"Error which is the reſult of indolence and criminal prejudice, admits of no excuſe;" and, on his own principle, we may conclude *him* to be inexcuſable. If it be poſſible that a ſet of men, whoſe vanity has impiouſly reduced their God to a level with themſelves, ſhould admit their own fallibility; and Mr. B. allow that he *may be* in an error, has he reflected ſeriouſly on the *conſequence* of ſuch an error as his? Has he looked forward to his death-bed, and to a *future* day, and conſidered what then may become of him, without the aid of thoſe merits, of that mediation, propitiation, and atonement, which the divine nature of a Redeemer could alone impart*. We would ſeriouſly adviſe both the preacher and his followers to ſubject themſelves to this teſt. A follower of Prieſtley, a man of ſtrong ſenſe, and rich in worldly knowledge, recently died in the vicinity of the metropolis; and on his death-bed began to reflect on futurity; he then found, for the firſt time, that *Unitarianism* afforded him no preſent comfort, and no ſolid ground of hope. He became reſtleſs, uneaſy, and alarmed. He trembled for the ſalvation of his ſoul. In this ſtate of mind he ſent for the clergyman of the pariſh, a moſt able and reſpectable divine, to whom he communicated his fears, and applied for inſtruction. Fortunately God ſpared his life long enough to enable him, by ſearching the Scriptures, to feel, to renounce, and to repent of, his error. He ſhuddered at the precipice on the brink of which he had ſtood, he acknowledged the mercies of his God, and died, a penitent believer, building his hope of ſalvation on the merits of his crucified Saviour. To Mr. Belſham, and to every one of his miſguided followers, we ſay, "Go thou, and do likewiſe."

* "This one mediator between God and man, the man Chriſt Jeſus, who gave himſelf a ranſom for all," 1 Tim. ii. 5, according to the faith delivered to the ſaint, and retained in *our* Church, was therefore, obſerves one of our moſt able and moſt learned divines, "very God as well as very man." Art. ii.—"The WORD was made fleſh."—The divine and human nature having been neceſſarily united in the perſon of Chriſt, for the purpoſe of his being competent to the completion of the great work of Redemption, by becoming a proper and adequate atonement for the ſins of mankind." Father, is Mr. Belſham aware (and if he be not, he muſt be groſsly deficient, indeed, in ſcriptural knowledge) that, by denying the divinity of Chriſt, he is infinitely more criminal than the Jew, who limits the word of God to the Old Teſtament. For, the unbeliever, under the Chriſtian diſpenſation, who muſt allow that the New Teſtament alſo contains a divine Revelation, "makes God a liar," by denying the record which God has therein given of his ſon; which record, in the plain language of the Baptiſt, runs thus; that "*Jeſus was the lamb of God*, which taketh away the ſins of the world." John i. 29.

While

While we are on this subject, we cannot let slip the opportunity to remind this numerous class of unbelievers, who strangely miscall themselves *Christians*, of the infinite danger of chalking out a plan of salvation for themselves, at variance with, and in contradiction to, the plan prescribed for them by their Creator. They must bear to be told, deeply as their vanity will be wounded by the communication, that God having deigned to enter into a covenant with his fallen creatures, the object of which is to enable them, by the observance of certain conditions therein specified, to obtain salvation, they who reject the conditions must be excluded from the benefit, of that covenant; therefore, though it be not for man to fix bounds to the mercy of his Creator, yet any man may safely affirm, under the authority of Scripture, that such persons cannot obtain salvation under the Christian covenant. We know that these infidels flatter themselves that God is so *good*, as they are pleased to term it, that they may offend him with impunity, by impeaching the truth of his word, and by denying the divinity of their Redeemer; but let them remember that God is *just* as well as *merciful*, and that he will unquestionably make a difference between those who obey and those who disobey him. Is it wise, then, under such circumstances, to quit a *certainty* for an *uncertainty*, when the former ensures salvation, and the latter, unquestionably, is attended with *the risk*, at least, of damnation? There are many of this description, particularly among the *trading* part of the community, who, with inconceivable stupidity, making the extent of their own most limited, narrow, and superficial powers of comprehension, the standard of their belief in religious matters, and utterly ignorant of the nature, or even meaning of *Faith*, flippantly and blasphemously revile and ridicule the third person of the Trinity; not remembering that there is scriptural authority for asserting, that such blasphemy is considered by God as a sin so heinous, *as to exclude all hope of forgiveness!* Yet have these men the vanity and the presumption to think, at least *to say*, that if they lead honest lives, that is, if they do not steal, cheat, lie, or break the laws of man, they are sure to be saved! "It is supposed by some" says the respectable divine already quoted, "that provided men live honest and sober lives, they may be allowed to think and act freely, as to those points, which concern the manner in which they worship God, or the notions they may form about him. But Scripture sets before us another view of things, by teaching us to believe what has been revealed, relative to the Divine Nature, attributes and personality; and to shew our dependence on the means and method of salvation, by acknowledging Jesus Christ in the character in which he appeared in the world, and paying him such services as he has prescribed, constitutes the essence of all true religion, and the only sure foundation for all moral duty.

To pursue our quotations from a work so well calculated to console the meek and humble Christian, and to confound the vain and confident Unitarian; from the old Testament, it was observed, speaking of the children of men, "none of them can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a *ransom* for him," Psalm xlix 7. Whilst the language of the new Testament was brought forward to inform us, as the authority of Christ himself, that "the son of man came to give his life a *ransom for many*." The argument drawn from these premises, and considered to be decisive, was briefly this. If no man, according to the language of the old Testament, can redeem his brother; and if, according to the language of the *new*, "the son of man came to give his life a ransom for many," Matthew, xx. 28. It necessarily follows *that this son of man*

man must be something *more than man*; otherwise he was incompetent to the work he came to perform. At the same time we are expressly told, by an inspired apostle, that Jesus "verily took not on him the nature of angels." Heb. ii. 16. If Jesus Christ then was something more than *man*, and yet not *an angel*; in what character, it may be asked, did he appear in the world? The Scriptures have fully answered this important question, by informing us, that "the seed of the woman" promised in Paradise "to bruise the serpent's head," was, in the plain unequivocal language of the Gospel, "GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH, that he might destroy the works of the devil." 1 Tim. iii. 16.—1 John iii. 8. That for this purpose, "*all the fulness of the godhead dwelt in him bodily*;" Col. ii. 9.—that "with *his own blood* he might purchase the Church of God;" Acts xx. 28.—"Having *by his own blood* obtained eternal redemption for us." Heb. ix. 12. Thus, in allusion to the redemption from Egypt, Jesus Christ is called by the apostle, "*Our Passover*;" whilst the blood shed by him for that purpose, on account of the mysterious connection subsisting in his Divine Person, is called the *blood of God*."—*Daubeny's Eight Discourses on the connection between the Old and New Testament*. P. 473. et seq.

A multiplicity of other passages from Scripture might be quoted for the same purpose, but if Mr. Belsham, and his followers, will not be convinced by those already quoted, they would not be convinced, *though one rose from the dead*. In vain will they have recourse to that usual subterfuge of impiety, the rejection of every passage, as spurious, which thwarts their prejudices, or convicts them of blasphemy: In vain will they plead their inability to comprehend, as a justification for their infidelity; for no proposition carries with it, "more irresistible evidence than this, that what God has affirmed, however incomprehensible to the human mind in its present state, must infallibly be true!

We have bestowed much more time and attention on this stupid and worthless Discourse, than it would be intitled to, from any thing which it contains; But, knowing as we do, that these blasphemous tenets are too widely diffused, and that this production has been put, by Unitarians, into the hands of young Christians, properly so called, with a view to sap their principles, and to shake their faith, we have felt it to be our duty to supply an antidote to the mischief, and to direct those, who may stand in need of it, to a pure source of sound instruction on the most important of all subjects. One more passage, from the conclusion of Mr. Daubeny's most excellent discourses, we shall extract, for the benefit of Mr. Belsham, and his congregation in Essex-street.

"By comparing spiritual things with spiritual, with the view of making Scripture speak for itself (on the supposition that we have made a faithful report of the evidence contained in it), we have brought the decision on the subject before us to a short issue; by reducing Infidels of every description to the alternative, either of denying the divinity of the standard appealed to, or of admitting the conclusion which has here been determined by it. In this case it will not be found sufficient to set aside certain obnoxious texts, chapters, or even whole gospels; the doctrine of atonement being so intimately blended with the general tenour of divine Revelation, that they who object to it, must go one step further; and, by a sweeping clause, discard at once the whole evidence of Scripture. For, as the great scheme of Redemption was laid in the divine councils before the world began; so since the fall, if the Bible be a consistent book, there has been but one Covenant, the

the everlaſting Goſpel of Peace; but one Mediator, whoſe prieſthood is unchangeable; one faith, by which man can be ſaved; one hope of eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt; "who of God is made unto us wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, and ſanctification, and redemption;—"to whom be glory for ever."

Speaking of his appointment as a miniſter of the Eſſex-ſtreet Chapel, this vain and ſilly mortal ſays, "It is a diſtinction, in my eſtimation, greatly to be preferred to an epiſcopal mitre, or, an archiepiſcopal throne." In *our* eſtimation, it is a ſituation ſo diſgraceful, that the meaneſt of all honeſt occupations is infinitely ſuperior to it. This ſect of Unitarians, unhappily, is much increaſing; and ſo little do they profeſs the doctrines of Chriſt, that very few of them even condeſcend to make their children members of his Church, by baptiſing them. Surely the *liberal ſpirit* of the age is not prepared to look on this growth of infidelity with indifference!

MISCELLANEOUS.

Obſervations on the pretenſions of the Iriſh, to early civilization and literature, in ſtrictures on the Hiſtorical Review of Mr. Franeis Plowden, on the proſpectus of the Rev. Charles O'Conor, contained in the Annual Regiſter of 1803, *and on the Hiſtorians quoted by them.*

AS the judicious writer of theſe ſtrictures on Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review has but ſlightly glanced at his attempt to impoſe on the literary public, by giving a minute and pompous diſplay of the early refinement, the learning, the ſplendor and magnificence of the Iriſh, having treated it with merited contempt, we ſhall poſtpone for the preſent our review of this very excellent work, in order to convince the reader, that Mr. Plowden's relations thereof are founded in nothing but the inventions of monkiſh fabuliſts, and bardic fictions; and we hope to be able to prove this, not only from their goſs inconſiſtency, but from the concurrent teſtimony of authentic hiſtorians. He repeatedly tells us, in his Hiſtorical Review of Ireland, that his ſole object is to reconcile the Iriſh people to an incorporate union, and to produce a cordial attachment to, and a coalition between, them and their Britiſh fellow ſubjects; and yet he frequently tells them, that a declenſion from their ancient viſionary greatneſs has been occaſioned by nothing but their connection with Great Britain, and that it has been the ſole cauſe of their ſubſequent miſeries. In page 20, he ſays, "*this ſtate of pre-eminence*, which Ireland ſo long enjoyed, amidſt the nations of Europe, ſhews to what a degree of conſequence ſhe is capable of riſing, when her native energies and powers are not cramped by internal diviſions, *or damped by foreign oppreſſion*," or rigour."† In page 205, he tells them, "that it has been the fate of their country, to *experience more harſhneſs from the Engliſh Government, than any other part of the Empire*;" and in page 268, and in other parts of his work, he complains of the influence of "Engliſh intereſt" in the Government of Ireland. We think it, therefore, a matter of duty, to refute ſuch falſe and dangerous aſſertions; and in our endeavours

† This can allude to nothing, but her connection with England.

to

to accompliſh it, we ſhall make ſuch obſervations on the early ſtate of Great Britain and Ireland, particularly as to their religion, morals and literature, as we hope will be not only pleaſing but edifying to our readers. We are led by the following additional motive to undertake this taſk. The Rev. Doctor O'Conor, a popiſh prieſt, and who, we are informed, is domeſtic chaplain to the Marchioneſs of Buckingham, has given in the Annual Regiſter, of 1803, the proſpectus of a work, on the early annalifts of Ireland, which, from its contents, we have reaſon to believe, is calculated to eſtabliſh the credit of the fables and fictions related by them. In the courſe of our inveſtigation, we ſhall make ſome remarks on the characters of the hiſtorians mentioned by Mr. Plowden, and Doctor O'Conor, the periods in which they lived, and what degree of credit has been imputed to them by ſome of the moſt judicious critics of the three laſt centuries.

WE ſhall now proceed to examine on what hiſtorical grounds Mr. Plowden reſts the authenticity of the following aſſertions, which he makes in the 6th page of his Hiſtorical Review. "No nation now, in fact, on the face of the globe, can boaſt of ſuch certain and remote antiquity, as the Iriſh; none can trace inſtances of ſuch early civilization; none poſſeſſes ſuch irrefragable proofs of their origin, lineage and duration of Government." That Keating, O'Flaherty, Lynch, and O'Conor, boaſt of Iriſh antiquity, and that, to the overthrow of hiſtory and ſober reaſon, is proverbially known; but what are their grounds of certainty? The dreams and fabulous narrations of their bards and ſcanachies. Hear what O'Flaherty himſelf, one of the principle recorders of theſe fables, acknowledges. "In the ſelection of Iriſh books, the greateſt caution, and the moſt judicious diſcrimination is to be obſerved; for ſome of them are abſolutely apocryphal; others being fabulous are calculated merely to amuſe. Of ſome, the copies differ from each other, having been vitiated by the ignorance of the amanuenſes: others have been amplified, through flattery and ambition, with hyperbolical comments.* Does this candid confeſſion ſupply any ground for the certainty of Iriſh hiſtory, a confeſſion made by the beſt native writer, and confirmed by him in a later work, his Ogygia vindicated, wherein he ſays, "the Iriſh when they embraced Chriſtianity, and became converſant with ſacred writ, thought it glorious to their country to be derived, by a mother from the Egyptian Pharoes, and to have had familiar converſation with Moſes and the Iſraelites."

Mr. Wm. Molyneux,† a native of Ireland, an eminent ſtateſman and philoſopher of the 17th century, was intimately acquainted with Mr. O'Flaherty, which appears by the following extracts from his life, compoſed by himſelf, and lately printed by Richard Mercier, bookſeller, in Dublin, at the inſtance of his relation, the preſent Sir Capel Molyneux, who has the original, an autograph, in his poſſeſſion. After ſpeaking of Peter Walſh, the Iriſh Franciſcan, noted for his Iriſh remonſtrance, he ſays, "the other was Mr. Roger O'Flaherty, author of the Ogygia, ſeu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia, a man the moſt learned of any of the native

* De codicum Hibernicorum delectu, tum maxima eſt habenda cura, et acre judicium, nam aliqui plane apocryphi, aut fabulofi ad oblutumentum confuti; alii, exemplariorum varietate et ignorantia amanuenſium vitiati; alii, adulatione et ambitione, hyerbolicis commentis aucti, O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 34, 35.

† He was the intimate friend of Sir Iſaac Newton, and Mr. Locke, and was author of a well known political tract, entitled the Caſe of Ireland.

Iriſh,

Iriſh, that ever undertook the Iriſh antiquities; but he wants not a ſufficient ſtock of credulity, ſuch as ſuits not with a ſolid hiſtorian."

"Between theſe two, more eſpecially the latter, and me, there paſſed many letters in the ſummer of 1683, relating to the Iriſh hiſtory, concerning the antiquity thereof, and its motives of credibility, and concerning their antient literature, government, &c. wherein, I muſt confeſs, he could never perſuade me otherwiſe, but that they were, antiently, a rude, barbarous, illiterate nation; having nothing of their hiſtory, and very little of the chronology of their kings, or genealogy of families, more antient than St. Patrick, A. D. 432."

"Notwithſtanding this, I thought it might not be unworthy of my pains, to help forward the publication of his Ogygia, which I did at his requeſt, for he conſtantly ſent me from his dwelling-houſe, nigh Galway, his ſheets, as he tranſcribed them fair, and I tranſmitted them to the bookſeller, who printed his work. Sir Richard Cox, in the preface of the firſt part of his hiſtory, calls Mr. O'Flaherty's Ogygia, an Utopian achievement.

Hear what Doctor Talbot, in 1672 ſays, of the great authorities of Iriſh hiſtory, viz. the annals* of the four maſters, and Keating. "As to our vernacular writers, of whom Colgan denominates ſome, the four maſters, they are by no means entitled to credit, for they were *illiterate, and ſo devoted to party*, that but little truth is to be found in their performances; nor can Keating, who followed them, be relied on, for he expreſsly treats of the genealogies of the Iriſh, deducing them, in diſtinct generations, from Adam. What valuable information can be derived from ſuch writers, I profeſs myſelf ignorant." Talbot was a liberal, enlightened Roman Catholic, Archbiſhop of Dublin, and brother of the Duke of Tyrconnel.

Doctor O'Brien, titular biſhop of Cloyne, in the 17th century, reſpectable for his learning, aſſures us, that Keating never intended his hiſtory for the public, and that it was written only for the amuſement of private families;† preface to his Iriſh Dictionary, p. 40; and in page 44, he overthrows and ridicules the idea of the Iriſh being deſcended from Seythians, Mileſians, Magogians, &c.

In page 6, Mr. Plowden ſays, "the poſſeſſion of a vernacular language at this day, which was in general uſe above 3000 years ago, is a defiance to hiſtorical fiction and falſity, that Ireland can alone, proudly boaſt of."

Here Mr. P. bids defiance to common ſenſe. Are not the Tartarian, Peruvian, Tibetan, Abyſſinian languages, and that of every barbarous people, vernacular? Does Mr. P. underſtand the meaning of the word vernacular? Did he ever trace the hiſtory of the Iriſh tongue? It is ſuppoſed originally to be Celtic; but it is univerſally acknowledged, that it has undergone ſuch fluctuations, that there are but few Celtic words to be found in it; which the ingenious and learned Mr. Pinkerton has proved. Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 134, 135. What ſays General Vallancey, who wrote an Iriſh Grammer; ſpeaking of an Iriſh manuſcript, of the year 1325. "It cannot be called a very antient manuſcript; but it is a ſtrong proof, that the Iriſh language of this day (1781) is totally different

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* Inter annales vel auctores fide dignos, locum non mirentur nonnulli noſtri vernaculi ſcriptores, (quorum aliqui Colyanus quatuor magiſtros appellat) erant enim homines illiterati," &c. &c. Primat, Dublin, p. 42.

† Whom to flatter was his firſt object.

in

in ſenſe. and orthography from the dialect ſpoken 400 years ago." Eſſay on the Antiquity of the Iriſh Language, p. 322.

It is univerſally allowed, by all the learned, on this ſubject, that the Celts, of whom the Iriſh were a conſiderable branch, had no typography whatſoever. Hear what the learned Edward Lhyd, ſays on it, in his Archæologia Britannica. The Britiſh (or as they are uſually called) the Saxon, and Iriſh characters, are really Roman, with ſuch very ſmall deviations, as muſt unavoidably be introduced by time, and the arbitrary uſe of writing; and that the ſame characters are ſtill extant on the tomb-ſtone of Kadvan, king of Guymdh, in the Church of Lhan Cadwallader, in the iſle of Angleſey, who was one of the Britiſh princes, in that famous battle fought againſt the Saxons, who had maſſacred the monks of Bangor.*

That learned and accurate hiſtorian, Carte, obſerves, "In a word, we meet with no paſſages in antient authors, which give reaſon to imagine, that either the Gallic or Britiſh Druids had any knowledge of the uſe of letters, before the Romans came amongſt them: we hear of no books on any ſubject, that they ever wrote, nor writings of any kind, that they had, or left behind them, mentioned by any hiſtorian: we ſee no inſcription of theirs, on any pillars of their temples, or on any altars of their gods, or on any monuments of their princes, or heroes, in whoſe honour the Druids, who had the ſole care of religion, and the chief ſway in the ordering of public affairs, may be naturally ſuppoſed as zealous to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as the heathens were, in all countries where they had the uſe of letters. There is an infinite number of the remains of ſuch monuments, altars and temples, erected by the Druids, in theſe iſlands; and ſome there are, of their times, on the neighbouring continent, but, without the leaſt mark to ſhew there ever was a Britiſh or Celtic inſcription on any of them; and as characters engraven in marble are not apt to diſappear, as if wrote in water, a vaſt number of Roman ones, from the reign of Claudius, are preſerved to this day, it may be reaſonable on the whole, to pronounce, that the Britiſh Druids had no knowledge of the uſe of letters. Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 36.

Bollandus, a learned Jeſuit, aſſerts, that the Iriſh had not the uſe of letters till St. Patrick introduced it among them†. The learned Stillingfleet declares in his Origines Britannicæ, that he never could be brought to believe that the Druids wrote annals, or were poſſeſſed of letters. He obſerves, that Cæſar ſays, they depended entirely on memory, and that it was contrary to their diſcipline to commit any thing to writing.

The Iriſh annaliſts having no memorials of any kind whatſoever, to authenticate their early hiſtory, but the oral tradition of their bards and ſcanachies, have invented the following fictions to give a colour to them.

They pretend that St. Patrick committed to the flames 150 tracts of the Druids; which invention Stillingfleet condemns in his Origines Britannicæ. And again, they ſay, that the Danes, when they invaded Ireland in the 9th century, deſtroyed all its hiſtorical records. Lynch, in his Cambrenſis Everſus, adopts a ſimilar impoſture, to eſtabliſh the authority of the Iriſh bards, on which alone their annals are founded; for he accuſes Giraldus Cambrenſis of malicioufly deſtroying a great number of the early Iriſh annals, though he had not the leaſt authority for grounding that aſſertion.

* Archeologia. † Acta ſanct. Martyr. 17. Vit. Patrich, 4.

On

On this Bishop Stillingfleet obſerves, in his Origines Britannicæ, in which he rejects this monſtrous fiction; "if ſo, he (Giraldus Cambrenſis) had more advantages than Keating." Sir James Ware, in his very excellent book on the Antiquities of Ireland, ſays, "It is moſt certain, that there remains very little knowledge of what paſſed in Ireland, before the preaching of the goſpel there, neither am I ignoraut, that the moſt part of what is delivered by writers, concerning thoſe antient times, before St. Patrick's coming there, is rejected by ſeveral learned men, as fictions and fables; and it is to be remarked, that almoſt all the deſcriptions or accounts that are extant, of matters tranſacted in thoſe antient times, or of the fabric or invention of late ages. In this inquiry, therefore, I have ſpoken very ſparingly of them." Sir James Ware was univerſally reſpected for his veracity and candour; and from his laborious inveſtigation of that ſubject, no perſon was more competent to decide on it.

In page 8, Mr. Plowden ſays, "the Iriſh have long prided themſelves upon having kept up a longer ſucceſſion of monarchs, than any other kingdom of the world. This race of kings, the Iriſh call Mileſian, all of them having deſcended from Heber, Eremen, and Ith, the three ſons of Mileſius."

Father Walſh, the Franciſcan friar, who profeſſes to believe theſe fictions, with much candour confeſſes, that of 200 kings, 170 died premature and violent deaths. Proſpect. p. 2. Of the Mileſian race of kings, hear what the ingenious and learned Pinkerton ſays. "The whole tale of the Mileſians, and the hiſtory of the monarchs of that mock line, is the moſt deplorable piece of nonſenſe that ever ſtained the annals of mankind." Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 13. Spenſer, ſecretary to Lord Grey in the reign of Elizabeth, was an acute obſerver, and took great pains to explore the authenticity of the early part of the Iriſh annals, and he ſays, "Of the four ſons of Mileſius, king of Spain, who conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngeſt Hibernus, Hibernia; all which are in truth fables and Mileſian lies, as the Latin proverb is; for never was there ſuch a king of Spain called Mileſius, nor any ſuch colony ſeated with his ſons, that can ever be proved." View of the State of Ireland, p. 1549. London edition. By J. Jonſon.

Hear what the learned Stillingfleet ſays in his Origines Britanniæ, on the Mileſian kings. "We are told from a late Iriſh antiquary, Geoffry Keating, that the poſterity of Guathelus and Scota *, or the Mileſian race, ſettled in Ireland, anno mundi, 2736, after the flood. Here is a pretence to very great antiquity, and an appearance of exact calculation; but I only aſk by what cycles the Iriſh proceeded when they began? How they could adjuſt the time ſo well to the age of the world; or what other certain way they had, which might be reduced to it? If they had none, all this * * * * * * might be only fancy and opinion, unleſs there were ſome characters of time fixed, and certain, by eclipſes and aſtronomical obſervations, or certain periods of time, co-incident paſſages, which might connect the year of their deſcent into Ireland, with ſuch a year of the world, or

* Johannes Major, calls the ſtory of Gauthelus and Scota, and their coming out of Greece and Egypt, a mere figment, and invented only to match the Britons, who derived themſelves from the Trojans.

1086 after the flood. After Moſes paſſing the Red Sea, 192, before Chriſt's nativity 1308, from whence the antiquity of the Iriſh nation is not to be paralleled, unleſs by the Chineſe only.

Though there are ſuch unqueſtionable proofs that the Iriſh could not have known any thing of their early ſtate, Mr. P. (page 12.) gives the following picture of their early refinement and civilization. "The pretenſions to the royal ſtock of ſovereignty in Ireland, were not the only grounds of their ſyſtem of family pride and conſequent preſumption. Each king or ſovereign had his order of chivalry, of which he himſelf was the chief: his high prieſt to ſuperintend religion: his brehen, or chief juſtice, to expound the law: his phyſicians, antiquarians, chief treaſurer, marſhal, ſtandard-bearer, generals of horſe and foot, &c. All theſe were hereditary honours in certain families, out of which the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and beſt qualified, were elected to the particular appointment." From page 15 to 23, Mr. P. gives a moſt minute and pompous account of "the triennial convention of their ſtates, which was called the great Foes, at Jeamer, or Jara, inſtituted by their great and favourite monarch, Ollam-Fodlah, who reigned, according to Keating, about 950 years before the Chriſtian æra. The monarch, and the provincial, and other kings who had the executive power in their hands, on one ſide, and the philoſophers and prieſts, together with the deputies of the people on the other, formed the whole of this antient legiſlature. When this great council was convened, previous to their entering on buſineſs, they ſat down to ſumptuous entertainments, ſix days ſucceſſively." "Very minute accounts are given by the Iriſh annaliſts * of the magnificence and order of theſe entertainments; from whence we may collect the earlieſt traces of heraldry that occur in hiſtory, and deduce that partiality for family diſtinctions, which, to this day, forms a ſtriking part of the Iriſh national characteriſtic. In order to preſerve order and regularity, the ſhield bearers of the princes, and other members of the convention, delivered in their ſhields and targets, which were readily diſtinguiſhed by the coats of arms emblazoned upon them: theſe were arranged by the grand marſhal and principal herald, and hung upon the walls on the right ſide of the tables, and upon entering the apartments, each member took his ſeat undr his reſpective ſhield or target, without the ſlighteſt diſturbance. The firſt ſix days were not ſpent in diſorderly revelling and exceſs, but particularly devoted to the examination and ſettlement of the hiſtorical antiquities and annals of the kingdom; they were publicly rehearſed, and privately inſpected, by a private committee of the moſt learned members." Mr. Plowden, after imputing to the Iriſh an extraordinary degree of refinement, not only in civil polity, but in all the arts which can improve and adorn civil life, tells us, that it was "eſtabliſhed in Ireland 950 years before the æra alluded to by Cæſar, of the rude barbariſm of the Britons," page 15. But well knowing that it cannot be ſubſtantiated by any records whatſoever, he has recourſe to that pitiful fiction of the Iriſh annaliſts (page 16), that "the Danes in their frequent ravages and invaſions of Ireland, during the 9th and 10th centuries, burnt all the books and monuments of antiquity that fell in their way," and he adds, "We have ſtill more to lament, the ſhameful and fatal

* Keating who lived in the 17th century, fabricated all theſe abſurd fables, and Mr. Plowden has tranſcribed them from him.

policy

policy of our ancestors, who, from the first invasion of Henry of Plantagenet, down to the reign of James I. took all possible means of cant and force, to destroy whatever writings had, by chance or care, been preserved from the destructive hands of the Danes."

This vile fiction is not calculated to reconcile the Irish to the British government or nation. Sir James Ware gives a long list of the earliest Irish annalists, deposited in the Bodilean library, where we are well assured that Dr. O'Conor has been consulting them, and making copious extracts from them.

Had the Irish enjoyed a wise system of laws, under "a longer succession of monarchs than any other nation of the world," would it not follow as a natural consequence, that they would have advanced in civilization, and that the external relations, as well as the internal policy, of such a nation would have been recorded by well authenticated memorials? On the contrary, from the earliest ages mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and every antient and modern writer, respected for his veracity, there appears in the Irish character, nothing but traits of barbarism, and an invincible ferocity, neither softened by religion, nor improved by cultivation. Strabo, who wrote in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, says, "that the Irish were barbarous, and wild men." Those, he says, that in our days, make a survey of the different countries of the world, find nothing to relate of any country beyond Ireland, which lies to the north, and near Britain, and is inhabited by men entirely wild, αγριων τελεως ανθρωπων.

The same author, in speaking of the Britons, tells us, that in his time they resembled the Gauls in their manners, and way of living, but adds, that they were in some degree more rude and barbarous; and then he adds, as to Ireland, by the most certain information which I have acquired, its inhabitants are more barbarous and savage αγριωτεροι than those of Britain. So that in his time the Irish were reputed more barbarous and savage, than the Gauls and the Britons; and Cæsar, in his observations on the latter, gives ample testimony of their barbarism.

Pomponius Mela, who lived in the first age of Christianity, and not long after Strabo, says, that the inhabitants of Ireland were unpolished, barbarous, and ignorant of all virtues *.

Keating, in the Preface of his History, says, that Strabo and Pomponius Mela had no opportunity of knowing the condition and manners of the Irish. But Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, tells us, "that the ports of Ireland were better known, and more frequented, by the merchants, than those of Britain," being much more numerous and safer, and probably not inferior to any in Europe. Tacitus received his information from Agricola, his father-in-law; and Agricola received his account from no less authority than one of the Irish kings. The former, in describing the barbarous state of the Britons, says, they are, "disponi et rudes," and he adds, that the Irish † in their manners were much the same as the Britons. Solinus, who is supposed to have lived in the second age of the incarnation, agrees with Strabo and Mela in their account of the Irish, for, he says, that in their manners, they are rude and inhuman ‡.

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* Pomp. Mela, c. 3, 6,

† Ingenia cultusque hominum (in Hibernia), non multum a Britannia differunt.

‡ Hibernia inhumana, ritu incolarum aspera, gens inhospita et bellicosa, fas et nefas eodem animo ducunt. Solinus, c. 36, p. 62.

Froiſſart, an eye witneſs, deſcribes the wretched appearance of four Iriſh kings, who attended Richard II. and he ſays, that they had every thing in common with their ſervants *. That very excellent antiquary, the honourable D. Barrington is of opinion that the Iriſh in 1377, were as uncivilized as the ſavages of North America †.

Giraldus Cambrenſis, a Welſh eccleſiaſtic, who had ſtudied at the univerſity of Paris, where his talents were ſo conſpicuous that he was placed at the head of that ſeat of learning, where he ſupported the higheſt character for eloquence and ſcience, firſt went to Ireland in 1182, and on his return, after remaining there two years, he communicated his obſervations on it to that wiſe monarch Henry II. who appreciated them ſo highly, that in 1185 he was ſelected as privy counſellor and ſecretary to his ſon John, who was about to make the tour of Ireland. He was ordered by Henry to inquire into, and report the ſituation of that country, its nature, the origin of the people, their manners, how often, by whom, and the ways in which they were ſubdued, and what new and preternatural ſubjects were to be found there. This taſk he executed in a maſterly manner; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that he would be ſo raſh as to give any miſrepreſentations in a work ‡, which he addreſſed to ſo wiſe a ſovereign, and which he read for three days before the univerſity of Oxford.

He obſerves, that the Iriſh had ſcarcely emerged from the paſtoral life, that they deſpiſed the labours of agriculture, and declined civil wealth and ſocial connection, paſſing their lives in woods and paſtures, in a brutiſh manner, and in the company of their cattle, p. 739. According to Spenſer, Morriſon, and many other writers, the Iriſh were in a barbarous ſtate, at the end of the 16th century. Their ſole employment was keeping cattle, and paſturing in mountains and waſte places, like the Scythians. This was called to creete, creaght or keyriaught, or boolying, from Bal, a cow. Their boolies were temporary huts of clay and twigs, much the ſame as the highland ſheelins, or Indian wigwams. Morriſon tells us, that he ſaw an Iriſh chieftain and his family ſitting naked round the fire in one of them.

Spenſer, in his excellent view of the ſtate of Ireland, ſpeaks thus of them, "By the cuſtom of boolying there grow many great enormities unto the commonwealth. If there be any outlaws or looſe people (as they are never without ſome) which live upon ſtealth and ſpoils, they are evermore ſuccoured and find relief, only in theſe boolies, being upon waſte places, whereas elſe they ſhould be driven ſhortly to ſtarve, or come down to the towns, to find relief, where, by ſome means or other they would ſoon be caught. Beſides, ſuch ſtealths of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to theſe boolies, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or ſuch officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that live in theſe boolies grow thereby more barbarous, and live more licentiouſly than they could in towns, uſing what manners they liſt, and practiſing what miſchiefs and villanies they will, *either againſt the government there, by their combinations,*

* Book I. p. 209.

† Archæologia, v. 3, p. 75.

‡ His latinity is ſingularly good, conſidering, the dark period when he wrote.

or

or againſt private men whom they maligne, by ſtealing their goods or murdering themſelves *.

The following obſervations of Spenſer, in the ſame work, muſt convince us of the very barbarous ſtate of the Iriſh, in the 16th century.

" The Gauls uſed to drink their enemies blood, and paint themſelves therewith. So, alſo, they write that the old Iriſh were wont, but not their enemies, but their friends blood; as, namely, at the execution of a notable traitor at Limerick, called Murraugh O'Brien. I ſaw an old woman, who was his foſter mother, take up his head, whilſt he was quartered; and ſuck up all the blood that run thereout, ſaying, that the earth was not worth to drink it, and therewith, alſo ſteeped her face and breaſt, and tore her hair, crying out, and ſhrieking moſt terribly." Vol. VI. p. 1563, London edition, by Jacob Jonſon. A. D. 1715.

The following record will prove, that the Iriſh differed very little in 462 years, from the deſcription which Giraldus Cambrenſis gave of them, in 1185.

That popiſh rebellious aſſembly, the confederate Catholics of Kilkenny, who aſſumed the legiſlative and executive powers of the ſtate, iſſued the following orders, the 12th of November, 1647.

Whereas ſeveral perſons of the province of Ulſter, and other parts of this kingdom, with their cattle and families, go in great multitudes, through many parts of the ſeveral provinces of this kingdom, being, as they allege, neceſſitated for the ſafety of their lives and fortunes, to leave their former dwellings and habitations, and where, by their daily ranging, they have very much prejudiced ſeveral countries, in deſtroying the graſs, corn, and other goods of the inhabitants there, which hath occaſioned, that ſeveral countries, and places, are quite deſerted and waſted, and the ſaid Keyriaughts avoid the contribution that falls upon them; it is, therefore, for the future redreſs of ſuch miſchiefs thought fit, that the General of Ulſter, calling to his aſſiſtance, ſuch other perſons of the ſaid province as ſhall be fit, ſhall inquire and find out, and return to the Supreme Council now to be eſtabliſhed, the head keriaughts of the ſaid province of Ulſter, with the ſeveral provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught, and what number of cattle each of them hath. Upon return whereof, and the examination by the Council, of the lands waſted in the ſeveral countries, which are ſet for county charges only, or which are waſted, and yield no county charges, to aſſign unto the ſaid Keyriaghts, or unto ſeveral of them together, ſo much of the waſte lands in the ſeveral provinces for their habitations†, and their paying county charges for the ſame, as others of the ſame counties will do, where they are to reſide, till they may return to their former habitations, and not to annoy their neighbours, or any of the quarters of the confederate Catholics, at their peril. Printed at Kilkenny, 1647‡. We ſhall now prove, that the pretenſions of the Iriſh to

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* Here is an exact picture of the white boys and defenders, who, in our times, have made a practice of robbing and murdering loyal Proteſtants, and of forming treaſonable combinations againſt the government.

† Hence it is evident that they never had any fixed habitations.

‡ We gave a full deſcription of this traiterous aſſembly, in the twenty-firſt volume of this work.

alphabetic characters, previous to their Bethluisnion, which all the learned agree, is but an imitation of the Roman character, is founded in the groſſeſt fiction. According to Keating, whoſe hiſtory is the grand repoſitory of all the Iriſh fables, "the famous Feniuſa Farſa, the ſon of Magog, King of Sycthia, deſirous of becoming maſter of the 72 languages, created at the confuſion of Babel, ſent 72 perſons to learn them. He eſtabliſhed a Univerſity at Magh-Seanir, near Athens, over which, he, Gadel and Coaith preſided. Theſe formed the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters. Gadel was ordered to digeſt the Iriſh into five dialects. The Finian to be ſpoken by the militia and ſoldiery: the poetic and hiſtoric, by the Seanachies and Bards; the medical, by the phyſicians, and the common idiom by the vulgar." Geoffry Keating, whom Mr. Plowden extols as an hiſtorian, was a ſecular prieſt, who died about the year 1625, a ſhort time after he had finiſhed his hiſtory, which Sir Richard Cox, in his excellent Hiſtory of Ireland, *calls a heap of ſilly fictions*; and which Dr. Talbot, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, characteriſes in a very few words, by ſaying, "inſigne plane ſed inf num opus."

Some of the principal events in his hiſtory turn upon magic and necromancy. O'Flaherty, who deals in fable as much as Keating, ſays, "what if I ſhould affirm, that our Phœnicus was the Phœnican Cadmus, who depicted the antient Greek letters, and which reſembled the Latin Nor are the Iriſh far diſtant from the Latin" Here he ſpeaks the truth, though reluctantly; for the Iriſh elements are derived from the Latin, and the Latin from the Greek. O'Conor's Diſſertations on the antient Hiſtory of Ireland, are nothing but ſcraps tranſlated from O'Flaherty's Ogygia, and Lynch's Cambrenſis Everſus. In the one part of this work, O'Conor obſerves, on the Bethluiſnion, "this has not the leaſt reſemblance with either the Greek or Roman alphabets;" and yet, afterwards, he admits that "the letters uſed by the old Iriſh (the Bethluiſnion) ſince the reception of Chriſtianity, are evidently borrowed from the firſt Chriſtian Miſſioners, as more commodious than the old, uncouth, and virgular forms imported into Ireland, by the Celto Seythian colony from Spain." This is a direct contradiction to what he ſaid before. Sir George Mackenzie, and Biſhop Stillingfleet, had examined the Iriſh claim to remote hiſtory and literature, and found it to be a maſs of ſilly and impertinent impoſture. Father Innes, the two Macpherſons, and Mr. Whitaker, have ſince totally ſubverted it. It is univerſally allowed, that there is not one Iriſh manuſcript extant older than the 11th century.

The annals on which the Iriſh hiſtorians principally rely, and from which Keating has derived many of his abſurd and fabulous relations, are the Pſalter of Caſhell, Cormacs Gloſſary,* the Leaver Gabbala and the Leavar Lecan. Walſh gives the following extract from the firſt, which muſt completely deſtroy its authenticity, as an hiſtorical record. "That the Picts ſerved in Thrace under one Polycornus, that they fled that country, and roamed up and down at ſea, till they came to Gaul, and there founded the city of Pictavia: that they were forced to leave Gaul, and retire to Ireland: that Troſdan, a magician, adviſed the Iriſh army to bathe in the milk of one hundred and fifty white crumple horned cows, as a ſure antidote againſt the envenomed arrows of the Britons." Stillingfleet,

* A Franciſcan Friar who lived in the 17th century.

Pages

Innes, and Pinkerton, condemn it as a Romance. As to Cormacs Gloſſary, Lynch* in his Cambrenſis Everſus, page 301, ſays, it was the work of Cairbre Liffechair, A. D. 27. Colgan, equally entitled to credit, aſcribes it to Cormac Ulſhada, A. D. 257. O'Conor who publiſhed O'Flaherty's Ogygia vindicated, in 1775, and was well acquainted with Iriſh literature, had never ſeen this gloſſary, and fears it was loſt to the public. Though it has been aſcribed by many Iriſh antiquaries to Cormac, Prince of Munſter, and Biſhop of Caſhell. Lynch and O'Conor, who were ſuppoſed to be well verſed in Iriſh antiquities, are of a different opinion, and ſay is was compoſed by others, who lived above 600 years before Cormac; but they are romancing, when they ſuppoſe letters to have been known, or common in the third century. It is now 1500 years, according to Lynch and Colgan, and 900 according to others, ſince this pretended gloſſary was ſuppoſed to have been written. Has the Iriſh tongue ſuffered no alteration in that great length of time? It muſt have been aſtoniſhingly changed, when General Va lancey, who devoted great part of his life to the cultivation of Iriſh literature, tells us, in his grammar of that language, th t the Iriſh language of 400 years back, is totally different from the preſent, in ſenſe and orthography. The Leavar Gabhala and Leavar Lecan, which have never ſeen the light, are much of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe which we have deſcribed. It is pretended in theſe wretched forgeries, compoſed in an obſcure corner of the globe, not only to ſupply the defects, but to fill up the chaſms of ſacred and profane hiſtory, that the geneatogies of the Virgin Mary, Joſeph, and other holy perſons in the Scripture, are not to be had, but in this book of Lecan†. Lynch is of opinion, that it was compiled between the years 1380 and 1417, A. D. a period like the reſt, of rebellion and domeſtic confuſion; but many perſons well verſed in Iriſh literature, differ from him, as the language is too modern for ſo early a date. The Iriſh were attached to their barbarous Brehan inſtitutions, and being unwilling to ſubmit to the wiſe and ſalutary regimen of Engliſh law, their miſerable ſcanachies or bards amuſed themſelves, and their countrymen, with fabulous tales of the antiquity and nobility of their deſcent, the grandeur and power of their former princes, and the diſtingu ſhed learning and civility of their anceſtors.

The pretenſions of the Iriſh to very high antiquity can be ſupported only by authentic records; but all thoſe were deſtroyed by St. Patrick in the 5th century, by the Danes in the 9th, and by the Engliſh in the 12th, what knowledge then could ſucceeding annaliſts have of them? But it is no leſs ſingular than true, that none of the old Iriſh manuſcripts quoted by any of the Iriſh hiſtorians or antiquaries of the 15th or 16th centuries, have ever been produced, though they are ſaid to be in public libraries, or in private collections, or were quoted in detached ſcraps. "Therefore," ſays Stillingfleet‡, in 1685, "it would tend very much to the clearing of anti-

* Ogygia Vind. p. 161. John Lynch, who endeavoured to impeach the credit of Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his Cambrenſis Everſus, publiſhed in 1662, was a ſecular prieſt.

† Lhuyd Archæolo. Brit. p. 435.

‡ Antiq. of Brit. p. 248, 249.

quities,

quities, if ſome of theſe antient annals and leger books were printed. For it hath rendered their credit the more ſuſpicious, becauſe they have been ſo long kept up, when all the old Engliſh annals have been carefully publiſhed." Innes, in 1729, after deſcribing the manner in which Iriſh fictions were, by the moderns, brought into ſome conſiſtence and ſhape, obſerves *, that the originals are kept out of ſight to conceal their deformity, and their contradictions to all true hiſtory; and he pertinently obſerves, "we are now no more in ages of ignorance and credulity. Men have begun long ſince to meaſure their belief of remote antiquity by their vouchers." In 1783, Mr. Edmund Burke declared his opinion, "that extracts † from Iriſh manuſcripts only increaſed curioſity; and the juſt demand of the public for ſome entire pieces; and that until this is done, the antient period of Iriſh hiſtory, which precedes official records, can not be ſaid to ſtand on proper authority." In 1786, Mr. Burke ſays in a letter ‡, "will you have the goodneſs to pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty to mention; my earneſt wiſh that ſome of the antient Iriſh hiſtorical monuments ſhould be publiſhed as they ſtand, with a tranſlation in Latin or Engliſh. Until ſomething of this kind is done, criticiſm can have no ſecure anchorage."

The earneſt wiſh of theſe eminent ſcholars would have been long ſince complied with, were ſuch antient Iriſh manuſcripts in exiſtence; but the Iriſh antiquaries have never ventured to give any thing more than extracts from them; and from the ſpecimens which they preſented of them to the public, it is certainly for the honour of the country to ſuffer them to remain for ever in obſcurity.

After having convicted Mr. Plowden of the groſſeſt literary and hiſtoric falſhoods and miſrepreſentations, we ſhall proceed to examine the proſpectus of Charles O'Conor, D.D. publiſhed in the Annual Regiſter for 1803, and intitled, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Antiqui, &c. a Carolo O'Conor, D.D. He profeſſes himſelf to be the grandſon of the late Charles O'Conor, of Belamgare, and of courſe pretends to be deſcended from Roderic O'Conor, the laſt Monarch. We ſhall now examine,

"Quid dignum tanto feret hic promiſſer hiatu."

Our author begins his intended work with the annals of Cluain, otherwiſe called Tigernach's Annals, which come down to the year 1088, A.D. Father Innes§, who examined theſe annals in the Duke of Chandos's library, ſays, "they want ſome leaves in the beginning, and elſewhere, and begin only about the time of Alexander the Great; but till St. Patrick's time, they treat chiefly of the general hiſtory of the world, and contain but very little of Ireland." This annaliſt, ſays Biſhop Nicholſon||, allows, that omnia monumenta Scotorum¶, uſque Kimboath (who is ſaid to have reigned A.M. 3596, about 440 years before our Saviour's incarnation) incerta erant. These two citations ſupply criteria to judge, whether interpolations ſhall be hereafter foiſted into a modern edition of theſe annals. Tigernach has always ſupported a good character, and the

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* Crit. Eſſ. Vol. II, p. 499. † Collectan. No. 13, p. 133.
‡ Campbells Strict. p. 291. § Critical Eſſay, p. 453.
|| Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 31.
¶ The early appellation of the Iriſh.

reaſon,

reaſon is given by O'Brien in the preface to his Iriſh Dictionary (p. 40), "becauſe fabulous ſtories are taken no notice of." Doctor O'Conor, therefore, acted wiſely in placing him at the head of his Iriſh annaliſts. But his doing ſo, was impolitic on another account, for he deſtroys the credit of the other Iriſh hiſtorians, who abound in abſurd fables and monſtrous fictions. Though Tigernach is much ſuperior to them, he is not implicitly to be relied on, as he contradicts the venerable Bede, and other writers of credit. The uncertainty of Iriſh literary monuments, which he acknowledges, receives the ſtrongeſt confirmation from what Nennius ſaid, 250 years before: "That he conſulted the moſt eminent Iriſh antiquaries, and that (nulla certa hiſtoria) no certain hiſtory of the nation was extant."

The ſecond in our author's ſeries of annals, are thoſe of Ulſter, otherwiſe called Annales Sonatenſes. According to this proſpectus, they reach to the year 1131. They begin A.D. 444, and end A.D. 1541. "This year, ſays Nicholſon (p. 37), died Roger Caſſidy, who wrote the latter part of theſe annals entirely, and made great additions to the former." Thus dreſſed up by a bigotted Iriſh eccleſiaſtic, and adapted to the taſte of an ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude (as the Iriſh were in 1541), no reliance can be placed on them.

The next are the annals of Innisfallen, written A. D. 1318. They give a ſketch of univerſal hiſtory, from the creation to the year 430, with very little relative to Ireland. Both Ware and Nicholſon are of opinion, that their author, who is anonymous, lived about the year 1215, ſo that theſe, like the Ulſter annals, have been interpolated, and continued to 1318, and are of equal authority.

The annals of Boyle ſucceed, commonly called Annales Conatienſes. They begin at the year 1232, A.D. and end 1253, and are of little importance. He cloſes his liſt of the Iriſh annals, with thoſe of Donegal, commonly called thoſe of the four maſters. This work conſiſts of two thick volumes 4to. It begins A.M. 2527, and ends A.D. 1171. It was the work of four Franciſcan Friars, Michael and Peregrine Clery, Maurice, and Fearfeara Coury, but principally of the firſt, who had been employed by Colgan* in collecting materials, for his acta ſanctorum Hiberniæ, and who was eminent in that contemptible line of literature. The reader ſhall know the object of his ſtudies from three works which he compoſed. One was an account of the Kings of Ireland, the years of their reigns, and their genealogies, &c. The ſecond conſiſts of the genealogies of the Iriſh Saints, arranged under thirty-ſeven claſſes. The third treatiſe gives the firſt Planters of Ireland, from *the Flood*. Such a compilation of abſurd fables raiſed the indignation of Doctor Talbot, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, who condemned, and declared them to be unworthy of credit †; and yet they were called the four maſters by Colgan, as preeminent among the Iriſh annaliſts. Doctor Talbot obſerves on Keating, "Nor is there any reliance to be placed on him, who follows them; for he treats of the genealogies of the Iriſh, deducing them, in diſtinct gene-

* John Colgan, an Iriſh friar, a divinity lecturer in the Univerſity of Louvain, who wrote three large volumes of the lives of Iriſh ſaints in the beginning of the 17 century.

† See his obſervations, in p. 3.

rations from Adam. Many things he introduces from Bardic Poems, with ſtories of giants. What valuable information can be had from ſuch writers, I profeſs myſelf ignorant." Such were the ſentiments of Doctor Talbot*, a man, who from his habits and education as a Popiſh eccleſiaſtic, was as little inclined to diminiſh the credit of Iriſh fabulous hiſtory, as Keating or O'Flaherty, but whoſe good ſenſe would not ſuffer him to give them any countenance. If then our moſt celebrated Iriſh annals, can not, in the opinion of their countrymen, ſtand the teſt of criticiſm, can Doctor O'Conor think the literary public ſo weak and ignorant, as to imagine that the authority of theſe works can be propped up by metrical romances, compoſed ſeven or eight centuries earlier? Not one hiſtoric fact, nor any uſeful information of the ſtate of ſociety in remote ages can be elicited from theſe contemptible Bardic fictions.

The publication of theſe annals is artfully made ſubſervient to the purpoſe of introducing its principal objects, which are a topographical chart, and a dictionary of the forfeited eſtates, " to aſſiſt local reſearches." Do the modern poſſeſſors of them in Ireland want ſuch aſſiſtance? They do not. They muſt then be for the uſe of the old proprietors, who complain of being unjuſtly deprived of their antient patrimonies. This chart and dictionary are probably intended to enable them to aſcertain their claims; and in caſe of a revolution, with the aid of old title deeds, and other monuments, formerly lodged in Cooke-ſtreet Chapel, in Dublin, and now ſaid to be transferred to the Popiſh College of Maynooth, in the county of Kildare†, will maintain the hopes of the antient proprietors, of being able to evict the preſent poſſeſſors. That judicious hiſtorian, Mr. Carte, obſerves, in his Life of the Duke of Ormond‡. " But there are two conſiderable bodies of men ſtill diſcontented (in Ireland), both of great power among the people; yet it *was impracticable to gratify either in their deſires, without endangering the Crown, and throwing the whole kingdom into confuſion*; tis eaſy to ſee that I mean the Romiſh Clergy, and the old Iriſh Septs. The former have an abſolute power over the bulk of the Iriſh Papiſts (who being ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and bigotted, are blindly led by them at their pleaſure); and no little influence over the gentry of their communion. The other body are the leaders of the Iriſh Septs, diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, which they had forfeited by rebellion §.

Did not Dr. O'Conor's grandfather publiſh a chart of the forfeited eſtates, and ſoon after give an edition of Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland, which contains as groſs a miſrepreſentation of thoſe events as Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review; and it with equal effrontery denies, or palliates, the bloody atrocities committed during their progreſs? Did not thoſe Charts, and many other ſeditious publications tend to promote the rebellions of 1798 and 1803, by exciting diſcontents, and reviving animoſities? And will any one deny that a ſimilar work will have the ſame effect; and that it would deſerve no encouragement, either on the ſcore of intrinſic merit, or good intent? Our duty and our allegiance to the king and con-

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* See his Memoirs in Harris's Edition of Ware's Writers.

† See the Britiſh Critic, Vol. XXII. p. 467.

‡ Vol. I. p. 155.

§ This work was publiſhed near a century ago, and theſe obſervations are applicable to the preſent time.

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ſtitution loudly call on us to warn the public againſt any performance, which would not gratify the curioſity of the antiquary, and which might be productive of the worſt effects.

In page 19 and 20, Mr. Plowden adopts and gives credit to all the legendary tales about St. Patrick, who was ſuppoſed to arrive as a miſſionary in Ireland, about the year 430 A. D.; and he ſays, "But it is material to know, that the faith which was preached by St. Patrick to, and received by, the Iriſh, was that *which is now denominated the Roman Catholic faith.* It could in fact have been no other; for St. Patrick received his Chriſtian education, as well as his ſirname Patricius, at Rome; nor is it to be preſumed, that Pope Celeſtine ſent Patrick to preach other doctrines, than what he himſelf maintained."

In page 248 of our 20th volume, we preſented to the reader incontrovertible proofs of the falſity of this aſſertion; to which we ſhall add the following obſervations. Platina, who, in his life of Pope Celeſtine, mentions his ſending St. Germanus into England, and Palladius into Scotland, is perfectly ſilent as to his appointing St. Patrick a miſſionary to Ireland; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that his biographer, noted for his ſkill in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, would omit an incident which redounded ſo much to his reputation. If the pompous account of his having received his miſſion from Pope Celeſtine, his orders in the church of Rome, his being graced with the archiepiſcopal dignity, forming an hierarchy, and eſtabliſhing rites and ceremonies, according to the Romiſh See, of which ſome of his biographers boaſt, be true, what reaſon can be aſſigned, why Cogitoſuſus, Adamnan, Cummian, and Bede, authors of the 7th and 8th centuries, are ſilent on it. Adamnan wrote the life of St. Columbus, in three books, which contain nothing but the common legendary tales and irreligious abſurdities of his time. He was a very active and powerful inſtrument, in perverting the Iriſh from their pure original faith to that of Rome. "He endeavoured," ſays Bede, "to bring his own people who were in the iſle of Ily *, or who were ſubject to that monaſtery, into the way of truth, which he had learned and embraced with all his heart, but could not prevail. Not ſucceeding with the Albanian clergy, he ſailed over into Ireland, declared the legal time of Eaſter, according to the Romiſh church, and reduced many of them to the Catholic unity. Returning to Ily, after celebrating the Romiſh Eaſter in Ireland, and moſt earneſtly recommended it to his monks, but without being able to prevail, he departed this life." Would a man ſo earneſt, as Bede here repreſents Adamnan to have been, omit to ſet forth and blazon the merits of St. Patrick, whom all his numerous biographers, in ſubſequent times, have repreſented as ſingularly zealous in converting the heretical Iriſh to Chriſtianity? Or, would Bede himſelf have ſo ſlightly paſſed over this matter, when reciting the merits of Adamnan; and both of them dwell on the trifling actions of obſcure Iriſh monks, ſolely from their devotion to the See of Rome.

It is equally abſurd and incredible to affirm, that Armagh was the head of the Iriſh church, and that St. Patrick exerciſed metropolitan juriſdiction there. Where is the evidence? In monkiſh legends, of late invention and fabrication, which no one believes. It is ſaid by thoſe who give credit to the fabulous accounts of Iriſh ſaints, that St. Patrick went to Rome,

* Now called Iona.

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in the year 462, and related to Pope Hilary the ſucceſs of his miſſion; which was ſo pleaſing, that the Pope, as a mark of his eſteem and approbation, conferred on him the pall and legateſhip of Ireland. We may form ſome notion of the credit due to this ſtory, when Dr. Talbot, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, ſays, in a controverſial work, wherein the right of Dublin or Armagh to the primacy is diſcuſſed, by Talbot on one ſide, and Mac-Mahon on the other, "that St. Patrick was neither archbiſhop, primate, or metropolitan; that his pall is chimerical, made of goat's wool, and flies through the air, ſewn to the reliques of St. Peter the protomartyr †." Thus this Roman Catholic prelate, who, throughout his work, evinces great liberality, ſtrong good ſenſe, and conſiderable learning, treats theſe monkiſh falſehoods with juſt contempt. We cannot be ſurpriſed at his rejecting the legateſhip of St. Patrick, for there was no ſuch office as Legatus *a latere*, until the ſecond Nicene Council ‡, A. D. 787, above three centuries after the ſuppoſed deceaſe of St. Patrick; and we are informed, both by Uſher and Ware, that palls were not beſtowed in Ireland before the year 1152 §. It is an undeniable fact, that our apoſtle was not mentioned by any author, or in any work, of veracity, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th centuries. In 858, we find his name and miracles, in a fragment of Nennius ‖, which is compoſed of the moſt extravagant abſurdities and incoherences, and is exactly in the ſtyle of the incredible fictions of that age. It ſeems to have been compiled from an Iriſh legend, as in ſome places it refers to it. About the year 880, Heric of Auxerre, in his life of St. German, calls St. Patrick "Hiberniæ peculiaris apoſtolus," the proper apoſtle of Ireland; and at the ſame time he was inſerted in Uſuard's Martyrology. Theſe, I conceive, are the firſt and oldeſt notices of this patron ſaint, for he was not heard of when Bede died, in 735. In the ninth century, when the ſuperſtition and illiterateneſs of the age were favourable to every ſpecies of clerical impoſition, the protection of many European ſtates was aſſigned to Chriſtian ſaints. About the year 816, Leo III. made St. James the apoſtle, the patron ſaint of Spain. He aſſerts **, with all the confidence of infallibility, that, at the inſtance of Abiathar, the Jewiſh high-prieſt, St. James was ſlain by Herod; that his body was concealed, and placed in a boat, which at that inſtant miraculouſly preſented itſelf: that, after ſailing far, it landed in Galicia, and the body was from thence tranſlated to Compoſtella. In conſequence of theſe reliques, the archbiſhop of Compoſtella, in 1215, boldly claimed, in the Lateran Council, the prerogatives due to his ſee: but, afterwards, Ximenes, primate of Toledo, condemned and renounced this monſtrous fiction, by denying the arrival of St. James in Spain; and in this, after a lapſe of ſome centuries, he was ſupported by Cardinal Baronius, againſt Pope Leo. The Scotch, in an apology †† to Pope Boniface VIII. give nearly the ſame account of the coming of the reliques of St. Andrew, their patron, which took place in the ninth century, and in the reign of Ungus. Such was the deplorable ignorance of the times, that Hilduin, in the beginning of the ninth century, was not aſhamed to affirm to the Empe-

† P. 116—133. Dublin edit. A. D. 1724.
‡ Cauſab. exercit. in Baron. p. 386. § Ware's Biſhops, p. 58.
‖ Edit. Bertram, p. 92.
** Apud Marian. c. 12. Baronius ad A. C. 816.
†† Uſher, p. 340.

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ror Lewis, that St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apoſtles, called Dionyſius a moſt illuſtrious nobleman, and an excellent philoſopher, and that he was ordained the apoſtle of Gaul. Though nothing like this is in the Acts, it paſſed current; for Hilduin was an eccleſiaſtic of high rank, being abbot of St. Germain. However, St. Denis kept his ground, till he was convicted by the French anarchiſts; but he has been reſtored *by the pious Buonaparte, the beloved ſon in Chriſt of Pius VII.* In conſequence of the invaſion and tyranny of the Danes in Ireland, during the ninth century, France became the aſylum of the learned Hibernians; and the example of the French was ſufficient for their imitation, in conſtituting a tutelary ſaint for their iſle.

From the manner of compoſing the lives of ſaints, we may form an idea of the deplorable mental weakneſs of thoſe who believe them, and the conſummate hypocriſy and wickedneſs of thoſe who inculcate them on the ignorant and the credulous. Cardinal Valerio* tells us, that it was uſual with the monks to exerciſe their ſcholars in compoſition, by propoſing the uſual topics to them, the lives and martyrdom of ſaints. No popular ſtories, but more commonly the ſuggeſtions of their own fancy, were the grand work of their amplifications. The beſt of theſe were laid by, and after ſome years were produced as genuine works.

In Mr. Warton's Hiſtory † of Engliſh Poetry, there is a curious anecdote relative to this. About the year 1380, flouriſhed Gilbert de Stone, a learned eccleſiaſtic, and a good writer of the Latin language. The monks of Holywell, in Flintſhire, applied to him to write the life of their Patron-Saint. Stone aſked for materials, and he was anſwered, that there were none; upon which he ſaid, "he could execute the work without materials, and write them a moſt excellent legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas-a-Becket." Cardinal Beſſarian ſaid of theſe deifications: "In truth, theſe modern ſaints make me doubt of the exiſtence of former ones."‡ The learned Bollandus § declares the Iriſh ſanctology to be the compilation of arrant fabuliſts, and not older than the twelfth century. Tillemont's words are equally ſtrong: "Que la plupar ſont d'auteurs tres fabuleux." Theſe are the ſentiments of liberal, learned, and enlightened Roman Catholic writers, who ſaw the diſgrace brought upon religion, and the real injury done to it, by lying miracles and horrible blaſphemies. A well informed writer, in the year 1700,‖ regards as fabulous, the ſtory of St. Patrick, and his 365 Biſhops, and ſays, that perhaps Patricius Avernenſis may have ſunk a day lower in the calendar, and made the Iriſh a Patricius Hibernenſis; or the Spaniſh Patrick of Malaga, might have appeared to the Iriſh in a dream, as St. George¶ did to the Engliſh, and become their protector, and their apoſtle. He obſerves: "For in old times, give a monk but a name, and he would quickly write a life."**

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* Bayle's Dict. article Valerius.

† Vol. II. p. 190. ‡ Affé che queſti ſanti moderni, mi fanno aſſai dubitare delli paſſati.

§ Ab autoribus fabuloſiſſimis conſarcinata, nec ulla ſæculo duodecim priora. Act. Sanct. ad 17 Martii.

‖ Maurice's Defence of Epiſcopacy, p. 155.

¶ According to Rous, St. George did not begin his patronage of England in 1180. Hiſto. Reg. Angliæ edit. Hearne.

** We have not a doubt but that Mr. Plowden would have made a diſtinguiſhed figure in this line of literature, had he remained in his convent at St. Omer's.

By

By the juvenile exerciſes of monks, lives of St. Patrick were amazingly multiplied, and they differed materially as to all circumſtances of his birth place, his education, his miſſion, and his death.* When Joceline began to compare his life, he found that ſixty-ſix biographers had preceded him in the ſame walk; and he tells us, that as all but four were deſtroyed in the Norwegian invaſion, he ſelected from theſe ſuch facts as deſerved belief.† The following are ſome of the miracles which he conſidered as credible. St. Patrick, while an infant, brought a new river from the earth, which cured the blind. He raiſed his nurſe from the dead. He expelled the devil from a heifer; and he changed water into honey. Theſe were but infant ſports of this wonder-working Saint, compared to the miracles which he wrought afterwards in the courſe of his life. Not only the accounts of his exiſtence and miſſion are uncertain and incredible, but the principal incidents of his life, related by his biographers, are contradictory. He is‡ ſaid to have been a North Briton, born at Kilpatrick, A. D. 372; his father was Calpurnius, a deacon, the ſon of Politus, a prieſt; his mother was Concheſſa, niece of St. Martin, Biſhop of Tours. Baronius and Florilgus tell us, he was a native of Ireland: O'Sullivan, that he was born in Britanny. The Scholiaſt on Joceline, ſays, that he was from Cornwall; and others make him a Welchman.

In the conteſt between Talbot, Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Mac Mahon, mentioned before, the latter gravely tells us, from the fabulous chronicles, relative to St. Patrick, that an angel ordered St. Patrick to betake himſelf to Armagh, and to build a cathedral there: that the ſame angelic monitor directed him to Rome, and there pointed out what reliques he ſhould procure and carry back; that he ſelected a cloth ſtained with the blood of Chriſt; part of the Virgin's hair; the reliques of St. Peter, Paul, Stephen, Laurence, and others. In virtue of theſe reliques, Armagh became the metropolitan church.

Having now proved that the exiſtence of the Iriſh apoſtle was doubtful, if not a fabrication, we ſhall endeavour to convince the reader, that the faith at firſt *preached to, and received by, the Iriſh*, was not that *which is now denominated the Roman Catholic*. An hierarchy was early eſtabliſhed in England, as three Britiſh Biſhops, Eborius, Reſtitutus, and Adolphus, aſſiſted at the Council of Arles, A. D. 314; and, conſequently, Chriſtianity muſt have been of an older date there than the fourth century. When we reflect on the zeal of the primitive preachers, and the contiguity of England to Ireland, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the latter iſle eſcaped their evangelical labours. It afforded the terrified Britiſh clergy a ſecure aſylum from the Dioclefian perſecution in the year 303, as it did in the ſucceeding century from the perſecuting ſpirit of the Saxons. So that it is highly probable, the glad tidings of a redeeming Saviour were promulgated in Ireland, very little later than in Britain. The Iriſh themſelves are the beſt evidences of the origin of their faith. About the year 661§, A. D. a conference was held at Whitby, to determine whether the antient diſcipline of the Britiſh and Iriſh churches, reſpecting the paſchal feſtival, tonſure, and other rites, ſhould be continued, or whether the Romiſh innovations, adopted by the Anglo-Saxon church, ſhould be preferred. Wilfred, an eleve of Rome, ſupported the latter, as Colman, an Iriſhman, educated among the Culdees,* at Ily, and Biſhop of Lindisfern, did the

* Vit. St. Patric apud Meſſingham, p. 81.

† Quacunque fide digna reperire potui. Vit. S. Patricii.

‡ Ware's Biſhops, by Harris, initio. § Bede, lib. 3. c. 25.

* A celebrated monaſtic order that aroſe in Ireland, in the ſixth cen-

former. "The Eaſter I keep, ſays Colman, I received from my elders, who ſent me Biſhop hither; the which all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept in the ſame manner; and that the ſame may not ſeem to any contemptible, or worthy to be rejected, it is the ſame which St. John the Evangeliſt, and the churches over which he preſided, obſerved." Bede affords unexceptionable evidence, that the hierarchy of the Iriſh church was ſimilar to the † Britiſh; and we know that the latter was independent and epiſcopal. Epiſcopal, for her Biſhops appeared in the Councils of Arles, Nice, Sardis, and Arminium, all in the fourth century. Independent; for the Britiſh prelates nobly oppoſed, on the cloſe of the ſixth century, the uſurpation of Auguſtine, ſent to England by Pope Gregory I. refuſed obedience to a foreign juriſdiction, and conſequently they would not receive ordination ‡ from ſtrangers. About the year 609, Laurence, Biſhop of Canterbury, and two other prelates, writing to the Biſhops and Abbots in Ireland, have theſe remarkable words:—"When the Apoſtolic § See ſent us to theſe weſtern parts to preach to pagan nations, and we happened to come to this iſland of Britain, we very much eſteemed the holineſs of the Britons and Iriſh before we knew them, believing they proceeded according to the cuſtom of the univerſal church ‖; but we have been informed that the Scotch (Iriſh) do not differ in religious ſentiments from the Britons; for Biſhop Dugan coming to us, not only refuſed to eat with us, but even to take any repaſt in the ſame houſe." Let the advocates for the miſſion of St. Patrick from Rome, conſider well this citation. Biſhop Laurence ſucceeded Auguſtine in the ſee of Canterbury, and was by birth a Roman ¶. St. Patrick was dead but an hundred years. Could all remembrance of his miſſion from Rome, and his connection with that ſee be forgotten in that ſpace of time; if it could not, would Laurence have neglected to upbraid them with ingratitude to their apoſtle, and a direliction of his doctrines? This unqueſtionably proves the difference between the Britiſh and Romiſh churches in religious tenets, and that the Iriſh agreed with the Britiſh. The Britons, ſays Bede,** would no more communicate with the Anglo-Saxons than with pagans. The Iriſh, we ſee, had exactly the ſame ſentiments. The Britiſh prieſts, complains Adhelm††, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, do exceedingly abhor communion with us, inſomuch that they neither will join in prayers with us in the church, nor in communion, nor will they enter into ſociety

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tury; and they were univerſally believed to have preached pure evangelic truth. Their founder, Columba, born of illuſtrious parents, A. D. 522, formed a noble monaſtery in Ireland, from which, and the iſland of Ily, now Iona, the order was diffuſed in Scotland, and the north part of England. Bede is very accurate in deſcribing the profeſſion and exterior of Columba.

† Scoti nihil diſcrepabant in converſation a Britannis. Converſatio means here religious life, and ſometimes a monaſtic rule. Du Cange in converſare et converſatio. Bede ſays again, ſimilem vitâm et profeſſionem egiſſe.

‡ Britannica ordinationes ſuus intra ſe concelebrabant, et hoc eſt alterum juris patriarchalis .... five honorarium. Uſher de Libert. Eccl. Britan. See alſo Stillingfleet's Anſwer to Creſſy and Cave, on Church Government, p. 244. ‖ Bede, lib. 2. c. 7. § Meaning the Romiſh.

¶ Parker de Antiq. Brit. p. 73, editi. Drake.

** Moris ſit Britonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere; neque in aliquo iis magis communicare quam paganis, lib. 2. c. 20.

†† Epiſt. ad Damnon, 44 inter epiſt. Bonifac. By the Britiſh, he means the Welſh, whoſe religious principles were exactly the ſame with the Iriſh.

with us at table: the fragments which we leave after refection they will not touch, but throw to dogs. The cups, out of which we have drank, they will not uſe until they have cleanſed them with ſand and aſhes. They refuſe all civil ſalutations, and will not give us the kiſs of pious fraternity. Moreover, if any of us go to take an abode among them, they will not vouchſafe to admit us, 'till we are compelled to ſpend forty days in penance." Words cannot convey a ſtronger deteſtation of popery than this teſtimony of Adhelm, an excellent ſcholar, and cotemporary with Laurence,

In 630, A. D. the Roman clergy addreſs an epiſtle (to be ſeen in Bede) to five Iriſh Biſhops; five Preſbyters, on the Paſchal Feſtival; and ſome rites of their church. Here, again, St. Patrick might be properly and advantageouſly introduced, and his own, as well as his ſucceſſor's practice, in the ſee of Armagh. But nothing to this purpoſe occurs in our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian: the Biſhops are ſtiled, without any diſtinction, the moſt beloved and moſt holy Iomianus, Columbanus, Cromanus, Dimanus, and Baithanus.

We ſhall conclude this article by obſerving, that all the ſuperſtitious doctrines of popery were invented ſome centuries after the period in which St. Patrick was ſuppoſed to live; and we ſhall refer our readers to a tract, written by that learned antiquary, primate Uſher, on the religion of the antient Iriſh, to prove that they had no connection with the ſee of Rome, nor acknowledged any of its doctrines 'till the reign of Henry II.

POETRY.

ODE

On the Death of Lord Nelson.

"SAY, what is Glory! what is Fame!
The Sage's, Statesman's, Warrior's wreath,
The pomp and pageantry of name?
The brilliant bubble bursts at death."
Curse on the cold, and callous heart
(There nought or great, or good can dwell)
That thus, at once, wou'd say "*depart*"
To all that prompts us to excell;
The Statesman's labours, and the Sage's lore,
Die not with them—forever they remain:
Nor time, nor revolution dire their reign
Can end: while on th' inſtructive page
Poring intent from age to age,
We wiſer, better grow, by feeding on their ſtore.
And ſhall the Warrior, like the wind,
Or like the bird which cleaves the air,
Leave not a ſingle trace behind?
Unmark'd, unhonour'd, only share
The common, undiſtinguish'd "*Here he lies!*"
No, never! in each Briton's grateful breast,
The patriot warrior ſhall forever reſt.
There, there immortal live, because for us he dies,
No, never from each British heart,
Shall Nelson's lov'd remembrance part,
Deep-ſtamp'd, indelible, and fair,
Aboukir's glorious eve is there,

There, when intrepid issuing forth,
He quell'd the children of the *North.*
Trafalgar's bleft, but fatal day,
Ne'er from our minds shall pass away.
Our latest sons shall, sorrowing, tell
How NELSON conquer'd, how he fell.
He *fell!*—in Glory's arms he lies.
Alas! too soon she claim'd her Son.
" Not so," she says, " th' immortal prize
Already gain'd, his race is run.
He dies possess'd of all that years con'd give:
He liv'd an age, and shall for ages live."

Sweet is the patriot Victor's death,
In rapture he resigns his breath:
His country's praise, his country's sighs
Are present while the Hero dies.
'Tis only coward guilt that fears,
Embalm'd in his lov'd country's tears,
He knows his dear-earn'd fame shall last
Till Britain's day, and Time's are past.
Far other feelings muft attend
The Corsican's departing ray.
His poifon'd host his soul shall rend,
And cloud his dark and dying day,
'Mid the fell guashes of despair shall lour,
And Jaffa's screams shall rack his latest hour.

Never unmix'd to human kind
Comes the unfrequent cup of joy.
Our smiles and tears are ever join'd,
We taste no bliss without alloy.
Yet, from the foulest dregs, on Cherub wing
Hope rising, bids us mourn, but not despair.
Trust Britain! to thy Naval Sons, for there
See! from his Phœnix aſhes future NELSONS ſpring! D. G.

AN ADDRESS TO ENGLAND, ON HER NELSON'S DEATH!
Written by W. T. Fitzgerald, Eſq.

——breve et irreparabile Tempus
Omnibus est Vitæ; sed Famam extendere Factis,
Hoc Virtutis Opus!

WHILE England beams one univerſal blaze,
The faithful Tribute of a Nation's Praiſe!
For Naval Deeds atchiev'd of high renown,
And Honours added to the Britiſh Crown;
Is there a Briton's breaſt that does not beat,
At NELSON's Triumph, and the Foe's Defeat?
However poor, he ſhares the gen'rous flame,
And glows exulting at the Hero's name.
IMMORTAL NELSON!—here my throbbing heart,
Swelling with ſorrow, acts no borrow'd part—
May I not ſay, and ſay it with a tear,
That with his Death, the Triumph's bought too dear?
But who can murmur? glorious was his doom,
The heart of ev'ry Briton is his Tomb!

The Nation's Fav'rite and his Sov'reign's Pride,
He rul'd deſpotic Lord of Ocean's Tide!
Each coaſt, remember'd for ſome Deed of Fame,
Was made illuſtrious by Great NELSON's Name.
DENMARK, IBERIA, EGYPT's trophied ſhore,
Heard the dread thunder of his cannon's roar;
While laurels won from every hoſtile fleet,
He laid, in triumph, at his Monarch's feet:
And Hiſtory ever ſhall record the day,
Bright with his glory! in TRAFALGAR's Bay.
In torrid climes, where Nature pants for breath,
Or tainted gales bring peſtilence and death,
Where hurricanes are born, and whirlwinds ſweep
The raging billows of th' Atlantic deep,
NELSON had fought, but long had fought in vain,
The ſtill retreating fleets of France and Spain:
When found at laſt, he cruſh'd them on the flood,
And ſeal'd the awful conqueſt with his blood!
Yet as he liv'd, ſo did the HERO fall!—
Crouch'd at his feet, he ſaw the humbled GAUL;
Saw hoſtile navies into ruins hurl'd,
And England's trident rule the wat'ry world!
Then did He—laurel-crown'd, and wrapt in fire,
Upborne on VICTORY's outſpread wings, expire!!—
Suſpended be the ſhouts that rend the ſkies—
ENGLAND's triumphant!—but her NELSON dies.
A grateful Nation mourns her Hero dead,
And dews with tears the laurels on his head;
Laurels for ever green! for ever new!
Bequeath'd, with NELSON's dying breath, to you.

TO OUR READERS.

THE great length of our Eſſay on the pretenſions of the Iriſh to early literature, civilization, &c. compels us to omit our political Summary for the preſent month; pregnant as the period is with important events. But a vaſt majority of the country have ſo well appreciated the unparallelled victory of Traſalgar as to leave no regret in our minds for the omiſſion of our own obſervations on that glorious atchievement; while the accounts of the rapid progreſs of the French armies are ſo partial and unſatisfactory as to render it impoſſible to draw any juſt concluſions therefrom, without farther information. Are we again doomed to ſee the ruin of Europe promoted by the wavering, indeciſive, procraſtinating policy of the cabinet of Berlin? Is any Prince, or any Miniſter, *yet* to be convinced, that to *negociate* where it is neceſſary *to act*, is a ſpecies of political ſuicide, deſtitute alike of wiſdom and of courage? But the laps of another month muſt ſuffice to develope the deſigns of this ſtrange, inconſiſtent power; on whoſe conduct, at this critical conjuncture, depends, in a great meaſure, the ſalvation of the European Continent.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. is apprized that we except to A—— M——.

A *Looker-on* on the Edinburgh Controverſy was received too late for inſertion this month; but his communication ſhall appear in our next.

Mr. *Marſh*'s Juſtification of himſelf ſhall certainly appear at the ſame time. The *Remembrancers* and the *Latin Epitaph* are intended for early inſertion. *P. P. D.* and *Fidelis* are received and ſhall meet with due attention.

THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

Review and Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For DECEMBER, 1805.

Concinnè aliquod ſcriptum dicimus, ubi inter ſe conveniunt partes, et inter ſe reſpondent, aliud alii.—VARRO.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

An Inquiry into the Cauſes of Popular Diſcontents in Ireland, by an Iriſh Country Gentleman. PP. 74. 2s. Wallis, London. 1804.

OF all the inflammatory productions which have appeared in England or Ireland, ſince jacobiniſm raiſed its baleful head in Europe, this pamphlet ſeems to be written with the worſt deſign, and to have the moſt dangerous tendency. Like Mr. F. Plowden's voluminous Review of the State of Ireland, its aſſertions are founded in groſs aberrations from hiſtoric truth, in groundleſs aſſumptions, and in what logicians call *petitio principii*, and conſequently its reaſoning is ſophiſtical and deluſive. The author, after his introduction, which ſhews the general ſcope of the work, aſſigns eight reaſons for the popular diſcontents of Ireland.

In his introduction, he laments that the real ſource of the rebellions which have ſo long agitated that iſland have not been inveſtigated, and therefore that proper remedies have not been applied to prevent their recurrence. As the main object of this work is to accuſe the Engliſh government, and the Iriſh Proteſtants, of a want of wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity, towards the Iriſh Roman Catholics, at a time that the French infidels, and a band of Iriſh traitors who have enliſted in their ſervice, are endeavouring to calumniate the former in every part of Europe, we find ourſelves under a neceſſity of giving more copious obſervations on it, than we uſually beſtow on pamphlets of its magnitude. He ſays, in his introduction, "that the government

has been armed with all latitude of power, and is not reſtrained by reſponſibility; and though puniſhment has been urged almoſt to ruin, ſtill life is miſerable, property is inſecure, government is ſupported only by terror, as the moment an enthuſiaſtic leader is found, a rebellion is organized." On the whole, he imputes the conſtant and permanent cauſes of rebellion, to the want of wiſdom and policy in the laws, and to the groſs errors of Government; and he draws the following inference: "Under ſuch circumſtances, there is no great preſumption in planning a better ſyſtem of adminiſtration, for nothing can be worſe than the preſent *." He obſerves alſo, "that, though the character of the upper ranks may be formed by education and literature, the character of the lower ranks is uniformly ſuch as it is made by laws and government." In anſwer to this, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the laws in England and Ireland are exactly ſimilar; that they are executed in the ſame manner; and that the peer or the peaſant, let his religion be what it may, is equally under their controul and protection; but with this difference, that the Iriſh Roman Catholics have more civil liberty, and are under leſs penal reſtrictions, than their Engliſh fellow-religioniſts; and as the former are conſtantly prone to rebellion, and as the latter have been, for more than a century, peaceable and obedient to the laws, we may fairly infer, that the deep-rooted diſaffection of the Iriſh does not ariſe from any defect in their ſyſtem of civil polity, or from the ſeverity of the Government. Every perſon, whoſe mind is not clouded with prejudices, muſt perceive, that it flows from that degree of hoſtility, which the Roman Catholic religion generally produces in its votaries, towards a Proteſtant ſtate, and their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. But this writer aſſerts the contrary; for he ſays, "An equal reaſon why the Iriſh peaſantry, *cæteris paribus*, ſhould not be rebels, is their religion. The Roman Catholic religion, in every country, has been found the ſtrongeſt ſupport of arbitrary power." This has been the caſe in no inſtance, except where the Government acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy, and all the doctrines of his church; for the fundamental principles of the Romiſh religion, flowing from its general councils, which are deemed infallible, enjoin as a ſolemn and ſacred duty to its members, to reſiſt, and riſe in arms, againſt all heretical governors. In conſequence of theſe impious doctrines, many ſovereign princes loſt their lives, or their thrones, or both, from the 11th to the 16th century. They raiſed the dagger of the aſſaſſin againſt Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, though Papiſts, becauſe, contrary to the Pope's orders, they ſpared the blood of their Proteſtant ſubjects. They occaſioned many treaſonable plots in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. Popery is never friendly to tyranny, except when the latter ſubmits implicitly to the former; and

* It is well known, that Lord Hardwicke's government is ſingularly mild and conciliating, in reſpect of the *Romaniſts*.

this

this never fails to produce downright ſlavery. Thus, from the union of the keys and the ſceptre, in the 8th century, when Pepin and Pope Zachary, and Charlemagne and Pope Leo III. combined againſt the reaſon and liberty of mankind, till the reigns of Lewis XIV. and James II. of England, tyrants and prieſts have endeavoured to impoſe a double yoke on the civilized world. Pope Innocent III. raiſed king John's ſubjects in rebellion againſt him, till he became his vaſſal; and, afterwards, he fulminated an excommunication againſt the Barons, for having obtained Magna Charta, the foundation of our glorious Conſtitution; and he denounced its terrors againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould obey its ordinances. That ſanguinary tyrant, Charles IX. and Lewis XIV. were dear to the Pope, becauſe they proſecuted their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects; but Henry III. and Henry IV. were hateful to his Holineſs, becauſe they would not do ſo.

The firſt cauſe which he aſſigns for the popular diſcontents in Ireland, is "the recollection of its conqueſt by the Engliſh."

It ſhould be recollected, that, though England was conquered by the Normans, the Saxons, who were the maſs of its inhabitants, did not harbour that unrelenting hatred towards them, which the Iriſh did to the Engliſh, and which the Roman Catholics do, at this hour, to their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and to the people of Great Britain, though the Normans treated them, as a vanquiſhed people, with every kind of indignity, prohibiting the uſe of their language, and depriving the moſt of them of their poſſeſſions. The Iriſh, on the contrary, ſubmitted cheerfully to the government and protection of Henry II.; for Matt. Paris tells us, that, ſoon after his arrival in Ireland, he held a council at Liſmore, where they gratefully received the laws of England *(gratanter receptæ)*, and ſwore obedience to them *(juratoria cautione præſtita)*, which included their allegiance to the crown of England. But, as ſoon as he returned, they violated their allegiance, ran into rebellion, and excluded themſelves from the benefit of the Engliſh laws. In the reign of Henry III. A.D. 1230, they collected ſuch a force, that they flattered themſelves with the hope of being able totally to expel the Engliſh *(omne genus Anglorum, ab Hiberniæ finibus exturbare)*, ſays Matt. Paris.

Their deep rooted diſaffection, their treachery, their rebellions, and inſurrections, were the cauſe, and not the effect, of that ſevere but neceſſary reſtraint, which the Engliſh government impoſed on them, in proceſs of time.

He imputes the hatred of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, to the Iriſh Proteſtants and the Engliſh, to privations and diſtinctions, which, he ſays, "attach to their feeling the grating recollection of being a conquered people;" and, as proofs of this hatred, he mentions the very ſlow progreſs which the Engliſh language has made in Ireland, from the unwillingneſs of the people to learn it. He ſays, alſo, as a teſtimony of it, "There is no Iriſh gentleman who cannot witneſs the extreme repugnance with which all Engliſh ſtewards, Engliſh cuſtoms, and Engliſh improvements, are regarded by the common Iriſh;

and whenever I have heard them ſpeak among themſelves of the Engliſh, it has been always in terms of the ſtrongeſt averſion." As to privations and diſtinctions, it ſhould be recollected, that no penal laws were enacted in Ireland till after the Revolution; and for more than a century and a half previous to that event, the Iriſh Papiſts manifeſted a ſtrong and deep-rooted hatred to the Engliſh nation, and to the Proteſtant ſtate, by treaſonable conſpiracies, rebellions, and maſſacres, in obedience to the general councils of their church, the bulls and epiſtles of the Popes; which evinces, that their diſaffection did not ariſe from the privation of rights. They offered Ireland to Francis I. in the year 1545, when the Papiſts enjoyed as much civil liberty and political power as the Proteſtants; nay, when their clergy poſſeſſed excluſively all the church livings. The Engliſh Papiſts experienced a very different treatment; for ſevere penal laws were enacted againſt them, ſo early as Elizabeth's reign, when their prieſts were baniſhed; and at all times thoſe laws were more reſtrictive on them, than on the Iriſh. They were much ſooner repealed; and, at this time, the Iriſh Papiſts enjoy more civil liberty, and political power, than the Engliſh. This proves that the Britiſh legiſlature were not partial, in their reſtrictions on the Iriſh Papiſts. In many parts of Wales, and in the Highlands of Scotland, the maſs of the people are totally ignorant of the Engliſh language. They are very poor, and they are wedded to their aboriginal cuſtoms and manners; and yet they are loyal and obedient to the laws. When 1000 French troops landed at Killala, in Ireland, in the year 1798, multitudes of the Iriſh Papiſts, headed by their prieſts, flocked to their ſtandard; but, when about the ſame number of French landed in Wales, during the late war, the people ſhewed the greateſt zeal, courage, and unanimity in oppoſing them. In ſhort, nothing but the uncharitable, the intolerant, and diſloyal principles, which are conſtantly infuſed into the maſs of the Iriſh Papiſts, by their ſpiritual inſtructors, can maintain a line of ſeparation between them and their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, but not between Iriſhmen and Engliſhmen, as this writer untruly aſſerts.

He aſſigns, as the ſecond cauſe of the hatred of the Iriſh, "the confiſcations of property that have taken place in Ireland." This is but a flimſy pretext, to palliate the diſaffection of the Iriſh Papiſts. Immenſe confiſcations took place in England, on the invaſion of the Saxons in the 5th century, of the Normans in the 11th, and during the factions of York and Lancaſter; and in Scotland, on the rebellions of 1715 and 1745; but they did not produce that deadly hatred which the Iriſh Papiſts bear towards Proteſtants of every deſcription, both Engliſh and Iriſh.

"The diſtinctions, created by Government, in favour of the Iriſh Proteſtants, to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics," he mentions as the third cauſe of the averſion of the latter to the former. They are exactly on the ſame footing, except that the Roman Catholics are excluded from ſeats in Parliament, a few offices in the Executive Govern-

Government, and in the confidential departments of the State. Under this head, and in other parts of his work, he denominates the perſons on whom property forfeited for treaſon was beſtowed, *plunderers*, and the traitors who loſt it, *the pillaged*; and he ſays, that the rebels, who were guilty of treaſon, ſhould have obtained from the government againſt whom they rebelled, "a forbearance of injurious diſtinctions, an equal enjoyment of civil rights and privileges, religious toleration, and all thoſe common participations, which would gradually have weakened the diſtinction between *the plunderers and the pillaged.*"

For the purpoſe of inflaming the Iriſh Roman Catholics, which ſeems to be his main deſign, he makes many aſſertions which are abſolutely unfounded. They are ſo numerous, that it would exceed our circumſcribed limits to enumerate them; but the following will ſhew what little regard he pays to truth. He ſays, under this third head, that "in the reign of George I. an Act paſſed in the Iriſh Parliament, *to caſtrate every prieſt found in that kingdom.*" This fact, which is mentioned alſo in Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland, is poſitively without any foundation whatſoever. For the ſole purpoſe of irritating the Roman Catholics, he ſets forth the penal reſtrictions to which they were formerly ſubject. He admits that they have been repealed, and he ſays, "The civil diſtinctions which now exiſt call more immediately for our attention. I believe the following may be conſidered as a correct liſt. There are ſtill very ſevere laws againſt converts from the Proteſtant to the Popiſh religion, and againſt converts from the Popiſh religion, who relapſe into their original faith;" and yet he ſays, in the ſame chapter, "that Government ventures to inſult the ſect, and *thereby makes rebellion not only generous, but ſacred.*" He ſays, "the only meaſure required to redreſs the civil grievances of the Roman Catholics is, to repeal the act which prevents their ſitting in Parliament.

There is no impediment to their ſitting in Parliament, or to their enjoyment of every office under the State, *but the oath of ſupremacy* *, which is, in fact, no more than an oath of allegiance, denying the juriſdiction of any foreign prince or potentate, and which all perſons, having any pretenſion to the character of good ſubjects, may and ſhould take. It would be ſevere and impolitic, that Proteſtants ſhould be required to take it, and that Papiſts ſhould be exempt from it; particularly at a time when the head of their church is the friend and ally of Buonaparté, whom he calls "*his beloved ſon in Chriſt.*"

This writer aſſigns as the fourth cauſe of popular diſcontent in Ireland, "religious diſtinctions between the Preſbyterians and the Proteſtants;" and as to the latter, he ſays, in a note, that he alludes to the members of the Eſtabliſhed Church. The only civil diſtinc-

* The Parliament declared, in the reign of Henry VIII. that it was a declaration of the ancient right of the Crown.—State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 446.

tion between them aroſe from the Teſt Act, and he allows that it has been repealed; and yet he ſays, "that they ſtill continue to feel them [meaning diſtinctions] is very evident, and ſufficiently proves, that, in order to weaken the force of a ſect, you do nothing unleſs you remove every diſtinction." Thus this incendiary endeavours to exaſperate the Preſbyterians, as well as the Papiſts, by reviving a recollection of paſt grievances which no longer exiſt. He ſays, that "the Preſbyterians very early adopted the principle of a reform in Parliament; and had that *ſalutary meaſure* been granted to the wiſhes of the people, there never would have been a rebellion in Ireland. In fact, the Preſbyterians were the real ſtrength of the rebellion in Ireland." It is well known, that not only the maſs of the people in both iſlands, but many able ſtateſmen, were for ſome time led aſtray by an abſurd and viſionary idea, that our Conſtitution would be meliorated by a reform of Parliament; but experience, the only ſure guide in politics, has convinced them of the contrary, and unqueſtionably proved, that it would have occaſioned its ſubverſion; and yet this jacobin writer calls it *a ſalutary meaſure*. The Iriſh Preſbyterians, who are induſtrious, wealthy, and enlightened, ſenſible that any alteration in our very excellent Conſtitution would endanger its exiſtence, are at preſent among the moſt loyal ſubjects of the empire. We ſhall now refute this writer's aſſertion, that "the Preſbyterians were the ſtrength of the late rebellion." They (a few republican leaders in Belfaſt excepted) manifeſted a downright repugnance to the rebellion, which the following facts unqueſtionably prove. They ſhewed great zeal, in aſſiſting the civil magiſtrates to ſuppreſs the Defenders, a Popiſh banditti, who committed nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, on Proteſtants of every deſcription, for ſix years previous to the rebellion of 1798. The leaders in Dublin and Belfaſt began to organize the North in the year 1791, and they continued to do ſo till the year 1795. See the evidence of *Samuel Neilſon*, a rebel leader, on oath, before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, p. 280. This aroſe from the difficulty of perſuading the Preſbyterians to unite with the Papiſts; and to remove it, they continued, during the above period, to ſend miſſionaries to the north, to aſſure the former, that, on the eſtabliſhment of a republic, all diſtinctions would be levelled, and that property would be equally divided. As to the provinces of Connaught and Munſter, the moſt Popiſh parts of Ireland, the writs for their organization did not iſſue from Dublin, till the ſpring of 1797, and they were reported to be well organized in the autumn of that year; for Popery gave wings to treaſon.—Ibid. 104 It is ſtated in the ſame, p. 24, that "in the months of February and March, 1798, Leinſter and Munſter were in poſſeſſion of a murderous banditti." Notwithſtanding the long and perſevering efforts of the leaders in Dublin and Belfaſt, to organize the north; not more than 2000 Preſbyterians ever appeared together in arms. The maſs of them conſiſted of the rabble who united for the ſake of plunder; and their leaders were deiſts, and of a very mean deſcription. They fought with

valour

valour in the field, but they never were guilty of cold-blooded maſſacres. But the perpetration of ſuch univerſally by the Papiſts on Proteſtants of every deſcription in the province of Leinſter, induced ſuch of the Preſbyterians as had been deluded, to flock immediately to the ſtandard of loyalty.

In the county of Wexford there were 30,000 Papiſts, led on by their prieſts, at the battle of Roſs, and on many other occaſions. It was proved on the trial of *William Byrne*, of Ballymanus, a Popiſh gentleman, that there were 31,000 Papiſts at the battle of Arklow, where one of their leaders, Father *Michael Murphy*, a prieſt, was killed at their head.

Many Popiſh gentlemen of education, and numbers of opulent farmers, were leaders in the provinces of Leinſter and Connaught, where the *extirpation of heretics* was the ſole object of the rebels; for during three weeks, they continued, in the county of Wexford, to maſſacre the Proteſtants, with all the ſolemnity of a judicial ſentence and execution. The author makes the following unfounded aſſertion to irritate the Roman Catholics: "They rebel only from negative reaſons—that they may not be inſulted and oppreſſed." We mentioned before that perſons of every rank and religious order are equally under the protection of our excellent conſtitution. *Dr. M'Nevin*, a Papiſt, and one of the Iriſh directory, declared in his evidence, on oath, before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, p. 278, "the maſs of the people in the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught (the moſt Popiſh parts of Ireland) did not care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink which it contains, for *parliamentary reform*, or *Catholic emancipation*." *Thomas A. Emmett*, another of the directory, made the ſame declaration, on oath, before the ſame aſſembly, p. 285. In ſhort the maſs of the people do not feel, or ſuffer in the ſmalleſt degree, from the very few privations which remain. As a proof of this, we think it right to mention, that numbers of Roman Catholics, in each of the four provinces, have made very large fortunes, within a few years, under the foſtering influence of our excellent conſtitution, as merchants, farmers, and manufacturers.

He ſtates *tithes* to be the fifth cauſe of popular diſcontent, and he imputes all the petty rebellions of the *white boys*, *right boys*, *defenders*, *peep-o'-day boys*, *hearts of oak*, and *hearts of ſteel*, to them. If they are a grievance in Ireland, they are infinitely more ſo in England; for in the former they pay, but in a few places, more than a 20th of the produce of the land; and in the latter the actual tenth. Were they ſold to the proprietors of the land, they would moſt certainly make them pay more. It is a matter of general notoriety, that ſuch lands in Ireland as are tithe free (of which there are large tracts in every province) are at a much higher rent, than the neighbouring lands of equal goodneſs, which happen to be ſubject to tithes. Mr. Emmett, one of the Iriſh directory, in the rebellion of 1798, declared, upon oath, before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, "I am very ſure, if tithes were aboliſhed, the people, on taking new leaſes, would

be obliged to pay more in proportion for land than the value they now pay for tithes." Report, &c. p. 285.

The ſixth cauſe he ſtates to be, the degraded ſtate of the peaſantry. It is univerſally well known, and it was admitted by the declarations, upon oath, of Meſſrs. *M'Nevin* and *Emmett*, that the Iriſh peaſantry do not ſuffer the ſmalleſt privations, and that their condition would not be meliorated by what is called by the vulgar, the ignorant, and the diſaffected, Catholic emancipation. He fabricates ſo many groſs falſhoods and calumnies under this head, to irritate the Iriſh peaſantry, that it would greatly exceed our circumſcribed limits to enumerate and refute them. According to him, the multitude in Turkey do not ſuffer more cruelty and oppreſſion from their ſuperiors than the Popiſh peaſantry do from the Proteſtants. He ſays, from many events which occurred in the late rebellion, the peaſantry were led to believe, "that *we* were the deſcendants of men who held it lawful to ſhoot a wild Iriſhman." The ſingular lenity of government and the magiſtrates, towards the ſanguinary wretches who were guilty of an indiſcriminate ſlaughter of the Proteſtants, and a devaſtation of their property, and which is circumſtantially deſcribed in *Sir Richard Muſgrave*'s Hiſtory of the Rebellion, amply refutes this abominable calumny. He ſays, "It has not been unuſual in Ireland for great landed proprietors to have regular priſons in their houſes for the ſummary puniſhment of the lower orders;" and, he adds, "that whipping is a common mode of puniſhment practiſed by them." The meaneſt peaſant in Ireland would obtain legal redreſs for the moſt trivial civil injury; and were he ever ſo poor, there are numbers of attornies who would undertake his cauſe. We appeal to the recollection of the candid public, whether violations of the law by men of rank and property have not been puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner by the Court of King's Bench, within the laſt five years. It is well known, that the leaders of the rebellion in 1798, adopted, among other devices, the following, for two years previous to that period, to incite and ſtimulate the lower order of the Roman Catholics to riſe in arms againſt the government, and to plunder and maſſacre their Proteſtant fellow ſubjects: they propagated a report in moſt parts of Ireland, that the Proteſtants, whom they denominated *Orangemen*, were to riſe in the night and maſſacre them. This writer obſerves, "It is a notorious fact, that theſe reports were univerſally believed, that the Roman Catholic peaſantry left their houſes, and fled to the mountains; and that many of the poor wretches died from cold and hunger, ſooner than truſt to the chance of Proteſtant clemency." Nothing can tend ſo much to convince the reader of the malignity of this writer, than his groſs *inconſiſtency* in fabricating theſe calumnious falſhoods. After deſcribing the Proteſtant gentlemen as monſters in cruelty and oppreſſion towards the Roman Catholics, whoſe ſufferings he paints and commiſerates with much pathos, he ſays, in his ſixth cauſe, "*It is a remarkable fact, that the Roman Catholic landlords behave in a much more injurious, groſs, and tyrannical manner to their labourers than the Proteſtant*

Proteſtant landlords; and in general the peaſantry prefer to be employed by a Proteſtant rather than a Roman Catholic." To palliate this contradiction, he ſays, "So true is it, that a mind debaſed by oppreſſion is always moſt ready to inflict it." It is a fact univerſally well known, that Roman Catholics, farmers, labourers, and ſervants, prefer Proteſtant landlords and employers, to perſons of their own perſuaſion, becauſe the former are much more diſtinguiſhed for their ſtrict adherence to the principles of juſtice and humanity. Whenever a Popiſh chapel is to be built, the Proteſtant gentlemen never refuſe ground for its erection, and they commonly defray three-fourths of its expence by ſubſcription. Whenever there is a dearth, they take an active part, and ſubſcribe largely to prevent the evils ariſing from famine. We appeal to the inhabitants of Munſter, whether this has not often happened within the laſt thirty years. The Proteſtant nobility and gentry conſtantly aſſiſt in making collections at charity ſermons in the Popiſh chapels of Dublin, at the inſtance of the Popiſh clergy; though ſevere cenſures and penance would be inflicted on any Papiſt who ſhould be known even to enter a Proteſtant Church. The dreadful denunciations contained in *Dr. Huſſey*'s paſtoral inſtruction, againſt any member of his church, who ſhould do ſo, will convince the reader of the truth of our aſſertion. In the latter part of the ſixth cauſe this writer recommends, that "all the municipal officers of the Iriſh counties," "particularly grand jurors, juſtices of the peace, the ſheriff, and treaſurer, ſhould be annually elective." This is completely jacobinical; and it would produce endleſs ſtrife and diſcord. When the French jacobins meditated the ſubverſion of the government, the plunder of property, and the degradation of rank, they made all officers under the ſtate, even thoſe of judges, elective. The king is the fountain of juſtice and honour. The ſheriff has precedence before every other perſon in his bailiwick, and on him principally depends the preſervation of the peace, the execution of the laws, and in general the civil adminiſtration. Deſtroy the influence of the crown, by depriving it of its patronage, and the conſtitution will ſoon degenerate into a republic. The calamities brought upon England in the 17th, and on France in the 18th century, afford a ſalutary leſſon on this point.

To "the influence of a republican party" he aſcribes the ſeventh cauſe of popular diſcontent. As Roman Catholics are bound by the general councils and canons of their church, which are deemed infallible, to ſubvert a Proteſtant ſtate, it cannot be a matter of ſurprize, that the Iriſh Roman Catholics, who are extremely bigotted, ſhould cheriſh republican principles, as they are hoſtile to our conſtitution. The confederate Catholics aſſembled at Kilkenny, during the progreſs of the dreadful rebellion of 1641, and who conſiſted of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, were republicans. They arrogated to themſelves, and exerciſed, all the functions of the legiſlative and executive powers. They regulated all the affairs both civil and military of the kingdom, confronting, and at the ſame time inſulting, the king's government ſitting in Dublin. They formed a great ſeal, with which they

they authenticated their acts of sovereignty, and their credentials, in all their negociations with foreign princes, to whom they sent, and from whom they received, ambassadors, envoys, and agents. The Papist prelates ordered the priests, in their respective dioceses, to administer to their flocks, the oath of association, framed by the said confederate Catholics, and to levy on and collect money from them; which practices were pursued by them so early as the year 1792, preparatory to the rebellion of 1798, as appears by the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, delivered upon oath, and published in the year 1793. The said confederate Catholics assembled at Kilkenny, raised a large body of forces, appointed Lord Gormanstoun general thereof, Hugh Byrne lieutenant-general, and the Earl of Fingal, lineal ancestor of the present Earl, general of horse. Their oath of association, which was exhibited by the priests to their flocks, contained the following paragraphs.

"I will obey and ratify all the decrees and orders made, or to be made, by the Supreme Council of the *confederate Catholics* of this kingdom, concerning the *said public cause*. I will not seek directly, or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done, touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council. I will not directly, or indirectly, do any act, or acts, that shall prejudice the *said cause*; but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same. I will not accept of, or submit unto, any peace made, or to be made, with the said confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said confederate Catholics."

In order to compel the Marquis of *Ormonde*, the king's viceroy, they prevailed on the Popish prelates, to excommunicate any persons who should obey his orders, or in any manner aid, abet, or assist him; and they conclude thus, "*we do fulminate the annexed excommunication, of one date with this declaration against all opposers of the said declaration, James-town, 12th of August*, 1650.*" Their declaration which was somewhat similar to that of the confederate Catholics, contains the following paragraph; "and we do hereby manifest to *the people*, that they are no longer obliged to obey the orders and commands of the said Marquis of Ormonde, but are, until a general assembly of the nation can be conveniently called together, unanimously, to serve against *the common enemy*," meaning the Protestant state. When they invested General Preston with the command of a large body of their forces, they prescribed, and obliged him to swear, an oath, containing the following paragraph, "to exercise all acts of hostility against the Lord Marquis of Ormonde, and his party; and to help and advise with council, and assist in that service, the lieutenant-general of Ulster, employed in the same service."

They, during the progress of this rebellion, solicited the assistance of the Pope, the Duke of Lorrain, and the kings of France and Spain;

* Borlase.

and

and they even offered the ſovereignty of Ireland to them, ſooner than ſubmit to the *Proteſtant* ſtate of England! Though they could not ſucceed in expelling the Viceroy from Ireland by their arms, they accompliſhed it by the terrors of excommunication, which compelled Papiſts of all deſcriptions, nay, even *his own relations*, to abandon him. This power, which is peculiarly terrific at this time, is often uſed by the Papiſt clergy to annoy and harraſs the king's ſubjects, and to obſtruct the courſe of diſtributive juſtice. During all theſe proceedings, they, in many of their manifeſtoes, expreſſed *the moſt inviolable loyalty to the king*. When they ſucceeded in completely ſubverting his government, they evinced a ſtrong attachment to the republic; for they preſented two addreſſes to *the Rump Parliament*, one in 1652, the other in the year 1653, in which the following paragraphs are to be found: "That they did readily ſubject and put their conſciences, lives, and fortunes, as in a ſanctuary, under the protection of this commonwealth, having ever ſince walked peaceably, and in due conformity to the Government, without the leaſt defection therein: that, contrary to your *known pious intentions*, manifeſted in the ſaid act for ſettling Ireland, they do apprehend, that they may be poſtponed or neglected: that ſeveral of them are able to make appear their *conſtant good affection and adherence to the commonwealth* *, for whom a competent time to be allowed, to make out the ſame, is moſt humbly ſupplicated †." Theſe petitions were preſented by the agents of the Iriſh, at the door of the Houſe of Commons in England, and entered by the Clerk of the Rump Parliament. It is well known, that the leaders concerned in the rebellion of 1798, and of the conſpiracy which preceded it, meant to have formed a republic on the ruins of the Conſtitution, and to have ſeparated Ireland from England, with the aid of the French. Some of theſe leaders declared this upon oath, before the Secret Committees of both Houſes of Parliament. This incendiary admits, that "the abuſes, injuries, or inſults," which he pretends that the Roman Catholics endured, were the real cauſe of this treaſonable conſpiracy and rebellion; and he therefore allows that they were the chief promoters of it; for he ſays, "Had a reform in Parliament—had a total emancipation of the Roman Catholics—been granted to the people, by the Iriſh Parliament, all the orators of the human race might have preached revolution to the Iriſh people, and would have preached in vain. If a republican party is a great cauſe of the rebellions in Ireland, yet there is none which can be ſo eaſily removed; give them no topic, in any real exiſting abuſe, by which they can inflame the minds of the people." The anſwer to this is very obvious. They enjoyed what they now claim, till the Revolution; and yet they were conſtantly guilty of treaſonable conſpiracies and rebellions, in obedience to the Pope's bulls and epiſtles, and agreeably to the fundamental principles of their

* Who cut off the King's head.

† Lord Orrery's State Letters.

religion,

religion, for nearly 200 years previous to that period. On the breaking out of the dreadful rebellion in 1641, forty-one *Popiſh* members were expelled from Parliament, for being engaged in it*.

"Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum."

This writers mentions *the Union*, as the eighth and laſt cauſe of popular diſcontent in Ireland. We cannot be ſurpriſed, that the Iriſh Roman Catholics ſhould be diſpleaſed with a perpetual incorporation of the two iſlands, as they have been inceſſantly endeavouring to ſeparate them, with the aſſiſtance of the foreign enemies of the empire, ever ſince the year 1538, when, in obedience to the bull of Pope Paul III. they renounced their allegiance to the Engliſh Monarch. He collects and abridges the common-place arguments uſed by jacobins and republicans againſt it; and he ſays, "the next argument in favour of the Union, was the ſecurity it would give to the property of Proteſtants. But this ſecurity might have been more perfectly produced, by aſſimilating the Catholics entirely with the Proteſtants; and to this meaſure recourſe muſt be had at laſt, with or without an union." This cannot be done by any act of the Legiſlature; nor can we entertain any hopes of its accompliſhment, while the Papiſts acknowledge the ſupremacy of a *foreign prince*, and adhere to the impious tenets of the *general councils* and *canons* of their church. *Dr. Troy*, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, tells us, in his Paſtoral Inſtruction, publiſhed there in 1793, that they are infallible in matters of faith and morality, and that all Roman Catholics are obliged implicitly to adhere to them; and Mr. *Francis Plowden*, in his Caſe Stated, makes the ſame aſſertions. Dr. Troy, in that work, among many general councils which he ſays are infallible, mentions the following:—the 4th *Lateran*, A.D. 1215, *Lyons*, 1274, *Conſtance*, 1414, *Trent*, 1545. Now the reader will find the following doctrines inculcated in them, as the ſacred and indiſpenſable duty of Roman Catholics: That no faith is to be kept with heretics; that they are bound to depoſe and murder heretical princes and governors, and to extirpate heretics of every deſcription, whenever they are able to do ſo. The woeful effects of theſe impious tenets were experienced in Ireland, for nearly two hundred years previous to the Revolution; during which ſpace, the Iriſh Roman Catholics enjoyed thoſe privileges, which they now claim as the means of their conciliation. But can any rational perſon expect, that, by conceding them, that effect would be produced? when Mr. F. Plowden ſays, in his Caſe Stated, publiſhed in 1791, "If any one ſays, or pretends to inſinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics, who were the late object of the bounty of Parliament, differ in one *iota* from their anceſtors, he either deceives himſelf, or he wiſhes to deceive others. *Semper eadem* is more emphatically deſcriptive of our religion, than our juriſprudence."

* Iriſh Commons' Journals, Vol. I. p. 299.

We

We are well informed, that this pamphlet has been re-printed, in Dublin, by Hugh Fitzpatrick, bookſeller and ſtationer to the Popiſh College of Maynooth. As Fitzpatrick would not venture to publiſh any thing whatſoever, without the ſanction of the governor of that ſeminary, to whom he is completely ſubſervient, it is ſurpriſing that gratitude to the Proteſtant State, for endowing it, at a very great expence, ſhould not reſtrain them from allowing ſo inflammatory a work to be publiſhed, particularly as it ſeverely reflects on the adminiſtration of Lord Hardwicke, who has uſed the moſt ſtrenuous exertions to conciliate the Iriſh Roman Catholics. The following paragraph, joined to what we have already quoted, muſt convince the reader of its hoſtile deſigns towards Lord Hardwicke's adminiſtration. It ſtates, in the third cauſe, that Government, by inſulting the people, "makes rebellion appear not only generous, but ſacred. Can we wonder that opinion, its firmeſt and moſt reſpectable ſupport, proves viſionary, and all its authority reſts upon the odious, the diſgraceful aſſiſtance of the halter and the ſword?"

Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correſpondence, of Sir William Jones.

(Concluded from Vol. XXI. P. 249.)

WE now reſume our account of this volume, in which the abſence of one of our members has occaſioned too long a delay.

Much about this time (1768) Sir W. Jones formed an acquaintance with Charles Reviczki, a German Count, afterwards Ambaſſador to the Engliſh Court; a man of amiable manners, of great ſcholaſtic attainments, and warmly attached, like himſelf, to the purſuit of Eaſtern literature, in which his proficiency was very conſiderable. With this perſon he maintained a ſtrict and friendly correſpondence, in the French and Latin languages, but principally in the latter, in which he wrote with equal purity, elegance, and eaſe. We ſhall give the firſt letter of the ſeries.

"Mr. Jones to C. Reviczki.

"How pleaſing was that half hour to me in which we converſed on Perſian poetry, our mutual delight. I conſidered it the commencement of a moſt agreeable friendſhip and intercourſe between us; but my expectations are diſappointed by the circumſtances in which we are unavoidably placed; for my buſineſs will confine me to the country longer than I wiſh; and you, as I am informed, are preparing to return immediately to Germany. I have, therefore, to lament that our intimacy is, as it were, nipped in the bud. I am not, however, without this conſolation, that if I cannot perſonally converſe with you, I can at leaſt correſpond with you, and thus enjoy the ſatisfaction ariſing from a communication of our ſentiments and ſtudies. In mentioning *our friendſhip*, I ſhall not, I truſt, be deemed guilty of an improper freedom. Similarity of ſtudies, fondneſs for polite literature, congenial purſuits, and conformity of ſentiments are the great bonds of intimacy amongſt mankind. Our ſtudies and purſuits are the ſame,

fame, with this difference indeed, that you are already deeply verſed in oriental learning, whilſt I am inceſſantly labouring with all my might to obtain a proficiency in it. But I will not allow you to excel me in partiality for thoſe ſtudies, ſince nothing can exceed my delight in them. From my earlieſt years, I was charmed with the poetry of the Greeks; nothing I then thought could be more ſublime than the Odes of Pindar, nothing ſweeter than Anacreon, nothing more poliſhed or elegant than the golden remains of Sappho, Archilochus, Alcæus, and Simonides; but when I had taſted the poetry of the Arabs and Perſians * * * * * * * *

"The remainder of this letter is loſt; but from the context, and the anſwer of Reviczki, we may conclude that it contained an elaborate panegyric on Eaſtern poetry, expreſſed with all the rapture which novelty inſpires, and in terms degrading to the Muſes of Greece and Rome."

The reader will collect from this the principal ſubject of their correſpondence: it is not extremely intereſting, unleſs to the admirers of Aſiatic Poetry, on the beauties of which it enthuſiaſtically expatiates, occaſionally introducing ſhort extracts of ſingular taſte and beauty.

It appears, that Reviczki was in England during the diſgraceful ſcenes which took place in conſequence of the political frenzy excited by Wilkes, and his worthleſs abettors. The impreſſion which they made, could not be favourable to the notions entertained abroad, of the excellence of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and, therefore, Sir W. Jones found it neceſſary to advert to them, in one of his letters.

"If I were not a ſincere lover of truth, and averſe from all diſſimulation, I ſhould lament that our capital has fallen under your inſpection in theſe times of turbulence and diſtraction, when the liberty of my country ſo univerſally celebrated, has degenerated into unbridled licentiouſneſs, not to ſay outrage. The original form of our conſtitution is almoſt divine; to ſuch a degree, that no ſtate of Rome or Greece, could ever boaſt one ſuperior to it, nor could Plato, Ariſtotle, nor any legiſlator, even conceive a more perfect model of a ſtate. The three parts which compoſe it are ſo harmoniouſly blended and incorporated, that neither the flute of Ariſtoxenus, nor the lyre of Timotheus, ever produced more perfect concord. What can be more difficult than to deviſe a conſtitution, which, while it guards the dignity of the ſovereignty and liberty of the people, from any encroachment by the influence and power of the nobility, preſerves the force and majeſty of the laws from violation, by the popular liberty? This was the caſe formerly in our iſland, and would be ſo ſtill, if the folly of ſome had not prompted them to ſpur on the populace inſtead of holding them in. I cannot, therefore, reſtrain my indignation againſt *Wilkes*, a bold and able, but turbulent man, the very torch and firebrand of ſedition; but what can be ſaid in defence of the honour and conſiſtency of ſome of our nobility, who, after having given him their countenance and ſupport, ſhamefully deſerted and betrayed him."

What ideas of political harmony the blended muſic of Timotheus, and Ariſtoxenus might produce in his own mind, we know not; certain it is, that no great degree of information could be conveyed by it, to his leſs enlightened correſpondent; the fact, however, is, that he always treated this ſubject with the affectation of an academick, rather

rather than with the profound and comprehenſive views of a ſtatiſt. It was, indeed, impoſſible for Sir W. Jones to ſpeak of any thing, without exhibiting ſtrong marks of fancy and ingenuity, but we muſt be permitted to ſay, that we think him leſs ſucceſsful on this topic than on any other. The political papers, injudiciouſly preſerved among his printed works, evince no particular knowledge of the great practical principles of our Conſtitution, and have been ſurpaſſed, in their own way, by writers of very inferior note.

During his reſidence at Althorpe, he paid frequent viſits to Oxford, in one of which he made an excurſion to Foreſt Hill, the ancient ſeat of the Powels, and the occaſional reſidence of Milton, whoſe firſt wife, Mary Powel, was the daughter of the proprietor. Of this little adventure, he gave an account to Lady Spencer, in a letter which will ever be conſidered as a beautiful model of chaſte and elegant deſcription.

7th of Sept. 1760.

"The neceſſary trouble of correcting the firſt printed ſheets of my hiſtory, prevented me to day from paying a proper reſpect to the memory of Shakeſpeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was reſolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet, and ſet out in the morning in company with a friend, to viſit a place where Milton ſpent ſome part of his life, and where, in all probability, he compoſed ſeveral of his earlieſt productions. It is a ſmall village ſituated on a pleaſant hill, about three miles from Oxford, and called Foreſt Hill, becauſe it formerly lay contiguous to a foreſt, which has ſince been cut down. The poet choſe this place for retirement after his firſt marriage, and he deſcribes the beauties of his retreat in that fine paſſage of his L'Allegro:

Sometimes walking, not unſeen,
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green.
* * * * * *
While the ploughman, near at hand,
Whiſtles o'er the furrow'd land,
And the milkmaid ſingeth blithe,
And the mower whets his ſcythe;
And ev'ry ſhepherd tells his tale,
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Strait mine eye hath caught new pleaſures,
Whilſt the landſcape round it meaſures:
Ruſſet lawns, and fallows grey
Where the nibbling flocks do ſtray:
Mountains, on whoſe barren breaſt,
The lab'ring clouds do often reſt;
Meadows trim, with daiſies pied,
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements it ſees,
Boſom'd high in tufted trees.
* * * * * *
Hard by a cottage chimney ſmokes,
From betwixt two aged oaks. &c.

"It was neither the proper ſeaſon of the year, nor time of the day to hear

hear all the rural ſounds, and ſee all the objects mentioned in this deſcription; but, by a pleaſing concurrence of circumſtances, we were ſaluted upon our approach to the village with the muſic of the mower and his ſcythe; we ſaw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

"As we aſcended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable ſtillneſs and natural ſimplicity of the whole ſcene, gave us the higheſt pleaſure. We at length reached the ſpot, whence Milton undoubtedly took moſt of his images; it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a moſt extenſive proſpect on all ſides: the diſtant mountains that ſeemed to ſupport the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly ſhaded with trees of the fineſt verdure, and partly raiſed above the groves that ſurrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyiſh colour, where the ſheep were feeding at large, in ſhort, the view of the ſtreams and rivers, convinced us that there was not a ſingle uſeleſs or idle word in the abovementioned deſcription, but that it was a moſt exact and lively repreſentation of nature. Thus will this fine paſſage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactneſs. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthuſiaſm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

"The poet's houſe was cloſe to the church, the greateſt part of it has been pulled down, and what remains, belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that ſeveral papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was laſt in poſſeſſion of the eſtate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers: one of them ſhewed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleaſed with another, who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

"It muſt not be omitted that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are ſo elegantly deſcribed in the Penſieroſo. Moſt of the cottage windows are overgrown with ſweetbriars, vines and honeyſuckles, and that Milton's habitation had the ſame ruſtic ornament, we may conclude from his deſcription of the lark bidding him good-morrow.

Thro' the ſweet-briar, or the vine,
Or the twiſted eglantine:

for it is evident, that he meant a ſort of honey-ſuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly uſed for the ſweet-briar, which he could not mention twice in the ſame couplet.

"If I ever paſs a month or ſix weeks at Oxford in the Summer, I ſhall be inclined to hire and repair this venerable manſion, and to make a feſtival for a circle of friends, in honour of Milton, the moſt perfect ſcholar, as well as the ſublimeſt poet, that our country ever produced. Such an honour will be leſs ſplendid, but more ſincere and reſpectful, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon." I have the honour, &c."

It may, indeed, be doubted whether the account which he received on the ſpot, be founded in fact; the reſidence of a public man, like Milton, could have been only temporary in this ſecluded manſion, and he was too converſant with the preſs, to have left many manuſcripts. The tradition, however, while it juſtifies the writer, proves the veneration with which the name of our great poet, was there regarded.

In

In 1770, we find Sir W. Jones at Nice, with the family of Lord Spencer; here, and at Spa, he continued for ſome months, during which, he wrote ſeveral letters to his friend Reviczki. Theſe are principally on literary ſubjects, interſperſed with querulous remarks on a want of intereſt in the ſcenery and people around; remarks which muſt have ſtruck his correſpondent, ſince, in a letter from Vienna, he thus delicately notices them.

"Indeed, my dear Sir, I cannot think you much to be pitied, for having paſt a year in travelling through various climates and regions; on the contrary, I think it extremely fortunate that you have had an opportunity which you are well qualified to improve. You have eſcaped the ſeverity of winter in the mild and temperate climate of Italy, you have enjoyed the ſpring in France and England, and you are now ſpending the ſummer on the confines of Germany, in a place, which is the general rendezvous of Europe; and where you may ſee, at a glance, an aſſemblage of various nations. Is not this delightful? Is not the great advantage of travelling to explore the characters of different people? I can, however, eaſily conceive the inconvenience which a man of letters muſt ſuffer from the want of means and opportunity to purſue his ſtudies, and this alone is ſufficient to diminiſh the pleaſure of it."

The truth is, that he felt himſelf ill at eaſe, unleſs he was ſurrounded by his books: even at Paris, inſtead of ſtudying the manners of the people, he amuſed himſelf with what he allows, "will perhaps make his correſpondent ſmile," a tranſlation of an antient Chineſe Ode! This muſt have coſt him an infinite deal of trouble: but to his extraordinary genius and application nothing was inſuperable; and we are almoſt perſuaded that, if he had travelled to Egypt, he would have diſcovered the key to the hieroglyphicks.

While he was abroad, he wiſhed to pay his reſpects to Voltaire.

"I made," he ſays "an excurſion to Geneva, in hopes of ſeeing Voltaire, but was diſappointed. I ſent him a note with a few verſes, implying that the muſe of tragedy had left her ancient ſeat in Greece and Italy, and had fixed her abode on the borders of a lake, &c. He returned this anſwer: "The worſt of French poets and philoſophers is almoſt dying; age and ſickneſs have brought him to his laſt day; he can converſe with nobody, and entreats Mr. Jones to excuſe and pity him. He preſents him with his humble reſpects." But he was not ſo ill as he imagined; for he had been walking in his court, and went into his houſe juſt as I came to it. The ſervants ſhewed me ſomebody at a window, who they ſaid was he; but I had ſcarce a glimpſe of him. I am inclined to think that Voltaire begins to be rather ſerious, when he finds himſelf upon the brink of eternity; and that he refuſes to ſee company, becauſe he cannot diſplay his former wit and ſprightlineſs."

Sir W. Jones was little acquainted with the wiles of this hoary hypocrite, who conſtantly uſed the plea of ill health, to avoid ſeeing ſuch as were unlikely to be the dupes of his ſhallow pretenſions, or the trumpeters of his inordinate vanity. The character of our traveller, which was already familiar to the French, abſolutely precluded

the hope of his being either of theſe, and Voltaire was too cunning to expoſe himſelf.

It was during this tour that he put the laſt hand to his tragedy of Solyman, with which he appears at this time to be much pleaſed, but of which his maturer, and more ſevere judgment, probably diſapproved, ſince no traces of it were found among his papers. Poetry has doubtleſs ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by its diſappearance, but it may be queſtioned whether the Drama have ſuffered in an equal degree, as delineation of character, and intuitive glances into the human breaſt, were not, perhaps, among the characteriſtic excellences of the author. He alſo wrote a ſeries of eſſays on Education, of which nothing remains but the plan. He quitted the family of Lord Spencer ſoon after his return to England, and entered upon the ſtudy of the Law, as a profeſſion, in Sept. 1770. Independence, and a deſire of acquiring diſtinction in the ſervice of his country, (the noble motives of all his actions), ſtimulated him to this determination, which was juſtified by complete ſucceſs.

In announcing his intentions to Count Reviczki, for whom he always retained a cordial and ardent attachment, he takes leave of "Oriental literature and poetry;" and he does it preciſely, as a jealous lover takes leave of an adored miſtreſs, by returning inceſſantly to her ſight. In his valedictory letter he obſerves, that he "amuſed himſelf with the choiceſt of the Perſian poets," and that he had laid the plan of "an epic poem, on a noble ſubject," under the title of Britanneis!

About this time he finiſhed his celebrated epiſtle to Monſ. du Perron, in which he obſerves, with a humourous reference to an expreſſion of Cicero's, that he *had diſquieted the French nation:* this production, written in French, with ſuch purity and elegance, as to induce a belief that it came from the pen of ſome Pariſian *bel eſprit*, was a ſevere but juſt critique on the Life and Works of Zoroaſter, in which Du Perron had inſerted, with the uſual petulance of his countrymen, an illiberal attack on the literature of our Univerſities. Sir William eaſily ſhewed, that the communications exhibited to the world with ſuch prepoſterous importance, were a tiſſue of palpable forgeries utterly undeſerving of notice. Were French men corrigible, this timely caſtigation might have been of ſome avail; and Monſ. Anquetil would not have further diſgraced his old age, by a publication more idly laborious, and more contemptible in every reſpect than that which fell under the laſh of his antagoniſt.

In 1774, Sir W. Jones gave his palmarium opus, his commentaries on Aſiatic Poetry, to the world. This ſtupendous work eſtabliſhed his reputation in every part of Europe, as a ſcholar, a man of taſte, and a poet of unrivalled excellence. It was finiſhed, Lord Teignmouth informs us, in the twenty-third year of his age! but with a juſt ſolicitude for his own reputation, and a proper reſpect for the public, he ſubmitted the manuſcript to his friends, to whoſe critical remarks he always attended with a modeſty that has probably found

more

more admirers than imitators. Soon after this, he was called to the Bar: we have no acconnt of his ſucceſs, but as he makes no complaint, it probably equalled his expectations. With the general eſtimation in which he ſtood, both at home and abroad, he had abundant reaſon to be ſatisfied, and yet, every day brought him new acceſſion of fame.

Among his learned correſpondents, we find the reſpectable name of H. Schultens, a profound ſcholar, and the boaſt of the Dutch Univerſities. From him we have ſeveral valuable letters; in general, they turn on Aſiatic literature, with which he was as familiar as Sir W. Jones; but there are ſcattered among them little particulars of domeſtic hiſtory, which cannot be read without intereſt. One of theſe we ſhall ſelect, with the noble editor's judicious obſervations upon it.

"I congratulate you upon your new office*, as an introduction to ſomething more honourable and lucrative; and as to the loſs of your liberty, I regret it rather on my account, than on yours. No one, not even an Engliſh man, can object to ſervice for the public good, which is the juſt recompence of virtue and merit. To me, however, your confinement is grievous, for if I was diſappointed in the expectation of ſeeing you, when you were your own maſter, I can ſcarcely now indulge a diſtant hope of that pleaſure. Do not, however, leave me in deſpair: you have fifty-nine aſſociates; ſome interval of leiſure may occur, and if it ſhould, do not neglect it, but run over and make us happy by the enjoyment of your company and converſation. It is not from want of inclination that I do not pay you another viſit, the recollection of the pleaſure I had in your ſociety is ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon me, that I have nothing more anxiouſly at heart, than to fly over to you with all ſpeed, that I may again enjoy it. Neither is it want of time, that detains me, for my office which excluſively occupies me for nine months, leaves me at liberty the remaining three. What is it then? I will tell you the truth, nor bluſh to reveal to my friend 'that when my purſe is heavier, I ſhall find the journey to you lighter†.'

"The ſoil of Oriental literature in Holland, as elſewhere, is barren; it produces only the mere conveniences of life, but no ſuperfluities whatever. I muſt, therefore, defer all hope of accompliſhing a journey to England, without ſome unexpected improvement of my circumſtances. I ſhall however, bear my lot, whatever it may be, with patience. Having mentioned this ſubject to you, I will add ſomething in which you may eſſentially ſerve me. With a view to improving my fortune, and procuring that affluence, which, though it may be diſpenſed with, is moſt acceptable to thoſe who poſſeſs it, I have determined to undertake the charge of a pupil, to receive him into my houſe and ſuperintend his morals and education. I am particularly anxious, however, that he ſhould be of your country, not only becauſe the ſyſtem of private education is little known or followed here, but becauſe it would be more agreeable to me to part with my liberty to an Engliſhman (you ſee how openly I ſpeak) from whom I might expect a more ſubſtantial recompence. My paper will not allow

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* Commiſſioner of Bankrupts.

† An Arabic proverb adapted to the ſituation of the writer.

me to ſay much more. Oblige me with a few lines in reply; I am certain you will willingly aſſiſt me as far as you can, and you may depend upon the ſtricteſt attention on my part, to any requeſt from you which I can poſſibly execute. My wife ſends her beſt compliments to your excellent mother and ſiſter. Farewel, my dear Jones, and continue to honour me with your eſteem. H. A. SCHULTENS.

* * * * * *

"At an interval of more than thirty-five years from the date of this letter, I cannot but acknowledge a diſpoſition to ſympathize with the feelings of the learned writer, and participate the regret which he expreſſes, at the deprivation of the ſociety of his friend, from his want of means to defray the expence of a journey to England. At this period, Schultens enjoyed an extenſive reputation, and was perhaps the object of envy to many, who, without any claim to diſtinction, poſſeſſed that opulence which, with all his indefatigable labours in cultivating and promoting literature, he had not been able to procure. We feel the more for him, becauſe his complaints, (if the confidential communication of his circumſtances authorize the expreſſion) are neither deficient in dignity, nor reſignation. In truth, the tract of literature which he had choſen to cultivate, was more calculated to produce a harveſt of celebrity, than profit."

We could have wiſhed that the anſwer to this affecting letter had been written with more warmth, but it is probable Sir W. Jones, at this time, was diſtracted by many, and various purſuits. We obſerve with pleaſure, however, that this amiable man, and truly excellent ſcholar, did not long feel the preſſure of want; for on the death of his father, which happened a few months after the date of this letter, he ſucceeded to the profeſſorſhip of Oriental literature.

In 1778, he publiſhed a tranſlation of the ſpeeches of Iſæus, a work which required "the united qualifications of claſſical eruditon and legal knowledge, and which he diſcharged with equal pleaſure and ſucceſs." The accuracy of this work can only be eſtimated by thoſe who have compared it verbatim with the original; a taſk which the writer of this knows that he more than once underwent. The introduction, which is written with uncommon elegance, is a legal treaſure.

He was now ſomewhat immerſed in politics: the war with America raged violently, and Sir W. Jones, with his accuſtomed ardour, took the ſide of the inſurgents. He was a whig from education and habit; his chief friends were among the leaders of that party, and he was eaſily induced by his affection to decide on a queſtion which he had inveſtigated, rather as a philoſopher than a practical politician. It is curious to obſerve, however, the workings of a mind inflexibly upright: he approves with cautious reſerve, and more frequently laments the violence, and diſcordant language of his friends, than he praiſes their energy, or adopts their arguments. Had it been the fate of Sir W. Jones to enter Parliament, he would have been an inſulated being, agreeing with no party, and producing no conviction. He was not, however, of this perſuaſion; and, induced by the advice and encouragement of ſeveral reſpectable members

bers of the Univerſity, declared his intention to become a candidate for Oxford.

In the interim he had written a Latin Ode to Liberty, under the aſſumed name of Julius Meleſigonus, an ingenious anagram of Guli-elmus Joneſius: it was in the Alcaic meaſure, and certainly Alcæus himſelf would not have bluſhed to own ſo pure, ſo elegant, and ſo ſpirited a performance. It was ſtrongly tinctured, however, with his political principles, and muſt have been conſidered, by the ruling party, as an open act of hoſtility:—yet, to ſhew the independence of his mind, it was ſent into the world, at the very time that he was ſoliciting, from the friendſhip of Lord North, the appointment of a Judgeſhip in India. Such a ſtep, as he truly ſays in a letter to the Rev. E. Cartwright, "ſufficiently proves, that no views or connections could prevent him from declaring his honeſt ſentiments, when he thought they might be uſeful to his country." P. 175.

He tranſmitted a copy of this Ode to his friend Schultens, together with a requeſt of aſſiſtance in the approaching ſtruggle. How Schultens could aſſiſt him, does not appear; but his anſwer, with every tender of friendſhip, contains this remarkable paſſage:

"Have you, however, no apprehenſion that your enthuſiaſm for liberty, which is ſo generally known, may, in theſe unpropitious times, injure the ſucceſs of your cauſe? Will thoſe upon whoſe votes your election depends, allow the Univerſity to be repreſented in parliament by Julius Meleſigonus?

Schultens was right, the oppoſition to his pretenſions aſſumed a formidable appearance, and he withdrew from the conteſt:—indeed, he left England ſoon after, for the amuſements of Paris, and the converſation of the Americans who ſwarmed there at this period, and whoſe acquaintance he cultivated with infinite aſſiduity. But he reſolved, he ſays, "to write an impartial hiſtory of the war, and would have gone to Holland to collect intelligence from the American letters there, if the ſeaſon would have admitted." P. 190. To write the hiſtory of a war, with a previous perſuaſion that it was unjuſt on the ſide of his country, and to ſeek for information principally among its bittereſt enemies, would to any other than Sir W. Jones, afford no very ſatisfactory pledges of "impartiality." On the whole, we feel no regret that this hiſtory was never written.

In 1781, he reſumed (if the expreſſion may be allowed, of what, perhaps, was never abandoned) his Arabic labours, and finiſhed an exquiſite tranſlation of ſeven poems, which make a part of that celebrated collection preſerved in the temple of Mecca. About this time, too, he gave the world his treatiſe on the Law of Bailments, one of the moſt conciſe, accurate, and ſcientific works that ever appeared upon a legal ſubject. Politics alſo engroſſed ſome part of his attention, he wrote dialogues, made ſpeeches, and became a member of the Society for Conſtitutional Information:—but we have no ſatisfaction in contemplating thoſe ſcenes, and therefore turn with eagerneſs

to other events. The following letter to his pupil, Lord Althorpe, ſoon after his marriage, places him in a moſt amiable light:

" *O là bella coſa di far niente!* This was my exclamation, my dear Lord, on the 12th of laſt month, when I found myſelf, as I thought, at liberty to be a rambler, or an idler, or any thing I pleaſed; but my *mal di gola* took ample revenge for my abuſe and contempt of it, when I wrote to you, by confining me twelve days with a fever and quinſey; and I am now ſo cramped by the approaching ſeſſion at Oxford, that I cannot make any long excurſion. I encloſe my tragical ſong of " a ſhepherdeſs going," with Mazzanti's muſic, of which my opinion at preſent is, that the modulation is very artificial, and the harmony good, but that Pergoleſi (whom the modern Italians are ſuch puppies as to under-value) would have made it more pathetic and *heart-rending*, if I may compoſe ſuch a word. I long to hear it ſung by Mrs. Poyntz. Pray preſent the encloſed, in my name, to Lady Althope. I hope that I ſhall in a ſhort time be able to think of you, when I read theſe charming lines of Catullus.

' And ſoon to be completely bleſt.
Soon may a young Torquatus riſe;
Who, hanging on his mother's breaſt,
To his known ſire ſhall turn his eyes,
Out-ſtretch his infant arms awhile,
Half ope his little lips and ſmile.'

" What a beautiful picture! can Dominichino equal it? How weak are all arts in compariſon of poetry and rhetoric! Inſtead, however, of Torquatus, I would read Spencerus. Do you not think that I have diſcovered the true uſe of the fine arts, namely, in relaxing the mind after toil. Man was born for *labour*; his configuration, his paſſions, his reſtleſsneſs, all prove it; but labour would wear him out, and the purpoſe of it be defeated, if he had not intervals of *pleasure*; and unleſs that pleaſure be *innocent*, both he and ſociety muſt ſuffer. Now what pleaſures are more harmleſs, if they be nothing elſe, than thoſe afforded by polite arts and polite literature? love was given us by the author of our being as the reward of virtue, and the ſolace of care; but the baſe and ſordid forms of *artificial*, (which I oppoſe to natural ſociety) in which we live, have encircled that heavenly roſe with ſo many thorns, that the wealthy alone can gather it with prudence. On the other hand, mere pleaſure, to which the idle are not juſtly entitled, ſoon ſatiates, and leaves a vacuity in the mind more unpleaſant than actual pain. A juſt mixture, or interchange of labour and pleaſures, appears alone conducive to ſuch happineſs as this life affords. Farewel, I have no room to add my uſeleſs name, and ſtill more uſeleſs profeſſions of friendſhip."

Matters had now reached their criſis. The Whigs wreſted the reins of government from the timid hands of Lord North, a diſgraceful, we had almoſt ſaid a traiterous, peace was haſtily patched up with America; and as the friends of Sir W. Jones were now all-powerful, he eaſily obtained, through the ſolicitation of Lord Aſhburton, the object of his long and anxious wiſhes, the appointment of a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal: he received, at the ſame time, the honour of knighthood, and ſoon after took his paſſage in the Crocodile frigate for India. Previouſly to this, however, he married

married Miſs Shipley, to whom he had been tenderly attached for many years, but to whom, with equal delicacy and manlineſs, he had heſitated to unite himſelf, till he could command every thing which his affection might deem neceſſary to her happineſs.

The proſpects which were now opened, are thus elegantly deſcribed by his biographer:

"With what rapture he himſelf contemplated his new ſituation, may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. As a magiſtrate of the ſupreme court of judicature, he had now that opportunity which he ever ardently deſired, of devoting his talents to the ſervice of his native country, and of promoting the happineſs of the community in which he reſided; while the hiſtory, antiquities, natural productions, arts, ſciences, and literature of Aſia, opened an extenſive and almoſt boundleſs field to his enquiries. He was now placed amidſt a people, whoſe pretenſions to antiquity had hitherto eluded reſearch, and whoſe manners, religion, and cuſtoms, ſtill retained the ſame characteriſtical peculiarities, by which they were originally diſtinguiſhed, Time, who ſpreads the veil of oblivion over the opinions and works of mankind, who annihilates empires and the records of their exiſtence, had ſpared the doctrines and language of the followers of Brama, and amidſt the ravages of conqueſt and oppreſſions of tyranny, ſeemed to protect with parental care ſome of the earlieſt monuments of his reign. The Hindoos, in fact, preſented to the obſervation of Sir William Jones, a living picture of antiquity; and although the colouring might be ſomewhat faded and obſcured, the lineaments of the original character were ſtill diſcernable by the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, whilſt he remarked them with diſcrimination and rapture."

It is certain that he neglected none of thoſe opportunities; on the contrary, he improved them beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations of his country. We contemplate his reſidence in India with unabated and inceſſant delight: he had, indeed, adopted, with many ſpeculative philoſophers, exaggerated ideas of the virtues of the Hindoos, a race timid from ſuperſtition, and cruel from avarice; but experience gave him juſter views, and the charges, which he annually delivered to the Grand Juries of Bengal, evince, in their chaſtened panegyrics, the progreſſive fruits of a more intimate knowledge.

It is not our deſign, even if we had ſpace, to follow this extraordinary man through his multifarious and extenſive purſuits: we can only obſerve, that the due adminiſtration of juſtice formed his chief concern; and that every moment, which was not engroſſed by the claims of his high office, was ſedulouſly devoted to the moſt active reſearches into the antient literature and philoſophy of India, with a ſucceſs that will be ſeldom equalled, and never, we believe, exceeded. That noble inſtitution, the Aſiatic Society, was founded by him ſoon after his arrival, and he continued not only to preſide over it with a parent's ſolicitude, but alſo to furniſh its moſt valuable matter, as long as it pleaſed the Almighty to ſpare his life. To him, whatever of knowledge may be gained hereafter of the ſacred hiſtory of Hindoſtan, muſt, in no ſmall degree, be referred; as his mild and amiable manners, his inflexible love of juſtice, and ſteady virtue, firſt

won on the ſuſpicious Bramin, and taught him to be communicative where he could not but reſpect and admire.

The hiſtory of Sir W. Jones in India, in other words, of his indefatigable labours, is judiciouſly collected from his own correſpondence, which we think uncommonly intereſting. We ſubjoin one of the earlieſt letters, as it proves that he was already viſited by that endemical complaint, to which all ſtrangers are, ſooner or later, ſubjected, and which, at no very diſtant period, was deſtined to cut ſhort his valuable labours:

"Sir WILLIAM JONES to CHARLES CHAPMAN, Eſq.

"*Gardens near Alliphore, April 26,* 1784

"Allow me, dear Sir, to give you the warmeſt thanks in my own name, and in that of your infant ſociety, for the pleaſure which we have received from your intereſting account of Cochinchina, with conſiderable extracts from which we have been favoured by our patrons. Our meetings are well attended, and the ſociety may really be ſaid, conſidering the recent time of its eſtabliſhment, to flouriſh.

"We have been rather indiſpoſed, the weather being ſuch as we had no idea of in England, exceſſive heat at noon, and an inceſſant high wind from morning to night; at this moment it blows a hurricane, and my ſtudy reminds me of my cabin at ſea. Our way of life, however, is quite paſtoral in this retired ſpot; as my prime favourites, among all our pets, are two large Engliſh ſheep, which came with us from Spithead, and having narrowly eſcaped the knife, are to live as long and as happily with us as they can: they follow us for bread, and are perfectly domeſtic. We are literary lulled to ſleep by Perſian nightingales, and ceaſe to wonder, that the Bulbul, with a *thousand tales*, makes ſuch a figure in Oriental poetry. Since I am reſolved to ſit regularly in court as long as I am well, not knowing how ſoon I may be forced to remit my attention to buſineſs, I ſhall not be at liberty to enter my budgerow till near the end of July, and muſt be again in Calcutta on the 22d of October, ſo that my time will be very limited; and I ſhall wiſh if poſſible to ſee Benares.

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"The principal object of his meditated excurſion was to open ſources of information, on topics entirely new in the republic of letters. The indiſpoſition which he mentions, not without apprehenſions of its continuance, had not altogether left him when he commenced his journey, and during the progreſs of it returned with a ſeverity, which long held the public in anxious ſuſpenſe, before any hopes could be entertained of its favourable termination.

"The author of theſe memoirs ſaw him in Auguſt 1784; at the houſe of a friend in the vicinity of Moorſhedabad, languid, exhauſted, and emaciated, in a ſtate of very doubtful convaleſcence; but his mind had ſuffered no depreſſion, and exhibited all its habitual fervour. In his converſation he ſpoke with rapture of the country, of the novel and intereſting ſources opened to its reſearches, and ſeemed to lament his ſufferings, only as impediments to the proſecution of them."

On his arrival in India, he ſeems to have fixed the period of his return to the concluding year of the laſt century, by which time, he probably concluded, he ſhould have acquired that eaſy independence which

which limited his desires, and, what was with him, perhaps, an object of higher importance, have completed those vast objects which he already had in contemplation; but his affectionate fears for Lady Jones, who suffered from the climate equally with himself, induced him to hasten her departure, with a determination of following her in the course of the ensuing season, by which time he flattered himself that he should have discharged his engagements with the Government of India. Lady Jones embarked in December 1793. But Providence had other ends in view, and this separation was eternal: his health, which had been enfeebled by repeated attacks, was unable to struggle against what he mistook for an ague, but which, in fact, proved to be an inflamation of the liver, and he expired, after a short illness, on the 27th of April 1794. The closing scene of his life must be given in the words of the noble biographer:

"I now turn to the last scene of the life of Sir William Jones. The few months allotted to his existence after the departure of Lady Jones, were devoted to his usual occupations, and more particularly to the discharge of that duty which alone detained him in India, the completion of the digest of Hindu and Mahommedan law. But neither the consciousness of acquitting himself of an obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, nor his incessant assiduity, could fill the vacuity occasioned by the absence of her, whose society had sweetened the toil of application and cheered his hours of relaxation. Their habits were congenial, and their pursuits in some respects similar: his botanical researches were facilitated by the eyes of Lady Jones, and by her talents in drawing; and their evenings were generally passed together, in the perusal of the best modern authors in the different languages of Europe. After her departure he mixed more in promiscuous society; but his affections were transported with her to his native country.

"On the evening of the 20th of April, or nearly about that date, after prolonging his walk to a late hour, during which he had imprudently remained in conversation, in an unwholesome situation, he called upon the writer of these sheets, and complained of agueish symptoms, mentioning his intention to take some medicine, and repeated jocularly an old proverb, that "an ague in the spring is medicine for a king." He had no suspicion at the time, of the real nature of his indisposition, which proved in fact, to be a complaint common in Bengal, an inflammation in the liver. The disorder was, however, soon discovered by the penetration of the physician, who after two or three days was called in to his assistance; but it had then advanced too far to yield to the efficacy of the medicines usually prescribed, and they were administered in vain. The progress of the complaint was uncommonly rapid, and terminated fatally on the 27th of April 1794. On the morning of that day his attendants, alarmed at the evident symptoms of approaching dissolution, came precipitately to call the friend who has now the melancholy task of recording the mournful event: not a moment was lost in repairing to his house. He was lying on his bed in a posture of meditation, and the only symptom of remaining life was a small degree of motion in the heart, which after a few seconds ceased, and he expired without a pang or groan. His bodily suffering, from the complacency of his features, and the ease of his attitude, could not have been severe; and his

his mind muſt have derived conſolation from thoſe ſources where he had been in the habit of ſeeking it, and where alone, in our laſt moments, it can ever be found.

"The deep regret which I felt at the time, that the apprehenſions of the attendants of Sir William Jones had not induced them to give me earlier notice of the extremity of his ſituation, is not yet obliterated. It would have afforded me an opportunity of performing the pleaſing but painful office, of ſoothing his laſt moments, and I ſhould have felt the ſincereſt gratification in receiving his lateſt commands: nor would it have been leſs ſatisfactory to the public, to have known the dying ſentiments and behaviour of a man, who had ſo long and deſervedly enjoyed ſo large a portion of their eſteem and admiration.

"An anecdote of Sir William Jones, upon what authority I know not, has been recorded, that immediately before his diſſolution, he retired to his cloſet and expired in the act of adoration to his Creator. Such a circumſtance would have been conformable to his prevailing habits of thinking and reflection, but it is not founded in fact: he died upon his bed, and in the ſame room in which he had remained from the commencement of his indiſpoſition.

"The funeral ceremony was performed on the following day with the honours due to his public ſtation: and the numerous attendants of the moſt reſpectable Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta evinced their ſorrow for his loſs, and their reſpect for his memory."

The Memoirs are cloſed by what Lord Teignmouth modeſtly calls a recapitulation of what had been previouſly detailed, but which, in reality, is a moſt eloquent, intereſting, and affectionate diſplay of his character, attainments, and virtues. We could with pleaſure tranſcribe the whole of this maſterly peroration; but we have already indulged too far, and muſt therefore content ourſelves with the concluding ſection;

"Of his private and ſocial virtues it ſtill remains to ſpeak; and I could with pleaſure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

"Could the figure, (I quote with pleaſure his own words) inſtincts, and qualities of birds, beaſts, inſects, reptiles, and fiſh, be aſcertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few ſtudies would afford us more ſolid inſtruction, or more exquiſite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturaliſt can occaſion the miſery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to periſh in a cold neſt, becauſe it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, becauſe it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor ſhall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdauſi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applauſe, pours bleſſings on his departed ſpirit,

Ah! ſpare yon emmet rich in hoarded grain,
He lives with pleaſure, and he dies with pain.

"This may be only a confeſſion of weakneſs, and it certainly is not meant as a boaſt of peculiar ſenſibility; but whatever name may be given to my

my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the *cecila*, whose wild native woodnotes announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden, for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestic and engaging *Mayana*, which "bids us good morrow" at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than security: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them.

"I have noticed his cheerful and assiduous performance of filial and fraternal duty: to the other virtues of Mr. Jones (I quote the testimony and words of professor Bjornstal, who visited Oxford whilst Sir William Jones resided there, obligingly communicated to me by Dr. Ford of Mag. Hall) I ought to add that of filial duty, which he displays at all times in the most exemplary manner. I am not singular in the observation here made. Every one acquainted with Mr. Jones makes it likewise. I feel a pleasure in dwelling upon a character that does such high honour to human nature.' The unceasing regret of Lady Jones is a proof of his claim upon her conjugal affections; and I could dwell with rapture on the affability of his conversation and manners, on his modest unassuming deportment, nor can I refrain from remarking, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from that arrogance and self-sufficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities; his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved.

"His intercourse with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extensive: he liberally rewarded those by whom he was served and assisted, and his dependants were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination he has frequently mentioned in his works the name of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaster, whom he retained in his pay, and whose death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I resist the impulse which I feel to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demise; the pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them at a public *durbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made, in the sciences which they professed.

"If this character of Sir William Jones be not exaggerated by the partiality of friendship, we shall all apply to him his own words, 'it is happy for us that this man was born.' I have borrowed the application of them from Dr. Parr, and who more competent can be found, to estimate the merit of the great scholar, whom he deems worthy of this eulogium?

"In the pleasing office of delineating his virtues, my regret for his loss has been suspended, but will never be obliterated; and whilst I cherish with pride the recollection that he honoured me with his esteem, I cannot cease to feel and lament that the voice, to which I listened with rapture and improvement, is heard no more.

"As far as happiness may be considered dependant upon the attainment of our wishes, he possessed it. At the period of his death, by a prudent attention to economy, which never encroached upon his liberality, he acquired a competency, and was in a situation to enjoy dignity with independence. For this acquisition he was indebted to the exertion of his talents and abilities, of energies well directed, and usefully applied to the benefit

benefit of his country and mankind. He had obtained a reputation which might gratify the higheſt ambition: and as far as human happineſs is alſo connected with expectation, he had in proſpect a variety of employments, the execution of which depended only on the continuance of his health and intellectual powers. I ſhall not here enlarge upon the common topic of the vanity of human wiſhes, proſpects, and enjoyments, which my ſubject naturally ſuggeſts; but if my reader ſhould not participate that admiration which the memory of Sir William Jones excites in my mind, I muſt ſubmit to the mortification of having depreciated a character, which I had fondly hoped would be effectually emblazoned by its own excellence, if I did but ſimply recite the talents and virtues which conſpired to dignify and adorn it."

Theſe ample Memoirs are followed by an Appendix, containing the originals of the letters, ſo admirably tranſlated by Lord Teignmouth; the argument of an Epic Poem, which Sir W. Jones meditated, and which is liable to many objections; a pleaſing and inſtructive Eſſay on the Hiſtory of the Turks; and a few unpubliſhed poems, either tranſlated from the Perſian, or produced in moments of innocent gaiety, on incidental occurrences: Of theſe, we tranſcribe as a curioſity, a "Song from the Perſian, paraphraſed in the meaſure of the original."

"A SONG FROM THE PERSIAN PARAPHRASED IN THE MEASURE OF THE ORIGINAL.

"Sweet as the roſe that ſcents the gale,
Bright as the lily of the vale,
Yet with a heart like ſummer hail,
Marring each bud * thou beareſt.

Beauty like thine all nature thrills,
And when the Moon her circle fills,
Pale ſhe beholds thoſe rounder hills,
Which on the breaſt thou weareſt.

Where could thoſe peerleſs flowrets blow;
Whence are the thorns that near them grow?
Wound me, but ſmile, O lovely foe,
Smile on the heart thou teareſt.

Sighing, I view that cypreſs waiſt,
Doom'd to afflict me till embrac'd;
Sighing I view that eye too chaſte,
Like the new bloſſom ſmiling.

Spreading thy toils with hands divine,
Softly thou waveſt like a pine.
Darting thy ſhafts at hearts like mine,
Senſes, and ſoul beguiling.

See at thy feet no vulgar ſlave,
Frantic, with love's enchanting wave,
Thee, ere he ſeek the gloomy grave,
Thee, his bleſt idol ſtyling."

* In the copy *beauty* is evidently inſerted by a miſtake of the tranſcriber.—REV.

We

We have now gone through this elaborate volume:—To what is ſaid of Sir W. Jones we can add nothing. He has our ſincere love and admiration, and while the nature of goodneſs remains unchanged, he will be the pride and boaſt of his country. To Lord Teignmouth, we have very high obligations indeed; he has given us a work in which zeal is combined with knowledge, which emulates the worth it emblazons, and unites with every attainment that can adorn the ſcholar, every excellence that ennobles the man.

One word more. We ſhould not do juſtice to our own feelings, if we diſmiſſed this article without expreſſing our gratitude to his Lordſhip, for the care he has taken, in various paſſages, to eſtabliſh the religious character of Sir W. Jones. It is not that thoſe who had the happineſs of his acquaintance, have any doubts on the ſubject; it is not that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of his admirable works want any information on it; but it is that thoſe who never enjoyed the one, nor boaſt the other, may not be miſled by the inſinuations of men who are ever deſirous of wreſting from Chriſtianity its beſt and moſt effectual ſupporters. We have ſeen with what diabolical zeal the Diderots and Condorcets of France laboured to demonſtrate the Atheiſm of Boileau, Monteſquieu, and other diſtinguiſhed names, on the baſeleſs foundation of a detached hint, or inſulated expreſſion; and we have among ourſelves Diderots and Condorcets of equal malignity, and more art, who would not fail, but for thoſe well timed and moſt laudable precautions, to take advantage of the early doubts of this great man and rational Chriſtian, to enliſt him under the banners of infidelity.

An Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith, L. L. D. and F. R. S. of London and Edinburgh; one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms in Scotland; and formerly Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. The Eleventh Edition; with Notes, Supplementary Chapters, and a Life of Dr. Smith, by William Playfair. In three Volumes, 8vo. Pp. 1672. 1l. 7s. Cadell and Davis. 1805.

THE firſt edition of this work, which has juſtly acquired high reputation (though its celebrity is, perhaps, ſomewhat greater than it is entitled to, on account of any powers of originality or invention), was printed in the end of the year 1775 and 1776. Different additions were made by the author to ſubſequent editions. In all theſe editions, *the preſent ſtate of things* means always the ſtate in which they were during the year 1783, and the beginning of the year 1784. Mr. Playfair, in an advertiſement prefixed to the preſent edition, obſerves, that, from all thoſe additions, it is evident, that, though the author conſidered principles as immutable, he was alſo of opinion—

"That illuſtrations require to be brought down to the lateſt period, in order that they may include every thing of importance that has reſulted from recent diſcovery or experience. The original work was written immediately previous to the French revolution, which formed a new epoch in the

the hiſtory of politics and commerce, and of modern times; ſince then [that time] alſo, numerous important events have taken place, which throw a new light on many of the ſubjects, into which our author inquires.

"The principal changes that have taken place ſince 1775, are—

"1. The foreign trade of England is more than doubled.

"2. The national debt is tripled.

"3. The national revenue is quadrupled.

"4. The actual circulation of the bank of England is no longer a ſecret.

"5. The corn and proviſion trades in this have undergone an almoſt total change.

"6. The American States, after creating paper money to an immenſe amount, and becoming inſolvent, have riſen to independence, credit, and power.

"7. The French revolution, brought on in ſome meaſure by the *French Œconomists*, has operated an almoſt total change on the face of Europe.

"Under theſe circumſtances, it is to be preſumed, that if Dr. Smith were ſtill alive, he would have found ample ground for additions, and perhaps he might have been inclined to make ſome alterations.

"The Author of the Notes and Supplementary Chapters has, with great diffidence, but after long deliberation, taken on himſelf a taſk to the accompliſhment of which he is conſcious of not being equal; but he hopes to meet with ſome indulgence from the good nature of his readers, who he truſts will diſcover, even in his errors, an eager deſire to attain truth, and arrive at a fair concluſion."

Mr. Playfair, from the preſent and other publications, appears to us to be a man of both inventive genius, and ſhrewdneſs of obſervation on the character of mankind, both in their individual and collective capacities. Therefore we are not a little ſurprized, that he ſhould try to beſpeak the favour of his readers, by ſo clumſy and common-place a declaration as that contained in this laſt paragraph of his advertiſement. He is conſcious of his inability to perform the taſk he has undertaken; but he is impelled by an eager deſire to attain truth. If this conviction was thorough, intimate, and ſincere, why enter on the buſineſs at all, until he was, from farther inveſtigation, fitted for it? The world could have waited for his father information, and conſequent improvement, without much impatience. But his diffidence was, probably, not quite ſo great as he pretends: and, in truth, there was not much occaſion for it. His genius and habits of inquiry are well ſuited to the taſk he has undertaken; and his ſucceſs is ſuch as might have been expected.

Of the general ſcope and tendency of Dr. Smith's celebrated Inquiry into the "Wealth of Nations," he gives a conciſe account, in his preface; juſt, on the whole, though, on the point of originality, leaning with * too manifeſt a bias to the ſide of Dr. Smith.

"The importance of ſtudying how a nation may become wealthy, and

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* See our ſtrictures on this point, in our critique on Mr. Playfair's "Decline and Fall of Wealthy and Powerful Nations."

ſupport

ſupport its dignity and independence amongſt other nations with the leaſt burthen to the ſubject, has long been felt; and many writers of ability and reſearch has employed their pens on that ſubject.

"The Engliſh writers have moſtly confined themſelves to collecting materials, and making calculations from ſuch facts as appeared to them to deſerve credit *.

"The French writers, on the other hand, more numerous and leſs attentive to facts, have eſtabliſhed ingenious theories, and attempted to reduce every thing to a ſyſtem, on which they reaſoned till they become enthuſiaſts, incapable of appreciating any thing that did not conform to the theories they had laid down. Much ingenuity and acuteneſs of reaſoning have been diſplayed by many of thoſe writers, known by the name of Œconomiſts, whoſe works tended not a little to bring on the revolution in their country, and to occaſion the exceſſes which it produced. Even Monteſquieu, by far the moſt profound of the French writers on theſe ſubjects, gives only detached principles, and there is nothing of that complete whole, nor of that connection of the parts, ſo neceſſary to the underſtanding of the ſubject, and to the forming a general concluſion.

"Dr. Adam Smith aimed at, and has in a great meaſure accompliſhed a complete Inquiry, not like the Œconomiſts, founded on theory, but eſtabliſhed as much as poſſible on facts; he has inquired into facts firſt, and then into their cauſes. He appears to have followed the ſame line of inveſtigation in matters of political œconomy, as the great Newton did in natural philoſophy, and conſequently his book is nearly as different from thoſe written by the men who went before him, as the Principia is from the reveries of Deſcartes.

"But the natural philoſopher tries experiments in his cloſet, or his elaboratory, which he can repeat, and re-examine. The world at large, is the ſtudy of the writer on political œconomy. The experiments are made by nations; and years, ſometimes centuries, are neceſſary for the purpoſe. On this gigantic ſcale muſt experiments be made; the information concerning them muſt generally be at ſecond hand, and can ſeldom be perfectly accurate, and the life of one man is ſcarcely ſufficient for collecting, much leſs for repeating them. On the other hand, as it is not poſſible, ſo alſo it is not neceſſary in ſuch inquiries, to attain the accuracy aimed at by the natural philoſopher or mathematician. The variety of circumſtances that occur in human affairs, prevent the ſtrict application of pure elementary principles to their adminiſtration; but the energy and genius of individuals are ſufficient to correct any ſmall deviations.

"The buſineſs is, then, to endeavour at getting near the truth, and to avoid running into thoſe errors that are too great to admit of remedy.

"Dr. Smith has ſo far ſucceeded in this; but, beſides that the moſt important experiments have been made ſince he wrote, he appears not on all occaſions to have had the beſt information, and, in oppoſition to thoſe legiſlators who would do every thing by regulation, HE IS FOR LEAVING EVERY THING FREE AND TO REGULATE ITSELF, and, as he very pro-

* Child, Petty, Davenant, King, Sir James Steuart, Anderſon, &c. &c. have each treated the ſubject partially, and rather with a diſplay of induſtry than of genius. They have collected many valuable and curious facts.

perly

perly expreſſes it, find its level. How far he is right, or whether he has not carried his theory too far, will be examined in the courſe of the notes on his work, and in the Supplementary Chapters.

"The author of the notes has long had in view this publication; but he waited till, the property of the work having ceaſed, he could publiſh his notes *with the work itself*, that, inſtead of entering the arena as a raſh antagoniſt, he might come in following in the train of the man; rather proud of wearing his livery as a maſter, than preſumptive of ſupporting with him an unequal combat.

"Though the writer of the notes has differed from Dr. Smith on ſome very material points, he has endeavoured to ſhew, that the errors he wiſhes to point out, are either owing to wrong information, want of information, or ſome circumſtance unconnected with the general principles on which the work is conducted.

"The definitions and firſt principles from which Dr. Smith ſets out, are generally drawn up with great accuracy and preciſion. On an intricate ſubject, and with a mind overflowing as his was with information on every branch of it, there is no wonder if he has ſometimes digreſſed, and ſometimes been diffuſe; but he will always have the honour of being the firſt writer, who has reduced to a regular form and order the moſt intricate, and one of the moſt important, ſubjects that can attract the attention of mankind; a ſubject ſo intimately connected with their general happineſs and proſperity."

Mr. Playfair's preface is followed by a ſhort ſketch of "The Life of Dr. Smith:" ſhort, but long enough; for, as Mr. P. juſtly obſerves, "anecdote, incident, and adventure, are what men look for in biography; but the hiſtory of ſtudy and virtue is generally deſtitute of all the three." On the ſubject of Dr. Smith's life, Mr. P. takes occaſion to obſerve, that, "as the opinion of Mr. Smith's obligations to the French Œconomiſts appears to gain ground, he has, in his ſupplementary chapter on the French Œconomiſts, thought proper to enlarge on the ſubject. The firſt founder of the regular ſect of Œconomiſts was a doctor [he does not ſay of what, but probably of phyſic] of the name of Queſnay, who had, with the moſt laudable intentions, turned his attention to ſuch objects as tend [meaning that the ſtudy of theſe objects tends] to promote the happineſs of a people, by a proper direction of induſtry, good laws, and regulations." It was another DOCTOR, an Engliſhman (Dr. Mandeville), who ſeems to have been at the bottom of all that has been written on this ſubject, either by Dr. Smith, or the French Œconomiſts:—That national wealth conſiſts in induſtry, excited by neceſſity, natural or luxurious; that the value and perfection of all the ſubjects of induſtry depend chiefly on the diviſion of labour; that certain labours or employments are productive, and others unproductive; that it is mechanics or ploughmen, that are demanded for national wealth, not men addicted to books, which often tend to make the poorer claſſes idle, vain, and diſcontented; that the value of articles depends on their ſcarcity or plenty—Theſe are the leading principles in Dr. Mandeville's Fable of the Bees. Let any man of candour and common underſtanding peruſe the

the Fable of the Bees, and the innumerable publications of the Œconomiſts, and then ſay, whether it be not almoſt certain, that the way was prepared for the inquiries and concluſions of the latter, by thoſe of the former. It is a pity but Mr. Playfair had been acquainted with the writings of Mandeville. The queſtion of originality is, indeed, of no great importance to mankind. It is in the juſtneſs and utility of principles alone, that we are, on our own account, intereſted. The merit of originality, or invention, is merely individual or national. "It is alſo true," as Mr. P. has well obſerved, "impoſſible to write well, on any ſubject of inquiry, without agreeing in many points with thoſe who have written well on the ſame; but this is no plagiariſm, like thoſe [meaning thoſe of plagiariſts] who compoſe works of imagination and fancy. Where is the ſubject of inquiry on which a man can be altogether original?" But though the queſtion of originality be of no great importance, it is a queſtion about which men are very curious. They appear to be ſometimes, indeed, more curious about the perſon who wrote, than about what is written. Witneſs the endleſs conjectures and eſſays reſpecting the queſtion who was the author of Junius's Letters? There is many a one, curious even to ſolicitude and uneaſineſs on this head, who has no manner of reliſh for the pure ſtile and admirable reaſoning of that excellent writer. "Such a curioſity is not indeed," to ſpeak in the language of the Œconomiſts, "a want of primary neceſſity." It is a want of luxury; but when a writer enters on the ſubject, he ſhould, if he can, go to the bottom. There are few who read the writing of the French Œconomiſts, and thoſe of Dr. Smith, who will not readily perceive, that the Doctor has been obliged to thoſe writers; and none who will not admit, that to thoſe men he was obliged, in as far as they have been the means of directing his attention to that vaſt variety of facts and conſiderations that enter into his Inquiry. "He differs from the Œconomiſts on the main point of productive and unproductive labourers, and cannot properly be accuſed of copying from them." He does not copy the difference of opinion; but he is led by the Œconomiſts to remark the difference between productive and unproductive labour; and, on other points, who does not trace a multitude of the ſame facts, and the ſame inferences?

Mr. Playfair obſerves, that "the Œconomiſts were not original." He fairly preſumes, that they too muſt have, in many things, followed and been directed in their inveſtigations by preceding writers. Their great leader and guide was undoubtedly Dr. Mandeville. The Fable of the Bees was firſt publiſhed in 1714. In the courſe of nine years, it made an impreſſion and a noiſe in the nation. In 1723, a preſentment was made by the Grand Jury of Middleſex, againſt the publiſher of a book, entitled "The Fable of the Bees; or, PRIVATE VICES PUBLIC BENEFITS." This book paſſed into France, where it was much read, particularly by the infidels, or PHILOSOPHERS, who were greatly delighted with the ſarcaſms with which it abounds on the clergy. The introduction of the Fable of the Bees into France coin-

cides with the time when the Œconomiſts received the impreſſions of education. As the juſt mode of inveſtigation in natural philoſophy was invented by Engliſhmen, ſo alſo the juſt mode of inveſtigation in political œconomy, how to make a people powerful and happy, the moſt important of all the ſubjects of reaſoning, was alſo firſt pointed out by an Engliſhman. Bacon and Newton were the fathers of legitimate inquiry in natural, and Mardeville in political philoſophy. It is not a little aſtoniſhing, that the honour due, on this ſcore, to Mandeville, has not been reclaimed before by his countrymen.

It is needleſs to obſerve, that the value of Dr. Smith's Inquiry is not diminiſhed, by a diminution of the ideal height to which his admirers have raiſed his invention or originality. Dr. Smith, though not the firſt that pointed out the true way—a medium between mere theory on the one hand, and mere details of facts, ſuch as thoſe of that indefatigable plodder, Sir John Sinclair, (which however have their value) on the other—has advanced the fartheſt in it. He is the beſt cultivator of the vaſt field he occupies, and he has gathered the beſt and moſt abundant fruit: which, by leading to farther and farther inquiry, for the correction of ſome things, or the addition of others, may re-produce other fruit, and by the proceſs of generalization, or ſimplification, leiſurely and gradual, but convincing and ſure, facilitate more and more the beſt means of promoting national wealth and proſperity. Mr. Playfair, our editor, biographer, continuator, and annotator on Dr. Smith, is ſingularly well qualified to eſtimate the improvements, and to ſucceed the Doctor as a labourer in the ſame field of political œconomy. It is with this labourer that we have at preſent, properly, to do; for a book, firſt publiſhed near thirty years ago, does not fall within the period and circle of our periodical work; though ſuch of our readers as have not read the "Wealth of Nations," may be enabled, from what we have ſaid, and have further to ſay, on the preſent occaſion, to form ſome notion of the nature and leading principles, or concluſions, of that celebrated publication.

Having touched on Mr. Playfair as the editor of this edition, and the biographer and defender of Dr. Smith, we proceed to view him briefly as a continuator.

Our readers may judge, from the following extracts, of his Supplementary Chapters. Chap. I. Book V. "On the increaſe of national debt, the bank of England, the ſinking fund, including ſuch occurrences in finance, as have taken place ſince this book was written." On this laſt head, which occupies the greater part of the chapter, he gives a very clear and curious account of the creation, operation, and conſequences of the famous French aſſignats. When the French revolution broke out, no country in Europe poſſeſſed ſo much ſpecie; it was eſtimated, by the beſt informed, at fifty millions; an immenſe ſum, but not more, in that extenſive and populous country, than two pounds to each perſon. Confident in the credit of the ſtate being loſt, all the coin that could be ſpared was withdrawn from circulation; the tax-gatherers found their authority ineffectual in collecting the revenue,

nue, ſo that the finances, the derangement of which had been the firſt cauſe of trouble, before the Aſſembly, in 1789, had been ſitting three months, were completely inefficient. Scarcely could government procure the money neceſſary for the payment of troops and daily expences. Every thing elſe remained unpaid. It was in this ſituation of things that the operative men belonging to the ſect of Œconomiſts invented and executed one of the moſt artful ſchemes that ever ſprung from the human brain.

"The debts of the ſtate were to be liquidated in order to relieve the people (that is, the nation), from paying the intereſt; but Mirabeau and his companions ſaw, that if the funds for that purpoſe were placed at the diſpoſal of the executive power, it might manage the aſſembly. He therefore oppoſed paper money, under whatever name, or of whatever deſcription it might be, till the court, in abſolute want of money, fatigued with a ſtruggle for which it was very unequal, and the fatal reſult of which it did not foreſee, gave up the point, and the king was dragged priſoner to Paris by an armed mob, excited by the faction that has already been named. Mirabeau, who had termed paper money an odious reſource, and a tax levied with fixed bayonets, when at Verſailles, no ſooner found the diſpoſal of ſuch a paper would be in the hands of the aſſembly, than the famous aſſignats were voted, not for the purpoſe of paying the creditors of the ſtate, or reſtoring order to the finances, but to relieve a people from taxes, who were intended to be converted into mobs and jacobin ſocieties, and who therefore could not afford to pay any. This was one intention; the ſecond was, to have a fund from which to pay the emiſſaries neceſſary for the completion of their plans. The third was, by mortgaging the church-lands for the payment, to aboliſh religion, and the laſt of all, to intereſt every one who ſhould have any aſſignats, in the ſucceſs of the revolution.

The firſt quantity of aſſignats voted, was 1,200,000,000, or 50 millions ſterling, the very ſum at which the Œconomiſts had eſtimated the ſpecie of the country."

Aſſignats went on regularly depreciating.—But the aſſignats though they ſunk in value when making purchaſes, ſtill preſerved it for four purpoſes: for the payment of rent, taxes, intereſt of money, and payment of debts. All thoſe who owed money haſtened to get rid of their engagements. Had the aſſignats been a permanent medium of payment, thoſe who lived by intereſt would have been entirely ruined, as they will be reduced to poverty in this country if ſilver and gold continue to depreciate [be depreciated] as they have done theſe laſt twenty years. In the common progreſs of depreciation, the cauſe operates ſo ſlowly that the effect is almoſt imperceptible. In France the operation was too quick to be viſible or unfelt. Thoſe who were merely ſpectators were obliged to ſee, and thoſe who were concerned felt the effect ſeverely.

"In the employment of capital during the life of a man, this depreciation of money ſeldom enters into his motives, [meaning his calculations, ſchemes, or views]: but with reſpect to money borrowed by nations, or veſted at a certain rate of intereſt in any enterprize of any great duration, the effect is immenſe, and while the monied man keeps aloof from all the caſual expences

to which the poſſeſſion of other property is incident, he does not ſee that his capital is ſubject to a diminution, that will in time leave him poorer than thoſe whoſe ſituation does not ſeem to be ſo much beyond the reach of human viciſſitude. As no plan was ever more deeply laid, ſo none ever had more complete ſucceſs than that for ruining the church, the creditors of the ſtate, and at the ſame time binding all the people to the revolution; while the ſuſpenſion of the moſt obnoxious taxes that fell on the poorer claſſes, enabled the aſſembly to pay for idleneſs and cabals."

Here we have an inſtance of that extreme and moſt unfortunate inattention to grammatical conſtruction which occurs ſo often in the writings of this ſhrewd, well-informed, and ingenious writer. The ſuſpenſion of taxes could never furniſh means of any kind of payment. The author means that the aſſignats enabled the Aſſembly, notwithſtanding the ſuſpenſion of taxes, to pay for idleneſs and cabals, unleſs he means that the mob acted out of gratitude for this ſuſpenſion. He goes on—

"Some immenſe fortunes were realized from the ſmalleſt beginnings by jobbing in aſſignats, and vaſt numbers of perſons became proprietors of eſtates of conſiderable value, who a year or two before had been in extreme indigence.

"As the property of the clergy had been eſtimated at a certain ſum, it was clear, that when aſſignats to that amount ſhould be created, thoſe made afterwards muſt be founded on ſome other pledge for ſecurity. The eſtates of thoſe who had, from fear or principle, quitted their country, were for this purpoſe declared forfeited. Many were perſecuted on purpoſe to make them go away; and as the ſame expedient might be applied as often as it was found neceſſary, the pledge was now conſidered as ſufficient as to its amount. Another branch of the ancient order was lopt off, and the road to perfect equality rendered more eaſy.

"The eſtates that now came into the market were ſo many, that even payable in aſſignats they fell to five or ſix years purchaſe. It was a robbery committed on the free proprietor under the name of confiſcation, and a gift beſtowed on the falſe proprietor, under the appellation and with all the formalities of a legal ſale.

"Neither extenſion of the pledge, nor the laws written in blood for ſupporting their currency could ſupport the aſſignats, of which the quantity was unknown and the diſcredit without a parallel.

"Mandats, another name, with a ſpecific mortgage on a particular portion of territory, were invented as a means of reſtoring credit; but this was evidently, an impediment to the circulation, as money, though it facilitated the alienation of the confiſcated eſtates that were not yet diſpoſed of. At laſt the paper money fell nearly to one eighth per cent. of its nominal value. It coſt almoſt as much to make the aſſignats, as they would paſs for with the public, and then the nature of things put an end to the operation.

"Mirabeau the agent and the organ of the contrivers of this paper, had boldly foretold in the national aſſembly, in 1790, that the paper would become not of more value than the rags from which it was made. This event was not then accidental, it was foretold by the very perſons with whom the ſcheme originated, and thus the ancient order of things, the monarchy, the church, and the proprietors of land were completely ruined by a ſcheme of finance,

finance, executed in the courſe of a few years, by thoſe very œconomiſts who had been for near a century undermining them all.

"Here, however, the hiſtory of the French paper ends; for, except by the ſale of the property that was ſeized, there never was any mode taken of liquidating it.

"The paper money in France ceaſed to circulate, about the time that the bank of England ſuſpended its payments in ſpecie. The enemies of this country exulted greatly in the circumſtance, and many of its friends were alarmed, and had little to reply. At the firſt ſight, the re-appearance of ſpecie in France, at the time that it became ſcarce in England, ſeemed far from favourable to the latter nation; yet the two events had no connection, nor did they warrant the concluſions that were formed.

"The nature of the bank of England notes has been explained, and the way they are iſſued; their amount alſo is known. Were it really neceſſary to withdraw from circulation the notes of the bank of England, it might be done in a few months, without paying a ſingle ſhilling, or robbing one man of a farthing.

"The notes are all lent, either on the ſecurity of government or of private individuals in diſcount for bills of exchange, none of which have above two months to run. Let us ſuppoſe one half of the notes in currency have been iſſued in diſcount, then in 60 days eight millions of notes would have been paid into the bank by the acceptors of thoſe bills; the other half of the notes would come in from government, in conſequence of revenue pledged for their payment, and thus, by the ſimple operation of every perſon paying their debts, the bank of England would retire every note from circulation. The aſſignats were paid away for expences; the notes of the bank of England are lent on ſecurity, to be repaid at a ſhort and certain date. Therefore, in their nature and uſe, there is a complete difference, and the circumſtance of not paying in gold has nothing at all to do with the real credit of the bank of England.

"A paper created by a ſtate, for the reimburſement of which there is no fund aſſigned, is the eaſieſt and moſt effectual mode that has ever been deviſed for the purpoſe of getting the property of individuals into the hands of thoſe who rule. It is a way of committing a robbery with eaſe and regularity, the loſs is not immediate, and ſubdivides itſelf by affecting every one who has property, and making them bear a greater or leſſer ſhare.

"A deſcription of this unique operation carried on with regularity (as it was in Flanders in 1794, when the Auſtrians, Engliſh, and Dutch armies evacuated it) may not be miſplaced here, though it is rather a digreſſion; but it is a remarkable inſtance of the improper uſe that may be made of that excellent invention, paper credit; an invention but of recent date, and which has very greatly altered the ſituation of mankind, particularly in the commercial world.

"The French general Pichegru, ſo ſoon as the retreat became certain and regular, (that was, before the Engliſh army had abandoned its poſition to the ſouth-eaſt of Antwerp,) ſent a printed tarif, on a very large ſheet of paper into every town on his approach. There were ſome of thoſe papers in Antwerp, ſeveral days before the Engliſh had abandoned the neighbouring country.

"The tariff ſpecified the price payable in aſſignats of every article of merchandiſe. All ſorts of proviſions, even eggs, milk, and the produce of the garden, were included, as well as corn, cattle, &c. Cloth, hats, ſtock-

ings, hardware, and every thing that could be thought of was mentioned, and when neceſſary, the quality or the ſize was deſcribed.

"The price fixed ſeemed to people in the country equitable. They were unacquainted with the depreciating career of the aſſignats, and the prices were about 25 per cent. higher than thoſe for hard money.

"Accompanying this, was a declaration or order, that every citizen ſhould give in a ſchedule or liſt of all ſuch articles in his poſſeſſion, ſpecifying the quantity on hand, in order that, on demand, any quantity required ſhould be produced. This they termed putting in a ſtate of requiſition, a term ſo appropriately applied, that thoſe who certainly would not imitate the act, have adopted the word. Thoſe who complied with this were to be paid at the moment of delivery, and to be protected from every injury to which the property of a conquered people is liable. Thoſe who refuſed were to have ſoldiers quartered upon them at diſcretion, and property concealed was to be confiſcated.

"It is eaſy to conceive the effect of this artful mode of proceeding. The French were even ſaved the trouble of looking out for the ſpoil which they were to ſhare.

"The forced currency of the aſſignats from citizen to citizen, was at the ſame time decreed, ſo that without much reluctance they ſold to the French the ſame goods that they muſt either keep or ſell to a neighbour on equal terms, and for which they received in payment a ſpecies of money, which, though they did not much like it, they could force others to receive again.

"Whatever was wanted, either for the maintenance or clothing of the troops, was immediately demanded and obtained. Whatever it ſuited the rulers at Paris to demand, was ſent off into the interior of France; even the trees in the foreſts were cut down and ſent away, and in a very ſhort time that fruitful and rich country was deprived nearly of all that was either good to conſume or fit to carry off.

"When this operation was finiſhed, a decree was made by the aſſembly, then called a convention, ordering all the aſſignats circulating in the conquered countries to be ſtamped on the back with a mark, and prohibiting their re-introduction into France, but even this was only the prelude to another decree not more nefarious, for that was impoſſible, but more audaciouſly unjuſt. It was decreed that all the aſſignats in circulation in the conquered countries, ſhould be reduced to one-twentieth of their nominal value! The buſineſs was done, and there was no longer any occaſion to ſoothe a people who were completely ruined aud ſubdued. The motives for this decree are not very evident, for as the aſſignats circulated there, and were forbidden in France, it muſt have been a matter of no moment, at what price they circulated in the countries to which they were confined*.

"This tranſaction, unparalleled in the annals of nations, for the regularity of the injuſtice was conducted under the eyes of a general, who has ſince been well received by the French princes and thoſe who eſpouſed their cauſe. A change of fortune occaſioned in him a change of conduct, and he has ſince fallen a victim in a deſperate cauſe, after proving victorious in one that was immeaſurably bad."

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* "The church plate and fine pictures were put in requiſition, amongſt other articles which the French coveted to poſſeſs."

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The brief but very luminous account given by our author of the *aſſignats* and *mandats* is extremely intereſting and important. The reader regrets, that this ſubject did not come within the circle of Dr. Smith's obſervations. This new ſpecies of public or political robbery has taught any bold junto of inſurgents how, by ſeizing on the grand agent of PUBLIC CREDIT, the great banker of civilization, to ſubvert kingdoms and change the face of the world. From the time that war ceaſed to be carried on by the ſpear and arrow of the feudatory vaſſal, it became a buſineſs of vaſt expence, and was generally determined more by finance than by arms. But after the diſcovery of America, and the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, Europe became the emporium of the world; and the European ſtates were gradually drawn into the intermixed relations of one great commonwealth, the ſeparate branches of which were dependent upon each other, from their reciprocal wants and ſeparate productions, while they retained their ſeparate independence, for the common benefit. They had, in fact, without adverting to it, but one common ſtock, of which public faith, or what is called public credit, was the guardian, as private faith, or perſonal credit, ſupported the agency of individual concerns. When ſtates ſo ſituated went to war with each other, bounds were preſented to its duration by the enormity of its expence. Like parties involved in a law-ſuit, the winner could gain but little, while he had to pay the coſts of his victories. The Belligerent Powers, moſt exhauſted, were obliged by new impoſitions, to raiſe the price of their particular manufactures and produce; ſo that a prolonged ſtate of warfare became a general tax.

The funded ſyſtem, introduced by political neceſſity, completed the intermixture of the property of Europe. The ſtates at war borrowed from thoſe at peace. The ſums borrowed, called a funded debt, being made transferable, become an article of trade; and thus the debts of the European ſtates, like their manufactures, became articles of an intermediate commerce. Holland, for example, had been for a century accumulating the profits of a pacific commerce, for the mere purpoſe of lending them to the ſtates who were diſtreſſed by war. It is from this fortunate and peculiar ſituation of modern Europe, as a great fœderal and commercial commonwealth, chiefly, that we are to account for the manner in which her internal wars were cloſed from the peace of Weſtphalia to the French revolution. The power of a Charlemagne could not ariſe amidſt ſimilar circumſtances. That of Lewis XIV. and of Catherine II. found their ſucceſſive repreſſions.

But the Revolutionary war of France was a war of a new character. It was neither a war of chieftainſhip nor of religion, nor of the balance of power, nor of colonization and commerce. No! it was a war in which the multitude were excited againſt the magiſtrate, and phyſical force made to bear againſt that public opinion, which was equally the guardian of eſtabliſhed authority, and of private property. Had the revolutionary war of France derived its aliment from the common ſources of contribution, it might have been reduced to a

ſpeedy concluſion by the ordinary tactics of reſiſtance. But the ſinews of the new war were acquired by reverſing the order of private and public credit; by iſſuing a ſign of property, which was, in fact, a confiſcation of the whole wealth of the antient proprietors of France, as well as a fraud committed on her foreign creditors.

The aſſignats, the firſt treaſury of the revolutionary war now gradually depreciated, indeed, and became finally of very little and almoſt of no value: but not until they had repelled invaſion, and carried the conteſt into the heart of Holland, Germany, Italy and Spain; not till the place of regular and fair reſources was ſupplied by the tribute of conqueſt. It may be fairly deduced as a corollory from all this, that there is not the ſmalleſt reaſon, from a retroſpect of the havoc made by the volcanic eruption of the war of aſſignats, and ſpoliation, to preſage a ſimilar iſſue to the preſent French war that muſt be fed by the uſual and regular reſources.

Among the moſt antient nations, the Hindoos and the Chineſe, PUBLIC CREDIT, the univerſal banker, on whoſe pledged faith all depend, is not to be ruined even by revolutions of Government. In India the ſprings of war depend on the credit of a CASTE; the Saukars, whoſe buſineſs it is to keep the money of the land; and this rule the ſovereign is obliged to reſpect whether he be an hereditary ſovereign, or a ſovereign by conqueſt.

This Caſte lends the money that is neceſſary for the King to pay his army and feed his court: and, for repayment of ſuch loans, the King gives the ſaukars or bankers, orders on the cultivators of ground *. In China, when many neighbouring nations of which that nation was once compoſed, made war on one another, and ſupported it with baſe money, ſuch money was called in on the reſtoration of peace, and nothing was attempted by government to be circulated as money, but the precious metals or uſeful merchandize.

In the Weſt the order of things is different. The whole body of the people are, or may become money lenders, and pledge mutual ſecurity for the repayment of loans. The repreſentatives of the people, or perhaps a number of men, united among themſelves, only calling themſelves ſuch, can make money of linen rags. The proper ſyſtem of the Americans effected their object. And the French aſſignats on the gulph of bankruptcy, paved the way to conqueſt. The grand concluſion to be drawn from all theſe obſervations, is, that ſince anarchy and rebellion began to ſyſtematize themſelves into a regular conſtitution, on the ruin of PUBLIC CREDIT and private property, the preventive of future diſorder of this kind muſt be ſought for on a re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe great guardian principles that have been

* By the adoption of this ſyſtem of Hindoo finance, Sir John Macpherſon, Governor General of India, about 1786, reſtored order to the embarraſſed affairs of the Eaſt India Company and effected a clear ſaving of one million in their annual expenditure.

violated;

violated: the protection of private property, and the ſecurity of the rights of nations. If the co-eſtates of Europe had been wiſe they would have united as one family, as one man, to react, repel, and ſubdue the ſpoliations of France. They ſhould never have ſheathed the ſword, or given any peace to France, under any of all the varying forms of goverment ſhe aſſumed, without funding the aſſignats. The majorities of repreſentatives from the lower and poorer orders of France, who confiſcated without heſitation, the lands of the Clergy, of the Nobles, the Crown, and in a word all that was landed or real property in France. The paper money, hypothecated on thoſe properties, the celebrated aſſignats, became the Treaſury of the Revolution, and the guillotine, its Chancellor of Exchequer. Any repreſentation of the people of a great ſtate that could avail itſelf, legally of confiſcation, for ſupplying the exigencies of the newly created Government, would be a deſpot more dangerous than any tyrant in Aſia or Turkey to that ſtate itſelf, and the example ſet to other nations more pernicious than any enormity committed againſt the rights of nations, and even of war among civilized nations. Againſt ſuch attempts all nations ſhould combine; and for their repreſſion contribute their juſt quotas of men and money as is done by the ſtates compoſing the German empire. A general confederacy formed for this expreſs purpoſe in the progreſs of time and events, might perhaps be improved into a laſting peace eſtabliſhment of Europe.*

Mr. Playfair having given an hiſtorical ſketch of the riſe, principles, and progreſs of the Œconomiſts, thinks it neceſſary to ſhew that the enmity excited againſt the corporations of all ſorts, was partly owing to the general deſign of overturning the exiſting (according to our authors uſual barbariſm of ſtyle *then* exiſting) order of things; and farther to obſerve, that what may be very well in theory is ſometimes very dangerous in practice.

"The œconomiſts not only thought that individual ſagacity is the beſt guide in matters of commerce, in which Dr. Smith agrees with them, but they ſeemed to hold human virtue in great eſteem. In this laſt point, they however differ completely from Dr. Smith, who expreſſes himſelf ſometimes in terms of great aſperity with reſpect to the mean and ſelfiſh principle on which he ſuppoſes all men in buying, ſelling, or trafficking, are perpetually acting.

"But why does Dr. Smith here expreſs himſelf with ſuch aſperity againſt the ſelfiſh principle, and in other places allow every man to purſue his own intereſt in his own way? Has he forgotten that the buyer is ſometimes in the power of the ſeller, owing to circumſtances and the nature of things, without any law in favour of the latter? As the purchaſe of a

* On the neceſſity of a union of force and finance for repreſſing the ſpoliations of anarchy, and the impoſitions of fraudulent paper, ſee the correſpondence of a traveller with a miniſter of ſtate in Turin, in 1792, Debrett.

burying

burying ground by Abraham, for shekels of silver, is quoted as a proof of the early use of money, the transaction of his grandson Esau, who sold his birthright for a breakfast, is one very nearly of equal antiquity, and the same authority to establish, in certain cases, the monopoly of commodities.

"In Egypt, a most fruitful country in ordinary seasons, but liable to fail sometimes from the particular circumstance of the river Nile not overflowing the low plains on its banks bordered on one side by the sea, to which the Egyptians had an aversion, and on the others by the most barren countries in the world, it was the practice to collect corn in public granaries, but those granaries do not appear to have been monopolized by the king, till his minister, Joseph, suggested it as a mode of extending his master's revenue and power. Had Pharoah been actuated merely by a design to save his subjects, he would not have seized the opportunity of treating them with such unexampled severity, and if in the line of provisions, the purchaser were not sometimes in the power of the seller, he would not have had the means.

"As there are examples in which the legislature has interfered between the individual and the use of his property; the question of when it may and when it may not do so, is not a question of general right and wrong, but a question of expediency, and depending upon circumstances.

"The general principles of Dr. Smith's freedom of trade do not then appear to apply to the commerce in grain; and the reason of the error has been given in a supplementary chapter on that subject. This is one of the most material and dangerous mistakes into which he has fallen inadvertently; but had he lived to the present day, he would probably have altered his opinion as much about the monopolists, regraters, and forestallers in England, as he certainly would have done about the sect of œconomists in France.

"Another mistake seems to be, that the capital drawn to any trade by a bounty is drawn from some other more beneficial trade; and also, that there is more advantage in trading with France than with North America, because the credits to the latter are so long, that the capital employed in American trade is drawn from a more advantageous to a less advantageous line of commerce. This is upon the idea that there is not sufficient capital in the kingdom to answer every purpose, which is a mistake, and therefore, neither bounties nor long credits are to be objected to, on the general principle of their absorbing a capital that might be better employed. The reasoning may apply in poor countries where credit and confidence are not established, but it will not apply to England.

"In 1792, when this country had a great increase of trade, capital was more abundant than at any time since the beginning of the American war; yet in the following year, when our trade declined prodigiously, the distress of the mercantile world for capital was so great, that government was under the necessity of coming forward for the relief of some of the first merchants and manufacturers in the kingdom.

"In treating of corporations and apprenticeships it has been shewn, that Dr. Smith's arguments are in some degree erroneous. With regard to the corporation privileges, the objections made are in a great degree done away; and where they are not, they have not much effect, and the advantages obtained in some cases by those who have served regular apprenticeships, are a sort of bounty on the proper education of the productive part of society; for to learn to gain a living, and to work well, is the most essential part of the education of that class of society.

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"The ſubject divides itſelf into two; one ſimply as an agreement to repay by ſervitude the trouble and expence the maſter is at in teaching and maintaining a youth while his ſervices are of no value. The other conſideration is that of a regular apprenticeſhip, entitling the apprentice to particular privileges; this laſt is another queſtion, and depends on particular circumſtances, and even when misjudged does very little harm.

"Dr. Smith's obſervation, that when a ſtick is bent one way too much, it muſt be bent the other in order to ſtraighten it, will apply to himſelf, as well as to the œconomiſts of France, though not in the ſame degree. The abuſes that have exiſted by too many privileges, reſtrictions, and regulations, have certainly rendered the danger of ſuch practices evident; but we have ſtrong examples in our own times, of the danger of following one general ſyſtem of perfect freedom of commerce, leaving all to the care, the ſagacity, and management of individuals, in the moſt important as well as the moſt frivolous branches of trade.

"No ſooner were the laws againſt uſury in France left unexecuted, than the intereſt of money roſe to an enormous height; would it not do the ſame thing in every other country? If regulation is uſeful in one ſingle inſtance, does it not reduce the queſtion of liberty of trade to one of circumſtances and expediency, and therefore not ſafe to be followed boldly, as an unerring ſyſtem, founded upon general pinciples?

"I But I aſcribe little merit to myſelf in diſcovering errors at this time, in a book written on ſo intricate a ſubject, before any of thoſe great experiments were made that have now thrown a totally different light on many ſubjects, but on none more completely than on the danger of being guided by a ſyſtem, as a mariner at ſea is by the compaſs, when out of view of the coaſt. In human affairs, the circumſtances are too various to admit of the ſtrict application of general principle in every caſe, and no perſons have been more fatally and more completely deceived than thoſe who have truſted to the wiſdom and juſtice of individuals, for the regulation of the affairs of a great nation.

"Thoſe who have imagined that there was a poſſibility of making men rich and happy by regulations upon regulations, or that trade would flouriſh under ſuch a ſyſtem, have undoubtedly been greatly miſtaken, but it will not do to take the reverſe of what is wrong for right. If we are to judge from effects, we might conclude that England, which has followed a middle road, has thereby avoided the evils that attend either extreme; and that therefore the ſafeſt way is to endeavour to ameliorate and improve, not to abandon our preſent ſyſtem, which ſometimes admits of regulations."

This laſt paragraph is a ſpecimen of that ſpirit of moderation, and we may ſay, ſafe gradation of reform, that runs throughout the whole of his ſhare in the preſent publication. The raſh and violent meaſures of innovation do not meet the praiſe of genius or invention. There is more invention in retaining what is eſtabliſhed, and yet drawing good out of defect, and imperfection, by proper modification. It would be unjuſt to withhold from Mr. Playfair the praiſe of both ingenouſneſs and a well regulated and patriotic ſobriety of mind, that would not ſtake the happineſs of a nation on one deſperate throw—neck or nothing: but would ſeek the public welfare by gradual ameliorations.

To be concluded in our next.)

Introduction

1. *Introduction to the New Teſtament.* By John David Michaelis, &c.

(Continued from P. 371.)

2. *Remarks on* Michaelis's *Introduction, to the New Teſtament.*

IN our review of this valuable work of Michaelis on the Chriſtian Scriptures, we have hitherto been aided by the admirable notes of the learned tranſlator; but of that aid we are now deprived. Mr. Marſh neither corrects the errors into which his author may have fallen, when treating of the apoſtolical epiſtles, nor adds any thing to the force of his arguments, when urged in ſupport of the truth. This is the more to be regretted, that Michaelis, as we have ſeen *, is frequently inaccurate in his quotations; and accuracy, as well as erudition, is peculiarly requiſite to him who would throw light on the epiſtles of St. Paul. Theſe epiſtles, like all other writings of the ſame ſpecies, can be thoroughly underſtood only by him who knows the opinions, practices, and manners of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed; and ſuch knowledge implies erudition at once varied and recondite. That Michaelis was learned is incontrovertible; but he ſeems to have been accuſtomed to truſt implicitly to his memory, when he ought to have conſulted the works to which he appeals. A reviewer has not leiſure to trace his quotations always to their ſource; nor is every work to which he appeals acceſſible to the writer of the preſent article. All, therefore, that we can do, is to examine the ſtrength of the reaſoning, and to point out ſuch inaccuracies as we have been able to detect; and this taſk we will endeavour to perform without prejudice or partiality.

Michaelis begins his analyſis of the epiſtles of St. Paul, with obſerving what has often been obſerved by others, that theſe epiſtles are not publiſhed in the order of time in which they were written. Of the truth of this opinion, we think there can be no doubt; but it is an opinion of, perhaps, no great importance. The object of the epiſtles is to correct errors which were prevalent among thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, and to declare the truth as it is in Jeſus. They may be read, therefore, with almoſt equal advantage in any order; becauſe, though the epiſtle to the Galatians may have been written before either of the epiſtles to the Corinthians, the epiſtles to the Corinthians may be perfectly underſtood by him who knows the religious and moral ſtate of Corinth at the time when they were written, though we know nothing of the opinions agitated on the practices prevalent among the Galatians. If, indeed, it was the practice of one community of Chriſtians to ſend ſuch epiſtles as were addreſſed to it to the other Chriſtian communities in its neighbourhood; and if this practice was known to the Apoſtle, it might be of great conſequence to ſtudy his epiſtles in the order in which they were written; but that

* See our 18th Vol. p. 131.

ſuch

ſuch a practice was *general*, there is no evidence, and very little probability.

It has been a queſtion among Theologians, whether St. Paul wrote any other epiſtles on the doctrines of Chriſtianity than thoſe which have come down to us. Lardner, whoſe judgment on ſuch queſtions is entitled to regard, thinks, with many others, that he did not; and Michaelis, who is of the contrary opinion, endeavours to confute his arguments. He paſſes, however, without notice, what appears to us the moſt concluſive of all thoſe arguments; but as the queſtion is equally unimportant with the former, we ſhall not enter into the controverſy. Perhaps we are inclined to adopt the opinion of our author as the moſt probable of the two; for, as he obſerves,

"It was no more neceſſary, that all the epiſtles of the apoſtles ſhould be preſerved, than that all the diſcourſes of Chriſt, which were certainly of not leſs importance, ſhould be recorded by the Evangeliſts, who have thought proper only to deliver a ſelect part of them. A Bible, or book of divine revelation, which is intended as a rule of faith and manners, muſt, at the ſame time, that it contains every neceſſary precept, contain them likewiſe in a moderate compaſs. If the Bible conſiſted of many folios, as it probably would, if it contained an account of all the actions and ſpeeches of Chriſt, and all that was written by the apoſtles, few perſons would read the whole of it; and even of thoſe, who gave themſelves the trouble, perhaps not one would be able to retain in his memory the whole of its contents." (Vol. IV. p. 7.)

Our author aſſigns ſeveral very plauſible arguments in ſupport of his opinion, that the epiſtle to the Galatians was the firſt of thoſe which St. Paul, in his apoſtolical character, wrote and addreſſed to any ſociety of Chriſtians, and propoſes the year 49 as the moſt probable date of it. The object which the apoſtle had in view, was to reclaim the Galatians from certain errors into which they had been ſeduced by a Jewiſh ſect then abounding in Galatia and all the neighbouring countries. It was, he ſays, the new Phariſaic ſect founded by Judas Galilæus; and he repreſents the members of that ſect as ſuch zealots for the Moſaic law, that they ſcrupled not to preach Chriſtianity, only that they might have an opportunity of delivering it with a mixture of Judaiſm. They aſſured the Galatian converts, that St. Peter, as well as the whole Church at Jeruſalem, obſerved the rites of the law, that St. Paul was no more than a delegate from that Church, and could preach with authority no other doctrine than ſhe preached and practiſed; that the promiſes were made *only* to the children of Abraham, who muſt either have ſprung from him by natural deſcent, or be adopted into his family by the rite of circumciſion; and that St. Paul himſelf had, ſince his viſit to the Galatians, been convinced of the neceſſity of circumciſion, as appeared from his having ordered Timothy to be circumciſed, though the ſon of a Greek.

Now, were it certain, that the followers of Judas, who unqueſtionably differed in many reſpects from the Phariſees of the old ſchool, were of a zeal ſo artful and accommodating as this, much light would be

thrown

thrown on various paſſages of the epiſtle before us, from which very extraordinary doctrines have been deduced; but for this account of the ſeducers of the Galatian converts Michaelis produces no authority whatever. Once, indeed, he refers to a work of his own, in which he has given, he ſays, an extract from Joſephus, relative to the new Phariſaical ſect; but we recollect no paſſage in Joſephus in which any Jewiſh ſect is repreſented as profeſſing themſelves Chriſtians, merely that they might have a better opportunity of corrupting the goſpel, and bringing back its adherents to the law of Moſes. The conjectures, however, of our author, ſhould they paſs for nothing more, are worthy of conſideration; for that ſuch zeal and ſuch arts as he aſcribes to the followers of Judas are poſſible, is put beyond the reach of controverſy, by the conduct of the emiſſaries of the Church of Rome on various occaſions, in Proteſtant countries.

The firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians is by our author conſidered as the ſecond which St. Paul wrote in his apoſtolical character; and he aſſigns very probable reaſons for believing it to have been written in the year 51. The objects of it were to confirm the converts in the faith which they had embraced; to enforce obedience to the paſtors of the infant Church; and to rectify the miſtakes into which the Theſſalonians had fallen, with reſpect to the near approach of the day of judgment.

"The Jews in general believed that the Meſſiah would erect a temporal kingdom, in which they were to enjoy liberty and reſt: and of this kingdom they concluded their Sabbath to be a type. Hence they concluded, that it muſt commence at leaſt as early as at the beginning of the ſixth Millennium*, from the creation of the world: and they thought it not improbable, that it would begin much ſooner. For, as the moſt devout Jews did not wait till ſun-ſet, but began their Sabbath and abſtinence from labour ſeveral hours before, ſo they imagined that the Deity would begin the great Sabbath ſeveral hours, that is centuries, before the ſix thouſand years from the creation were expired. Theſe notions inſinuated themſelves very early among the Chriſtians; and they were received, not only by the Theſſalonians, but by ſeveral of the antient fathers. As the firſt epiſtle had not produced its proper effect, and ſeveral members of the Theſſalonian community ſtill maintained that the day of judgment was at hand, and others continued their diſorderly conduct, the apoſtle thought it neceſſary to write to them again very ſoon after he had written his firſt epiſtle. In his ſecond epiſtle, therefore, he endeavours to ſhew, from ſome prophecies of the Old Teſtament not then fulfilled, that the day of judgment was not ſo ſoon to be expected: and at the ſame time he cautions the Theſſalonians againſt idleneſs and irregularity." (Pp. 27, 28, 29.)

Our author does not attempt to aſcertain the place at which the ſecond epiſtle was written; but he ſeems to have proved completely that the firſt was written, not at Athens, as the ſubſcription imports, but

* Should it not be the *ſeventh* millenium?——REV.

at

at Corinth; and he aſſigns very ſufficient reaſons for the miſtake reſpecting the day of judgment being more prevalent among the Theſſalonians than among the Chriſtian converts at almoſt any other place. "In Theſſalonia was a very numerous colony of Jews, and their ſynagogue was ſo celebrated, that St. Luke calls it *, by way of eminence, ἡ συναγωγη, or, the ſynagogue."

The epiſtle to Titus, which our author conſiders as the fourth of St. Paul's in the order of time, was written, according to Lardner, about the year 56, from the vicinity of Nicopolis in Macedonia. Michaelis does not pretend to decide on the *year when* it was written, but he contends, with much correctneſs, that it was written not from *any place in Macedonia*, but from Nicopolis in Epira. The queſtion at iſſue between theſe two critics appears not to us to be of the ſmalleſt importance, but it may be worth while, if only to ſhew how eaſily the moſt vigorous mind is warped by attachment to a favourite hypotheſis, to examine one or two of the arguments by which our author endeavours to prove the truth of the hypotheſis which he has adopted.

"St. Paul ſays to Titus (Ch. iii. 12.), *When I ſhall ſend Artemas to thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter.* Now, from this paſſage, if we knew what Nicopolis St. Paul meant, and when he was there, the date of this epiſtle would be at once decided. For St. Paul muſt have been either *in Nicopolis*, or in the neighbourhood of the place, when he wrote this epiſtle, becauſe, as there were many cities of this name, it would have been totally uſeleſs to have deſired Titus to come to him at Nicopolis, unleſs the place, where he wrote the epiſtle had determined what Nicopolis he meant." (P. 33.)

This reaſoning is by no means concluſive. That St. Paul, when he wrote the epiſtle was not *in* Nicopolis, is evident from his ſaying, not "I have determined *here*, but I have determined *there* to winter—Ἐκεῖ κεκρικα παραχειμάσαι." That he wrote from the *neighbourhood* of Nicopolis *may be* true; but it does not appear from this verſe, which ſays not where the epiſtle was written. According to the ſubſcription, it was written at Nicopolis of Macedonia; but to that ſubſcription our author thinks, and very juſtly, that no credit is due. From nothing, therefore, in the epiſtle itſelf could Titus infer at *which* of the cities or towns named Nicopolis, the apoſtle had determined to winter; but as our author acknowledges that St. Paul had not long before parted from Titus in Crete, we think there is no room to doubt, but that he had then told a fellow labourer, in whom he had ſuch confidence, what places he propoſed to viſit in diſcharging the duties of his apoſtolical functions. On no other ſuppoſition, if, as we believe, the ſubſcription be ſpurious, could Titus indeed know where to find the apoſtle; for, as it is not probable that on letters there were put dates and poſt *marks* then, as there are now in Europe, the place

* Acts XVII. 1.

where

where he wrote the epiſtle could not have determined *what* Nicopolis he meant.

But if Titus was informed in Crete by St. Paul himſelf what Nicopolis he meant ſoon to viſit, our author's hypotheſis "that it was certainly Nicopolis in Epira," muſt be given up, or eſtabliſhed by arguments very different from thoſe which he has employed in its ſupport.

"It is true, that, in returning from Crete to Corinth, Epira lay quite out of his way: but he might have been driven thither in a *ſtorm*; and, perhaps, at this very time he ſuffered one of the three *ſhipwrecks* which he mentions in his ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians. In this caſe he would have paſſed the winter at Nicopolis, and have preached the goſpel, as he himſelf ſays, round about Illyricum." (P. 37.)

But if he told Titus himſelf what Nicopolis he meant to viſit, and on no other ſuppoſition can we conceive with what propriety he could deſire Titus to meet him at Nicopolis, it is obvious that he could not have been *unexpectedly* driven thither by a *ſtorm*; nor is it probable that he had ſuffered ſhipwreck on the coaſt, as ſuch a diſaſter is not mentioned in the epiſtle.

The author has other arguments in ſupport of his hypotheſis equally weak with this; but, as the queſtion is of no importance, we ſhall not examine them. The hypotheſis of Lardner is countenanced by the ſubſcription, which, though not written by the apoſtle, is of high antiquity: it was the hypotheſis likewiſe of Chryſoſtom and Theodorite, as that of Michaelis was of Jerom.

Our author's chapter on St. Paul's two epiſtles to the Corinthians contains much intereſting matter; but it is hardly ſuſceptible of abridgement. He proves, to our ſatisfaction, that the firſt of theſe epiſtles was written at Epheſus, about the year 57, and the ſecond in Macedonia, about the year 58 of our æra; but he is decidedly of opinion, and has advanced very ſpecious arguments in ſupport of that opinion, that the apoſtle had written to the Chriſtian community at Corinth an epiſtle prior to either of thoſe which have come down to us. He regrets the loſs of that epiſtle, as well as of the anſwer which the Corinthians ſeem to have ſent to it; but without theſe aids, he gives a very plauſible account of the ſtate of the Church in Corinth, of the origin of its ſchiſms, and of the leaders of thoſe ſchiſms. The advocates for the common rights of Chriſtians have often appealed to St. Paul's epiſtles to the Corinthians, as authority for their practice of permitting any individual of the congregation to ſpeak in public for the edification of the brethren; but it is here ſhewn, that none but ſuch as had received extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt were allowed to ſpeak alternately in the Corinthian congregations.

It has been ſometimes a matter of ſurpriſe, that St. Paul condeſcended to regulate the dreſs of the Corinthians, and the length of their hair in the houſe of God; but for theſe regulations our author aſſigns the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons. It is ſhewn that the Jewiſh cuſtom of the

the men covering their heads, and veiling their faces in the ſynagogue, which had been adopted by the Corinthian Chriſtians, was ſcandalous in the eyes of the Greeks, and therefore properly forbidden by the apoſtle; whilſt the women were prohibited from uncovering their faces, becauſe it was the practice of women of bad character among the Jews, as well as of the Bacchæ, and other pretended propheteſſes among the Greeks. The reader, therefore, as our author obſerves, will not think it extraordinary, that St. Paul, in the eleventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle, ſhould oppoſe cuſtoms at once ſuperſtitious and offenſive.

It has been objected to the two epiſtles to the Corinthians, that it was impoſſible to contract a marriage ſo inceſtuous as that which is there cenſured; for though the Athenian laws permitted marriage between very near relations, yet as ſoon as Greece became a Roman province, the Roman laws were introduced, by which a marriage with a ſtep-mother was ſtrictly prohibited. To this our author replies, that the inceſtuous marriage at Corinth was undoubtedly contracted under the alleged ſanction of the Jewiſh law.

"The Jews pretend that a proſelyte by baptiſm becomes a deſcendant of Abraham, and in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, that all former relations immediately ceaſe. Hence they drew this concluſion, *that a heathen was at liberty to marry his mother, or his own ſiſter, as ſoon as ſhe was regenerate by baptiſm* *. Now the Jews were at that time permitted to live according to their own laws †; and the Chriſtians were conſidered as a Jewiſh ſect. In particular the privilege of marrying according to their own cuſtoms, and without any regard to the Roman civil law, they retained till the time of Theodoſius, who deprived them of it in the ſtatute entitled De Judæis et Cælicolis ‡, where we find the following clauſe:—Nemo Judæorum morem ſuum in conjunctionibus retineat, nec juxta legem ſuam nuptias ſortiatur. The inceſtuous marriage, therefore, of which St. Paul complains, might be ſolemnized, to the great offence of the heathens, under the ſanction of Judaiſm or Chriſtianity. And the Corinthian community had approved it, probably becauſe the Jewiſh teacher, who oppoſed St. Paul, had defended it by arguing from the Jewiſh doctrines of baptiſm and regeneration." (Pp. 52, 53.)

This, we think, a very probable account of what, received by itſelf, or in connection with the Roman law, muſt appear to every man not a little extraordinary. The apoſtle gives likewiſe ſeveral directions about marriage, of which he ſeems to talk to the Corinthians as of an inſtitution barely lawful, that are here explained in a manner highly ſatisfactory; but for that explanation, as well as for many other things of great importance, we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf.

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* "See Meimonides in liſſure Biah. cap. iv. Selden de uxore, Heb. Lib. II. cap. xviij. and De jure nat. et Gent. Lib. II. cap. iv."

† "Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. XVI.

‡ "In ſeventh book of the Theodorian Code."

In our author's opinion, the firſt epiſtle to Timothy was written about the ſame time with the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians; and its object, he thinks, was to guard the Epheſian Chriſtians from the doctrines and cuſtoms of the Jewiſh Eſſenes. Theſe he enumerates from Joſephus, Philo, Pliny, and other authors, and gives a very plauſible account of the means by which they found their way into Epheſus; but we muſt acknowledge that the account reſts upon no ſolid evidence. It is a probable conjecture, but nothing more than a conjecture; though it will be readily admitted by the theological *ſtudent*, for the light which it appears to throw on what St. Paul ſays of thoſe who abſtain from meats, and forbid to marry. Whether well or ill founded the conjecture is perfectly harmleſs; but as we are not convinced of its truth, we ſhall extract nothing which is ſaid in its ſupport.

The chapter employed on the epiſtle to the Romans is of much greater importance. That epiſtle, our author thinks, was written towards the end of the year 58; and as no apoſtle had then viſited Rome, the object of St. Paul was to lay before the Roman converts a ſhort abſtract of the principal truths of the goſpel, which he had reaſon to apprehend might have been in ſome degree miſrepreſented by thoſe Jewiſh Chriſtians from whom they had firſt heard them. The epiſtle was dictated to an emanuenſis of the name of Tertius, about whom, as our author obſerves, it is needleſs to aſk queſtions, which never can receive an anſwer. He has proved that Tertius was neither Silas, as ſome have ſuppoſed, nor St. Paul himſelf, as others have imagined; and that is all which he affirms of him with confidence.

The moſt prominent errors of the Jews, and Jewiſh Chriſtians, were the falſe notions which they entertained concerning *juſtification*, *election*, and the *obedience due by the deſcendants of Abraham to a foreign power*, ſuch as the Roman Emperor; and theſe errors the apoſtle labours to confute. The Jews aſſigned three grounds of juſtification: 1. "The extraordinary piety and merits of their anceſtors, and the covenant made by God with thoſe holy men." 2. "The knowledge which they had of God through the law of Moſes, and their diligence in the ſtudy of that law;" and 3. "The works of the Levitical law, more eſpecially ſacrifices, which were to expiate ſin." That ſuch were really the notions of a large party among the Jews, our author proves abundantly, by quotations from the writings of their own Rabbis, whilſt he ſhews that in every thing which St. Paul ſays of juſtification in his epiſtle to the Romans, he had one or other of theſe notions in view. On the ſubject of juſtification, however, the reader will find greater ſatisfaction in the writings of ſome of our own divines, particularly Biſhop Bull and Dr. Waterland, than in any thing to be found in this work of Michaelis, though we beg leave to recommend it likewiſe to the attention, more particularly, of our *true Churchmen*.

"The queſtion relative to predeſtination and election, which St. Paul diſcuſſes in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of the epiſtle to the Romans,

mans, is totally different from that which has engaged the attention of Chriſtians from the time of Auguſtin, and ſeparates at preſent the Lutheran from the Calviniſt Church. The greateſt confuſion, therefore, would be occaſioned in the ſtudy of the epiſtle to the Romans, if we applied to the modern controverſy on predeſtination and election, what St. Paul has written in this epiſtle againſt the Jewiſh nations, which had no reſemblance to any of the opinions maintained by Chriſtian polemics. God had promiſed Abraham to bleſs his ſeed, to give it not only the true and ſpiritual bleſſing, but likewiſe the land of Canaan, to ſuffer it to dwell there in proſperity, and to consider it as his Church upon earth. This promiſe the Jews extended to their whole nation, and aſſerted that God was bound to fulfil it toward every Jew, as being a deſcendant of Abraham, whatever his principles, or whatever his conduct might be. The Jews went even ſo far as to aſſert that, if a prophet were inſpired with prophecies unfavourable to their nation, he ought not to pronounce them, and that he was bound to reſiſt the will of God, by praying like Moſes, that his name might rather be expunged from the book of the living. It was on this account, that St. Paul, in the five firſt verſes of the ninth chapter, makes ſo cautious, and almoſt timorous a tranſition to the queſtion, which he was going to diſcuſs.

"As it may appear incredible, that ſuch doctrines could be maintained by the Jews, I will briefly quote what Kimchi has written as an explanation of Hoſ. I. 2. "Our Rabbis relate (on occaſion of the words, *and the Lord ſaid to Hoſea*), that the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſaid to Hoſea, the Iſraelites have ſinned." He ought to have anſwered, O Lord of the world, they are thy children, the children of thy choſen, the children of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; have mercy on them. But he not only neglected to ſpeak thus, but even ſaid the whole world is thine, exchange them for another people.

"Then the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſaid, "What ſhall I do with this old man? I will ſay to him, take thee a harlot; and again I will ſay to him, put her away from thee. If he can do this, I will alſo ſeparate myſelf from Iſrael." Now, after ſhe had brought him forth two ſons and a daughter, the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſaid to him, Hoſea, oughteſt thou not to learn from thy maſter Moſes? After I had ſpoken to him, he ſeparated himſelf from his wife: do thou alſo ſeparate thyſelf from thine. Hoſea anſwered, O Lord of the world, I have children by her, and cannot poſſibly put her away. Then ſaid the Holy and Ever-bleſſed, "canſt thou not do this, Hoſea, though ſhe is an harlot, and thy children are the children of an harlot? So alſo is it with me: the children of Iſrael are my children, the children of my choſen, of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and they are one of my three poſſeſſions, and yet thou haſt ſaid, exchange them for another people. As ſoon as Hoſea perceived that he had ſinned, he begged for mercy. But the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſpoke: when thou prayeſt for mercy, pray for mercy on Iſrael. From that time he began to bleſs, and ſaid; the number of the children of Iſrael ſhall be as the ſand of the ſea.

"Theſe Jewiſh errors illuſtrate at once the very difficult ninth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, in which St. Paul had no other object in view, than to ſhew, that God was not obliged to beſtow happineſs here and hereafter on the unbelieving Jews; and that he could as well permit them to harden their hearts, and provoke his judgments, without violating his word, as he had formerly done in regard to Pharaoh." (Pp. 97, 98, 99.)

To this we are aware, that by thoſe, who find Calviniſm wherever

the words *predeſtination* and *election* occur, it will be objected, that as Kimchi flouriſhed in the 12th and 13th centuries, he can be no competent witneſs of the notions of the Jews in the firſt century. The objection would be good, had Kimchi given us this ſtory on his own authority; but he ſays expreſsly, that it is related by antient Rabbis, whilſt our author affirms that it is literally taken from the book פמת·ם chap. Heiſha. To that book we have not indeed acceſs; but we know that the writings of David Kimchi are held in ſuch eſtimation among the Jews, that without ſtudying them no one can arrive at reputation in letters and theology; and that his Grammar and Dictionary of the Hebrew tongue form the baſis of Buxtorf's *Theſaurus* and *Lexicon*. Surely ſuch a man may be acredited when he quotes ſuch ſtories as this from the writings of his own countrymen; more eſpecially as it appears from St. Paul himſelf *, that the firſt chapter of Hoſea had been underſtood of the calling of the Gentiles, and as it is hardly conceivable that a man of Kimchi's learning would falſely have attributed an interpretation of the chapter ſo extravagantly abſurd, to antient Rabbis, from an idea that it would reflect honour on his countrymen!

"After St. Paul had written his epiſtle to the Romans, he went to Jeruſalem, where he was apprehended by the Jews, and was with difficulty reſcued by the Roman guard. On this occaſion, however, he was deprived of his liberty, and after a tedious impriſonment was ſent to Rome, where he arrived in the ſpring of 61. During his confinement at Rome, which was not a very cloſe one, he wrote about the ſame time his epiſtles to the Epheſians, to the Coloſſians, to Philemon, and alſo to the Philippians."

This our author proves completely, as well as that St. Paul was twice in Rome, that this was the firſt time, and that St. Peter had not then been there.

The epiſtle to Philemon was occaſioned by the deſire of Oneſimus to return to the maſter whom he had firſt defrauded, and from whom he had afterwards fled to eſcape puniſhment. Oneſimus had been converted by the apoſtle at Rome, made ſenſible of his ſin, and was ſoon ſent back a ſorrowful penitent, with a recommendatory letter to Philemon, who appears to have been a convert of St. Paul's likewiſe. That Philemon was a man of ſome conſequence at Coloſſe is evident; but that he was a *Deacon* of the Church, as our author ſuppoſes, is very improbable. The epiſtle is, indeed, addreſſed by Paul and Timothy Φιλημονι—συνεργω ἡμων; but, we doubt, if there be in the New Teſtament a ſingle inſtance in which an apoſtle alludes to the office of a *deacon*, by calling a man his fellow-labourer. If, by συνεργω, in this place, he meant an eccleſiaſtical officer, we ſhould rather infer that Philemon was biſhop of Coloſſe, than that he was only a deacon in that church; eſpecially as in the apoſtolical conſtitutions he is expreſsly called the firſt biſhop of Coloſſe, and ſaid to have been appointed to that office by St. Paul himſelf. Michaelis indeed is pleaſed to ſay, that the aſſertion of the Fathers "is, in this caſe, of no value;

* Rom IX. verſe 25.

for

for thoſe whom they called the firſt biſhops of the Chriſtian Churches, were generally biſhops of their own creation;" but Michaelis acknowledges himſelf to be little acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, and has therefore no right to decide, in this manner on their veracity.

Lardner too pays little regard to the teſtimony of the Conſtitutions, not becauſe he queſtions the veracity of the Fathers in general, but becauſe the book called the Epiſtolical Conſtitutions was certainly not dictated by the apoſtles, nor written by Clement of Rome. This muſt indeed be granted; but ſtill, as the book is indiſputably very antient, and as he who compiled it certainly meant it to be received as a work of great authority, it is obvious that he would not relate as notorious matters of *fact*, what were not generally admitted to be ſuch in the age in which he wrote. But what was the original conſtitution of the Church, and who were the firſt biſhops of the moſt conſpicuous Churches, were matters of fact, at leaſt as eaſy to be aſcertained, as who was the author of any particular book in the ſacred volume. We hold the aſſertion in the conſtitutions, therefore, to be much better evidence than the conjecture of any modern critic, that Philemon was the firſt biſhop of Coloſſe; though we agree with Cotelerius, that it does not follow, from his being addreſſed as St. Paul's fellow-labourer, that he was *then* a biſhop, or indeed in any ſacred order. He was, however, a Chriſtian, and a well-informed and zealous Chriſtian; and ſuch men, it was the practice of the apoſtle to conſtitute biſhops of the infant Churches.

From the epiſtle to Philemon, Michaelis proceeds to that which the apoſtle addreſſed at the ſame time to the Chriſtian community at Coloſſe, or, as he writes it, Coloſſæ. Having aſcertained the geographical ſituation of that city, and its comparative importance among the cities of Phrygia; and having proved, to our complete ſatisfaction, though Lardner is of a different opinion, that St. Paul had never been either in Coloſſe or in Laodicea, when he wrote this epiſtle, he proceeds to inquire into the object of the epiſtle. The opinion of thoſe who think that it was written againſt the Gnoſtics, he rejects, upon unqueſtionable grounds, unleſs under the denomination of Gnoſtics be comprehended every adherent to the oriental philoſophy. He is therefore of opinion, that they were the peculiar tenets of the Eſſenes that had found their way into the church at Coloſſe; and it muſt be acknowledged, that this opinion receives a high degree of probability from the caution given to the Coloſſians againſt "worſhipping of angels, and intruding into thoſe things which they had not ſeen." The Gnoſtics, indeed, had a great reverence for angels, as a kind of ſpirits which they called Æons, as well as the Jewiſh Eſſenes; but the genuine Gnoſtic could not have laboured to "ſubject the Coloſſians to ordinances—Touch not, taſte not, handle not." In the concluſion of this chapter, our author publiſhes the epiſtle ſaid to have been written by St. Paul to the Laodiceans, and very ſucceſsfully proves it a forgery, or, as he ſays, "a mere rhapſody, collected from

St. Paul's other epiſtles, and which no critic can receive as a genuine work of the apoſtle."

Mill, and various other critics of the higheſt eminence, have contended, that the epiſtle, which has come down to us addreſſed to the Epheſians, was in fact addreſſed by the apoſtle to the Laodiceans. This opinion our author examines with great ability and candour, and concludes that the epiſtle was a circular letter, intended both for the Epheſians and Laodiceans, as well as for other Chriſtian communities in Aſia Minor. In the courſe of this inquiry, he builds much on a paſſage in the epiſtle of Ignatius to the Epheſians, which, in contradiction to what he formerly aſſerted *, he admits here to be genuine; but he allows to Marcion a degree of credit, to which Lardner has ſhewn that heretic not to be entitled. Lardner as well as Michaelis, is of opinion, that the epiſtle to the Epheſians was ſent by them to the church at Laodicea, and that it is the epiſtle which the Coloſſians were deſired to get from thence; but our author ſeems to be ſingular in ſuppoſing, that ſeveral copies of the epiſtle were ſent from Rome at the ſame time, and that one of them was by the apoſtle addreſſed, τοις ἁγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Εφεσω; and another, τοις ἁγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Λαοδικειᾳ. Such as think the queſtion of any importance will do well to compare what he has ſaid on this epiſtle, with what has been written by Lardner and Whitby on the ſame ſubject.

"In the three firſt chapters, St. Paul's principal object is to ſhew, that Jews and Gentiles partake of equal privileges and bleſſings in the kingdom of Chriſt, and that they are united in one church, or, as he expreſſes it, 'one holy temple in the Lord.' Another object which St. Paul had in view, was to ſhew, that the advantages which both the Jewiſh and Gentile converts received from the Chriſtian religion, were to be attributed to Chriſt alone, and not to the intervention of any other ſuperior Beings, by whatever names they are called, whether arch-angels, according to our language, or Æons, according to the language of the Gnoſtics. In the communities, therefore, to which this epiſtle was addreſſed, the Gnoſtic and Eſſene notions of intermediate ſpirits muſt have prevailed; for St. Paul not only alludes, in this epiſtle, much more than in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, to the doctrines of the Gnoſtics, but even uſes the technical terms of their philoſophy, eſpecially in chap. ii. 2. vi. 1. . . . . The moral part of their epiſtle, which begins with chap. iv. 17. is, as well as the preceding part, very ſimilar to the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and in many places almoſt exactly agrees with it. . . . In chap. V. 22, 23, he gives directions for the conduct of married perſons, and repreſents matrimony as a holy ſtate, by comparing the union of man and wife with the union of Chriſt and his church. Perhaps in this compariſon, he intended to combat indirectly the doctrine of the Eſſenes, who aſſerted that matrimony was an unholy ſtate, and unworthy of a wiſe man. (Pp. 148—151.)

What our author ſays on the epiſtle to the Philippians is not of general importance. He ſeems to prove, that it was written at Rome

* See our 18th Vol. pp. 8, 9.

in

in the beginning of the year 65*; and that the moſt dangerous ſeducers, againſt whom St. Paul deemed it neceſſary to warn the Chriſtians at Philippi, were the Phariſaical Jews, or zealots for the law of Moſes. He has occaſion to mention the biſhops and deacons of the apoſtolical churches; but of them, and their offices, he ſeems to have had no accurate knowledge.

In treating of St. Paul's ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, there are two points which our author labours to eſtabliſh; 1ſt, that Timothy was not at Epheſus, or, at leaſt, that the apoſtle did not know that he was there when that epiſtle was written; and, 2dly, that it was written at Rome, during St. Paul's *ſecond* impriſonment, and when he had before him the near proſpect of a violent death. In his endeavours to prove the former of theſe poſitions, he fails completely; but he has ſhewn the latter to be ſo extremely probable, that we do not ſuppoſe that it will again be called into queſtion. He fixes the date of the epiſtle to the latter part of the year 65, or rather to the year 66, and hazards ſome conjectures reſpecting the nature of the hereſies, particularly the hereſies of Hymenæus and Philetus, againſt which the apoſtle warns his friend.

"What they meant, in ſaying, that the reſurrection is paſt already, it is difficult exactly to determine. But it is highly probable, that they acted in the ſame manner, as many perſons in the preſent age, who endeavour to alter the doctrines of Chriſtianity. They denied the reſurrection of the body at the day of judgment, as taught by St. Paul, becauſe it was not to be reconciled with their philoſophy; but they ſtill retained the term '*reſurrection*,' that the oppoſition might not be too glaring, and aſcribed to it ſuch a meaning as they thought proper. . . . Perhaps they made it equivalent to *regeneration*; for, in this ſenſe, they might truly ſay of every good Chriſtian, that reſurrection had already taken place; or, as the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls was at that time not uncommon, they might have taken the word *reſurrection* in this ſenſe, and ſay [ſaid], that a reſurrection took place, as often as a child was born." (Pp. 178, 179.)

Of all the epiſtles attributed to St. Paul, not one has occaſioned ſo much controverſy, among divines and eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, as the epiſtle to the Hebrews. Is it an epiſtle? Is it quoted by St. Peter? If it be an epiſtle, to what community was it ſent? What was the ſituation of that community? At what time was it written? In what language was it written? If it was written in Hebrew, by whom was it tranſlated into Greek? What is the character of its Greek ſtyle? Who was the author of this epiſtle? Is it canonical? and what are its contents?—are ſo many queſtions which have been agitated among critics and commentators, and to every one of which our author attempts to give an anſwer.

That it is an epiſtle he has completely proved, as well as that it

* Lardner, however, urges very plauſible arguments in ſupport of his own opinion, that it was written in 62.

was ſent to the Hebrew Chriſtians of Jeruſalem and Paleſtine, a few years before the breaking out of the Jewiſh war. Whether it is particularly quoted by St. Peter, he is very doubtful; and we think, that for his doubts he has aſſigned ſufficient reaſons; but we do not think the arguments concluſive, from which he infers that it was written in Hebrew. They are ingenious, we admit, and diſplay a very uncommon knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic dialects; but our reverence for erudition hardly prevents us from ſmiling at the man who pretends to point out inſtances in which the tranſlator has miſtaken the ſenſe of an original, which the critic never ſaw, and which he acknowledges to have been loſt, for at leaſt 1600 years! We are, however, inclined to believe, that the epiſtle was originally written in what was then called Hebrew, not for the reaſons aſſigned by Michaelis, but becauſe ſuch was the opinion of ſome of the moſt eminent writers in the primitive church, and becauſe it was natural for St. Paul, if he was the author, to write to the natives of Paleſtine in his own and their mother tongue. The argument from the ſtyle of the epiſtle, which is ſaid to be ſo much purer and more elegant Greek than St. Paul was accuſtomed to write, will go for very little with thoſe who have equal opportunities with reviewers of knowing how apt the beſt critic is to be miſtaken, when he attempts to diſcover an author by his ſtyle. No two ſtyles can be more unlike to each other, than the ſtyle of Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* and the ſtyle of his *Reflections on the French Revolution*; and ſuch a critic as our author may, two hundred years hence, *demonſtrate*, that "The Vindication of Natural Society" cannot have been written by EDMUND BURKE; or that, if the thoughts be his, they muſt have been dictated to an amanuenſis, who clothed them in his own language.

That it is impoſſible now to diſcover by whom the epiſtle (if it be a tranſlation) was tranſlated into Greek, we readily admit; but ſome of the Greek Fathers (Origen, for inſtance, and Euſebius) found a ſtriking ſimilarity between the Greek of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and that of Clement of Rome's epiſtle to the Corinthians; and he would be a bold profeſſor, whether in a German or in a Britiſh univerſity, who, in the preſent age, ſhould conſider himſelf a better judge of ſuch Greek than Origen and Euſebius! That Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians falls ſhort of the epiſtle to the Hebrews in cloſeneſs of reaſoning, ſublimity of thought, and animation, will be readily granted; but let it be remembered, that, whoever was the tranſlator, the reaſoning, ſublimity, and of courſe animation, are excluſively the author's.

On the queſtion, whether St. Paul was or was not the author of the epiſtle, Michaelis repreſents the Fathers of the church as pretty equally divided in opinion; but whoever ſhall take the trouble to look into Lardner's account of this epiſtle, will perceive that the repreſentation is very unfair, and that at leaſt three to one of the luminaries of the ancient church were of opinion, that the apoſtle was the author.

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That the epiſtle contains many ſentiments, and even many phraſes, which might have naturally flowed from the pen of St. Paul, our author admits; but it is not *impoſſible*, he ſays, that theſe might have flowed from ſome other pen! The mention of Timothy's being ſet at liberty, and the propoſal to viſit with him the community to which the epiſtle was addreſſed, is admitted as more likely to have been made by St. Paul than by any other perſon whatever; but ſtill they *might* have been made by another perſon, becauſe Timothy may have had many friends!

From ſuch perverſe reaſonings as theſe, our author, though he declines giving a deciſive anſwer, concludes the probability to be, that St. Paul was *not* the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews! The reader who wiſhes to ſee the queſtion fairly ſtated and fairly argued, will do well to peruſe the 14th ſection of the 12th chapter of Lardner's ſupplement, together with the works which are there quoted. In the mean time, if, without giving himſelf that trouble, he conſider who but St. Paul *could* have been the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, it is probable that he will not long have any doubts about the matter. That the epiſtle diſplays an immenſe fund of Jewiſh learning—ſuch, indeed, as none of the apoſtles but St. Paul, and perhaps Barnabas, could be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs—is not only admitted, but contended for by Michaelis: that its author likewiſe underſtood thoroughly the Chriſtian ſcheme, muſt be evident to every man who has read the epiſtle with attention, and has himſelf any tolerable notions of that ſcheme; and that Barnabas, who is repreſented by St. Luke as not ſo fluent a ſpeaker as St. Paul, was the author of an epiſtle more eloquent than St. Paul is thought to have been capable of writing, as it is not likely, is given up by our author; whilſt he acknowledges that St. Paul, in ſome of his ſpeeches, eſpecially at Athens, diſplays that eloquence and rotundity of periods which characterize the epiſtle in queſtion. But if all this be true, may we not aſk, who but St. Paul was in the year 66, or in any year before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, at once ſo thoroughly acquainted with the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions, and, occaſionally at leaſt, ſo eloquent, as the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews? In the ſection entitled, *Of the Contents of the Epiſtle*, Michaelis obſerves, that—

"In the firſt place, the author endeavours to anſwer objections, which the Jews had made to the Chriſtian religion, and which had occaſioned the Jewiſh proſelytes to waver in the faith. He then points out the impending abolition of the Levitical law, and its inefficacy even to the Jews; which ſubject is treated in a more clear and comprehenſive manner, than in any other book of the New Teſtament. The chief arguments are taken from Pſalm CX. which relates to the prieſt after the order of Melchiſedek, and from the prophecy of Jeremiah relative to a new covenant. Theſe arguments are produced in the ſeventh and eighth chapters; but the ſubject is ſtill continued in the following chapters." (P. 268.)

Having made ſome obſervations which are neither new nor important, on the ſeven Catholic epiſtles in general, our author proceeds to con-

conſider them one by one, not in the order in which they are placed in our bibles, but in the order of time in which he thinks it probable that they were written. The chapter employed on the epiſtle of St. James is divided into eight ſections, in the firſt of which he enumerates the various opinions which have been held relative to *the James*, who was called the brother of Jeſus. Theſe are, 1ſt, That he was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife; 2d, that he was the ſon of Joſeph, by Mary, the mother of Jeſus; 3d, that he was the ſon of Joſeph, by the widow of a brother, who had died without children, and to whom therefore Joſeph, by the law of Moſes was obliged to raiſe iſſue; and, 4thly, that James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas were brothers of Chriſt, not in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word *brother*, but in a more lax ſenſe, namely, in that of couſin, or relation in general, agreeably to the uſage of this word in the Hebrew language.

The ſecond of theſe opinions is worthy of HERDER, the only modern of name by whom it ſeems to have been held. That James and Joſes, and Simon and Judas, were not the ſons of Mary, the mother of Jeſus, is put beyond the reach of rational controverſy, by our Saviour's recommending his mother to the protection of St. John, while he himſelf was hanging on the croſs. Had Mary had ſons of ſufficient worth to be ranked, ſome of them among the apoſtles, it is not conceivable, that the bleſſed Jeſus would have deviated ſo far from the law of nature, as to have recommended her to any other earthly protector; or that St. John, though he might have reſpected her with filial reverence, would have taken her into his own houſe, while any of her ſons, James, Joſes, Simon, or Judas, had a houſe in which ſhe could have been accommodated.

To the firſt of the four opinions enumerated, as it is the moſt ancient, our author is inclined to give his aſſent; but he admits, that the laſt, which ſeems to have been firſt formed by Jerome, and which, in modern times, has been very generally received, is likewiſe not improbable. We confeſs, that to us the third appears the moſt probable of the whole, as it removes almoſt every difficulty with which the other opinions are clogged, and ſeems to be the very ſame with the firſt, as that opinion was held by the ancients. It is admitted by our author, as well as by Lardner, that *Alphæus* and *Cleophas* are the ſame name, differently written; but, according to Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom, and Theophylact, Joſeph had a brother named Cleophas, to whom, as he died without iſſue, Joſeph raiſed up ſeed; and James, being the firſt-born, was, according to the law *, called the ſon of *Cleophas*, or, in Greek, *Alphæus*.

"But this opinion," ſays Michaelis, "I think extremely improbable; for the law which obliged the Jews to take the widows of their brothers, who had died without children, affected thoſe only who were ſingle, and was not extended to thoſe who were already married. Beſides, as ſoon as

* Deut. xxv. 5, 6.

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one heir was born of the brother's widow, all was done which the law required; but, according to this opinion, Joſeph had four ſons, and ſeveral daughters, by his brother's widow, and that too at a time *when his own wife was alive*, by whom, according to the ſame opinion, he had no children." (Pp. 274, 275.)

This is another inſtance in which our author has ſuffered his underſtanding to be blinded by the duſt of a favourite hypotheſis. It is not ſaid by Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom, or Theophylact, nor, ſuppoſing their opinion well founded, is there in ſcripture any thing from which it can be inferred, that Joſeph was married to the mother of Jeſus when he raiſed up ſeed to his deceaſed brother, Alphæus. It is, indeed, true, that when a man went in unto his brother's widow, and *took her to him to wife*, the *firſt-born only* was conſidered as the ſon of the deceaſed; but it does not appear from the injunction of Moſes, that, as ſoon as the woman had born a ſon, ſhe was to be repudiated by her ſecond huſband; for the man is expreſsly commanded to *take her to wife*, and not as a *temporary concubine*; whilſt, from the reaſon aſſigned for the law, it appears, as plain as any thing can do, that it was ſuppoſed he might have more than *one* child by her, and that *they* were *not* to ſucceed in the name of his deceaſed brother. "And it ſhall be," ſays Moſes, "that the *firſt-born*, which ſhe beareth, ſhall ſucceed in the *name* of his brother who is dead, that *his name be not put out of Iſrael.*" Then follow inſtructions reſpecting what was to be done, if the man ſhould *not like* to take his brother's wife; but it is hardly conceivable, that, to avoid ſuch a *temporary* connection as our author's reaſoning ſuppoſes, any man would have ſubmitted to have a woman *ſpit in his face* before the elders of the city, and to be afterwards known by a *nick-name* in Iſrael. Accordingly, of the ſeven brethren, who are ſaid to have had ſucceſſively the ſame woman to wife, not one of them gave place to his younger brother till he died, which ſurely would not have been the caſe, had the raiſing up of ſeed to the eldeſt been the *only* purpoſe of ſuch fruitleſs marriages. On this ſuppoſition, indeed, the Saducees could not have aſked our bleſſed Lord "whoſe wife, of the ſeven, ſhe ſhould be at the reſurrection;" for this ſuppoſition implies, that ſhe had *never been the wife* of any but the eldeſt.

That James was the ſon of Alphæus, raiſed up by his brother Joſeph, is an opinion which ſeems to us to receive no ſmall ſupport from the circumſtance that the brethren of James, Joſes, and Simon, and Judas, are never called the ſons of Alphæus in the New Teſtament. "James, the ſon of Alphæus, and Simon called Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James," are frequently mentioned; whilſt, on one occaſion, our Lord's countrymen, aſtoniſhed at his wiſdom and his mighty works, ſaid, "Is not this the carpenter's ſon? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James and Joſes, and Simon and Judas?" whence it appears in the higheſt degree probable, that the people of Nazareth knew, that though Jeſus and James, and Simon

mon and Judas, were brethren, none of them was the ſon of Mary but Jeſus, nor any of them conſidered as the ſon of Alphæus but James.

It is objected, however, to the opinion which we are inclined to adopt, that, though the mother of James the leſs, as he is ſometimes called, had certainly been the wife of Cleophas †, ſhe was likewiſe the ſiſter of Mary the mother of Jeſus, and that it is not probable, that ſo juſt a man as Joſeph would have repudiated a woman who had born to him many children, and then married her ſiſter! This objection, we admit, would be very formidable, were it certain that Mary, the wife of Cleophas or Clopas, was literally the *ſiſter* of Mary, the mother of Chriſt; but this is neither certain nor probable.

"It is very unuſual," as our author obſerves, "for two ſiſters to have the ſame name, except where, in addition to the name, which they have in common, they have each of them another name; but, in this caſe, it is uſual to denote them, not by their common, but by their particular names. I think it, therefore, probable, that Mary, the wife of Clopas, was not properly the ſiſter of Mary, the wife of Joſeph, but only her couſin or relation." (P. 276.)

If this be admitted, every objection of the ſmalleſt weight ſeems to be removed from the opinion, that James was the ſon of Joſeph by the widow of his brother Cleophas or Clopas; and at all events it is evident, from St. Matth. xvii. 56, and St. John, xix. 25, compared with the texts in which James is called the ſon of *Alphæus*, that *Clopas* and *Alphæus* were the ſame name. But whether James the Leſs was the ſon of Joſeph, by his brother's widow, or not; if he was related to Jeſus in ſuch a way that he could, according to the Jewiſh idiom, be called his brother, whilſt he was known as the ſon of Clopas or Cleophas, the favourite hypotheſis of our author will be completely demoliſhed.

That hypotheſis is, that James, called our Lord's brother, was not an apoſtle, becauſe there were only two apoſtles of that name—James, the ſon of Zebedee, and James, the ſon of Alphæus; and that, if the epiſtle under the name of James were not written by an apoſtle, it is not of canonical authority, becauſe the apoſtles alone received the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and of courſe wrote by inſpiration!

That the apoſtles *alone* received the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, is an opinion which we have already ſhewn to be without even the ſhadow of foundation ‡. The epiſtle of St. James would, therefore, in our opinion, be of indiſputable authority, whether the author was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, an apoſtle or not; provided it be allowed (and it is here not merely allowed, but proved), that he was James

† John, xix. 25. Matth. xxvii. 5, 6. and Mark xv. 40.
‡ See our 18th Vol. p. 127.

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the Lord's brother, who preſided in the council of apoſtles and elders, mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. But, ſince the authority of this epiſtle was queſtioned by many of the ancients, only becauſe they doubted whether our Lord's brother, whom they conſidered as its author, was the ſon of Alphæus, and an apoſtle, we have been at ſome pains (whether ſucceſsfully or not) to eſtabliſh both theſe poſitions. To prove, however, that James, the brother of our Lord, whether he was the ſon of Joſeph or not, could not be an apoſtle, our author urges one argument, which, though we believe it to be peculiarly his own, we muſt not paſs without notice.

"St. John * and St. Mark † have ſpoken in general terms of brethren of Chriſt, ſome of whom did not believe on him, at leaſt during his life-time. St. Matthew ‡ has mentioned four by name, James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas; and he has likewiſe ſpoken of ſiſters of Jeſus. . . . . Now the words of St. Matthew, where he ſpeaks of theſe four perſons, are capable of a two-fold interpretation; and the deciſion of our preſent queſtion will, in ſome meaſure, depend upon that which we adopt. Namely, St. Matthew's words may be rendered either, '*Are not his brethren called James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas; and are not his ſiſters with us?*'—or, '*Are not his brothers, James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas, and all his ſiſters with us?* . . . If we adopt the latter interpretation, it follows, that theſe four brethren of Jeſus *were then at Nazareth*: but if they were at Nazareth, they could not have been in the number of thoſe who attended Chriſt on his journies. Conſequently, not one of them could have been an apoſtle; and they come under the deſcription which St. John has given of Chriſt's brethren, in whoſe company Chriſt refuſed to go to Jeruſalem." (Pp. 271, 272.)

We readily grant that, by a difference of printing, the Greek words of St. Matthew will admit of either of the two interpretations propoſed by our author; but we reject the inference which he draws from the latter. If becauſe the four brothers were at Nazareth, when the words recorded by St. Matthew were ſpoken, it follow that they were not accuſtomed to attend Chriſt on his journies, it will likewiſe follow that Chriſt himſelf was not accuſtomed to make any journies; for he too was *then* at Nazareth. The truth, however, is, that the words recorded by St. Matthew have no relation whatever to Chriſt's journies, or to his or his brethren's reſidence at the time when they were ſpoken, but to the manner in which it was believed that the Meſſiah was firſt to make his appearance in the world. We learn from St. John, § that a notion prevailed among the Jews, that "when Chriſt cometh, no man knoweth whence he is;" and as that notion was expreſſed on one occaſion, when the people in Jeruſalem, though they were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of our Lord's doctrine, refuſed to believe him, becauſe they knew whence he was, ſo nothing can be inferred from the words recorded by St. Matthew, but that the ſame

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* Ch. viii. 3—8. † Ch. iii. 31—35. ‡ Ch. xiii. 55.
§ Ch. vii. 27.

notions

notions prevailed among the inhabitants of Nazareth, when aſtoniſhed at his miracles, and *offended* at him, they ſaid, "Is not this the carpenter's ſon? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas? and his ſiſters, are not they all with us? whence then hath this man all theſe things?"

We conclude, therefore, that James the Lord's brother, and, as Lardner admits, the firſt biſhop of Jeruſalem, was certainly an apoſtle in the moſt proper ſenſe of the word; and that the epiſtle to the twelve tribes who were ſcattered abroad, whether written by him, or, as our author ſeems half inclined to believe, by James the ſon of Zebedee, is, on every hypotheſis reſpecting inſpiration, of canonical authority. Our author contends, but we think not ſucceſsfully, that the object of that epiſtle has been very generally miſunderſtood; whilſt he ſhews clearly that there is nothing in St. James's doctrine of juſtification by works inconſiſtent with St. Paul's doctrine of juſtification by faith. On this important ſubject, however, the ſtudent of theology will find Biſhop Bull! *Harmonia apoſtolica* with its ſeveral defences, or Mr. Pearſon's *Remarks on the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith*,* a much ſafer guide than the reaſonings of Michaelis, who ſuffers himſelf to be ſometimes led aſtray by a vain deſire of ſaying ſomething which has not been ſaid before him.

This deſire however does not appear in his obſervations on the two Catholic epiſtles of St. Peter, which contain little that is new, and nothing that is exceptionable. The perſons to whom theſe epiſtles were addreſſed he conſiders as Gentile Chriſtians, who before they embraced the goſpel, had been Jewiſh proſelytes of the gate. Perhaps they were Chriſtians of both Jewiſh and Gentile origin, though the number of the latter greatly exceeded that of the former. With Cave, and various other men of eminent learning, he is decidedly of opinion, that the firſt epiſtle was written, not from Rome, but either from Babylon or the Euphrates, or from Seleucia, ſometimes called New Babylon, on the Tigris. That the antient Babylon, though ruinous, was even then a populous city, abounding with Jews, he has proved with evidence which it ſeems impoſſible to reſiſt; that St. Peter might have been there during the many years in which we have no certain accounts of him, is incontrovertible; and that no man would in a ſober letter, give to the place from which it is dated, a *myſtical name*, is ſo very probable in itſelf, as to amount, in our opinion, to a complete proof of the truth of our author's opinion; whilſt the arguments which Lardner had oppoſed to that opinion as held by Cave are ſhewn to be of no force.

Whence the ſecond epiſtle was ſent he pretends not to ſay with confidence, though he admits the apoſtle to have been in Rome, and to have ſuffered martyrdom there. The authenticity of that epiſtle he proves in a very ſatisfactory manner; though the reader will do well

* Reviewed in our 18th Vol. p. 255.

to

to conſult Lardner and Sherlock* for an account of the peculiarity of ſtyle in the ſecond chapter, on which, however, Michaelis has likewiſe ſome good remarks.

The object of the apoſtle in the firſt epiſtle was to exhort his readers—the Chriſtian converts in Aſia Minor—to patience under misfortunes; to avoid whatever might give juſt offence to the magiſtrates and their fellow-citizens; and to brotherly love. The purport of the ſecond epiſtle is chiefly polemical. From the laſt chapter it appears that St. Peter wrote againſt certain perſons, who denied the doctrine of a general judgment and diſſolution of the world; whilſt in other places he condemns the impure morality of ſome of the Gnoſtics, as well as of the Nicolaitans, who, by a very ingenious argument, our author endeavours to prove, were thoſe deſcribed as following the way of Balaam.

(To be concluded in a future Number.)

The Miniature, a Periodical paper. By Solomon Grildrig, *of the College of Eton. Inſcribed, by permiſſion, to the Rev. Dr. Goodall.* 8vo. Pp. 368. 7s. 6d. Murray. 1805.

ANY work, avowedly proceeding from a ſeminary ſo greatly, and, which is more, ſo juſtly, celebrated as that of Eton, raiſes expectation very high; notwithſtanding the kind of drawback naturally enough ſuggeſted by the conſideration that it is the production of *ſcholars* who undertake to *teach* before they have ceaſed to *learn*. The contents of the volume before us are certainly not calculated to diſappoint the expectation ſo raiſed. With moſt of the ſubjects here diſcuſſed the writers diſplay a knowledge evidently the reſult of much previous ſtudy and cloſe application: whatever their years may be, they have manifeſted a maturity of judgment which is highly creditable to them, and honourable to their preceptors. We think, however, that they have ſucceeded better in grave and ſerious compoſition, than in light ſatire and pointed ridicule. Though there are ſome papers of the laſt deſcription that have much merit. The obſervations in the ſecond number on the literary locuſts of the day, are not more ſarcaſtic, than juſt. But why will the ſevere cenſor of faſhionable follies adopt any part of the ſtupid jargon of the votaries of faſhion? Why ſubſtitute the nonſenſical term *ſmall-clothes*, the offspring of groſs ideas and of a weak head, for the plain, ſimple term, *breeches?*—And what, in the name of common ſenſe, are we to underſtand by the *nonſenſical emotions of the breaſt?* How, too, let us aſk, can pericranium be uſed to ſignify divers ſculls? Should a ſecond edition of *the Miniature* be called for, which we think highly

* See the firſt diſſertation publiſhed at the end of his *Use and Intent of Prophecy*, &c.

probable,

probable, we truſt theſe inaccuracies and many others which might be pointed out, will be corrected. As to the kingdom of romance, which is here very fairly deſcribed, we think, it might at the preſent epoch, be truly ſaid that the *reign of terror* prevails in it; for certain it is, that the greater part of our modern novels and romances, whether written in poetical proſe or in proſaic poetry, are well adapted to frighten not only the children in the nurſery, but the very nurſes themſelves.

The *fourth* number exhibits a brief view of the ſtate of antient kingdoms, their riſe, progreſs, decline, and fall; for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a poſition (which, however, muſt ſtill remain problematical) that there is a certain pitch of grandeur beyond which no nation can riſe; and any attempt to exceed which muſt be productive of ruin. We muſt here notice a grammatical error which we confeſs we were aſtoniſhed to find in the compoſition of an Etonian "that height of power which nature *or* the common good of the Univerſe *have* (has) ſanctioned," &c. we ſhould certainly have conſidered this as an error of the *preſs*, but, on referring to the errata, we find another error of the preſs *in the ſame page*, corrected, while this is left wholly unnoticed.

The *fifth* number is devoted to a ſerious ſubject, which is ably diſcuſſed, and we muſt obſerve, that moſt of the papers, with the ſignature E. have very conſiderable merit. In the *ſeventh* number appears an excellent letter from one who having been a ſpoiled child (of which, Heaven knows! it is the fate of every man to ſee too many) and accuſtomed to hear all his pert and ſtupid obſervations loudly praiſed by *papa and mama*, became infected with the mania of talking and of contradicting, which was carried to ſuch a pitch, that he ſays—"frequently have I been ſurprized to find myſelf cavilling at, refuting, and diſproving by all the rules of logic and common ſenſe, an arrant truiſm.

The *Eighth* number we ſhall extract, as a fair ſpecimen of the work, and as it contains ſome very juſt and pertinent remarks on the depraved taſte of too many of our modern bards.

"It is a trite but true obſervation, that the frivolous whims and fanciful dictates of faſhion have more effect upon the mind, and force their commands with more irreſiſtible ſway, than all the precepts and admonitions of prudence or wiſdom. It might, however, ſeem probable that faſhion would have contented herſelf with arranging the taſty fabric of a lady's head-dreſs, or the cut of a beau's coat; with deciding the exact hour when it ſhould be genteel for the gay world to feel hungry; with regulating the length of a ſhoe ſtring, or any other important article of a ſimilar nature. But the goddeſs wiſhing to exert her prerogatives and power to the utmoſt, has extended her influence over the regions of literature and taſte; ſhe has invaded the ſacred retreats of Helicon themſelves, and by a touch of her wand, the muſes appear as readily inclined to follow her commands, as any other young ladies within the realms of St. James's, while Apollo himſelf ſubmits his lyre to be new ſtrung at her option. In ſhort poetry is, and has long been, as entirely ſubject to the laws of faſhion as a birth-day ſuit, or a ball dreſs, and promiſes, under its preſent rules and reſtrictions, ſoon to become

come equally valuable. From the epic to the elegy, the pindaric ode to the ſonnet, her power is felt, her ſupremacy acknowledged. It is not, however, of late years only that faſhion has been thus omnipotent; were we to take a chronological inſpection of poetry in general, to the moſt remote ages, we ſhould, I believe, perceive her equally domineering. The wild Norwegian ballads, and romantic ſtrains of the Erſe and Norſe legends are all marked with the ſame character.

"Simplicity was the univerſal aim of the antient Engliſh minſtrels, a taſte which has been ill ſupplanted by the whims of a later date. At one period the merit of poetry conſiſted not in the novelty of ideas or elegancy of expreſſion, but in the form or model which is diſplayed. I recollect having ſeen a copy of verſes; "To a hair of my miſtreſs's eye-laſh," whoſe only merit conſiſted in the lines being ſo arranged or rather diſarranged, that the whole poem might be written in the form of a heart. A pair of wings was the favourite ſhape for a ſonnet to appear in; and a triangle the eſtabliſhed form of a ſacred hymn. At another moment the whim of men led them to exclude particular letters from their poems, and one ſoaring beyond the reſt; actually wrote, or intended to write, an Epic Poem in five books, on purpoſe to exclude every vowel by turns. The ſublime ode was another reſource of faſhion to vary the prevaling follies of the day. High and low, rich and poor were then univerſally excited to give vent to their extravagant fancies in the wildeſt meaſures and looſeſt numbers: ſenſe *or* beauty were [was] equally ſacrificed to irregularity, and all believed that the uſe of Pindar's metre would inſpire them with Pindar's ſublimity and conception.

"Every ſubject was deemed equally worthy of theſe high flights of poetry. Odes on the "*uſe and abuſe of cabbage-ſtalks in the cure of a quinzy,*" or, on '*the efficacy of lime in the compoſition of mortar,*' were the common productions of the preſs. Ere long this taſte fell into diſrepute, and was ſucceeded by another if poſſible more ſurpriſing. The whole nation ſeems to have been ſuddenly inſpired with a ſpecies of religious mania, and it appears to have been then conſidered actually neceſſary for the compoſition of a meritorious poem, on whatſoever ſubject it might be written, that the performance ſhould be ſeaſoned with a ſpice of the ſcriptures, or a few ſacred ſimilies, by way of keeping holy ideas continually preſent to the mind [mind] of the reader. Whether this reſort proved ſerviceable to the cauſe of religion, it is not for me to determine; but poetry was certainly not improved by a mixture of texts dragged by main force into every ſort of compoſition, which when thus preſſed into ſervice, lay prominent from the body of the poem, like ſo many lumps of extraneous matter. The compariſon of a blight deſtroying ſuddenly an unfortunate field of barley, to the exterminating angel, who in one night ſlew all Senacherib's powers, does not excite any very paſtoral or reverential ideas; and this method of writing was the more detrimental as it introduced a moſt marvellous jumble of chriſtian and mythological tenets. In one line the reader is induced to ſuppoſe himſelf in Paradiſe, while in the next the ſudden appearance of Venus and her Graces, puts the pious ſuppoſition totally to the rout; nor does the pagan Mercury, who was an acknowledged protector of thieves and vagabonds, when he is addreſſed at the beginning of a ſonnet, perfectly aſſociate with the reverence due to the Chriſtian Jehovah, who is brought to be preſent at the concluſion. Poetry of a more modern date aſſumed a form totally different from any of the preceding vagaries, and indeed, this form is ſo peculiar that

I shall be induced to dilate rather more extensively upon the topic. The principal characteristics of this species seem to be as follows:

"Imprimis, a flowery string of choice epithets, whether meaning or unmeaning it was not of much consequence, provided there were plenty of them tacked to each substantive, as

'Wistful turns the fearful eye.'

"In the second place, a strict respect was to be paid to alliteration, so that to be perfect it was necessary that out of ten words eight should begin with the same letter; I have selected a more moderate example;

——————The huntress Queen
Showers her shafts of silver o'er the scene.

"N. B. Who would suppose that by this happy conbination of sporting ideas, the poet had merely meant to say, 'the Moon shines!!!' Again it was proper that a certain tinkling should accompany every line, and that every couplet should glide along in the most mellifluous course, undisturbed by the interruption of any harsh obtruding word, however the sense of the passage might require one, as;

'While gently o'er the undulating wave,
Maria drops the gossamery tear.'

"No unmarried substantive could be admitted, and here no deviations from the general rule of alliteration might by any chance be allowed; we find 'sensate shrubs,' 'simpering sugar' 'mingling murders,' 'silent sabbaths;' and even to preserve this canon in full force, we find the elements suddenly endued with the power of reading, and a taste for literature; since among innumerable instances I have seen 'lettered lightnings' employed in order to preserve sound, by excluding sense.

"No adjective is so desirable as one which will exactly echo back the sense of the substantive to which it is coupled; as *joys, joyful; blessings, blissful*; *sensibilities, sensitive*; *visions, visionary;* &c. &c. But if it was found actually necessary to introduce a word of common use into these uncommon poems, it was always metamorphosed, and transmogrified by the addition or elision of a syllable or letter, so that hardly any trace of the plebeian baseness of its origin might easily be discovered; one favourite method was to add a 'y' at the end of the word; as for 'pale,' 'still,' read *paly, stilly*. It is always 'thwart the sight' among this race of poets, never athwart. With them too we never find 'a blood-stained dagger, but always 'a dagger distained with gore.' The last thing to be considered was the subject of the Poem, and this was always some interesting event, among the lower order of animals, whereby the delicate sensibilities might be more tenderly affected; such as the decease of a flea, the miscarriage of a grasshopper; or the wedding of a couple of gnats.

"The author always opened the poem by a kind of prologue, bespeaking himself in a melancholy tone of mind, either scattering his tears to the winds or waves, if preferable; or sighing, or dying; in short melancholy he must be, and in general to heighten the effect, he ought to be wandering by moon-light. What commendation was not due to a poem written under these regulations, especially when ushered into the world with some elegant signature (which by the bye, was half the business) as that of *Anna Matilda, Laura Maria, Cæsario*, or Hyppolito! These captivating appellatives, possessed

poſſeſſed ſuch a ſeducing ſweetneſs, that half England was inflamed with the ardour of appearing under ſimilar titles. I had forgot to mention, that cruelty to animals was held in ſuch utter abhorrence, by this feeling choir, that they appear even to have thought the leaſt injury done to any bird, beaſt, or fiſh, infinitely more heinous than of any act of violence committed on a fellow creature. We have an inſtance of a man, who having killed a bird, thought proper to run almoſt mad upon the occaſion; yet, perhaps, he would have ſupported the idea of having been inſtrumental towards the death of man, with chriſtian fortitude. Every ſtanza of the poem which yells out ſuch ſyllables of dolor on this mournful occaſion, concludes with the dreadful repetition of the crime, '*O, I have killed an albatross*' without any invidious intention. I would compare this melancholy line, with the memorable one. '*Zounds, Sir, you have cut off the alderman's thumb.*'

"Surely the latter is more calculated to excite ſenſibility; the poor albatroſs found in death a period to its woes, but the wretched alderman remained a living object of compaſſion. Then if we recollect that the thumb might have been cut off at the moment, when the alderman was ſtretching out his hand to reach ſome calipaſh and calipee—his hand maimed! his wiſhes fruſtrated! Surely every tender feeling is awakened by the too mournful idea!

"This ſpecies of poetry was at length rejected, principally owing to the inſupportable ſatire of the Baviad, though we may ſtill obſerve a *Hafiz*, or a *Helen*, now and then lingering in the daily papers. A method of compoſition has ſucceeded, and ſtill in a great meaſure prevails, equally wonderful, though entirely diſſimilar, which has obtained for theſe days the title of the 'Hobgoblin and beſpectred age.' In metre theſe poems imitate that of our ancient ballads, but differ from them totally in ſtyle. An aſſemblage of horrors, oceans of blood, and a ſeries of murders appear in the ſhort ſpace of a few lines, hardly to be paralleled in a whole epic of former days; ſpectres and apparitions no longer ſingle, but ariſing in companies, not in the regular dreſs, or even the accuſtomed forms, but in a motley crew of unheard of monſters; ghoſts with heads and without heads, and heads without ghoſts, aſtoniſh and terrify every reader. I have ſeen a poem of this nature, in which the author, either to heighten the cataſtrophe, or to ſhew off his knowledge in anatomy, runs through the whole catalogue of bones, nerves and ſinews, with the moſt barbarous exactitude; breaking ſome, cracking others, till the wretched hero and ſufferer expire in the moſt lingering torments, and are ſome dozen of ſtanzas undergoing the operation of being murdered. In ſhort, no horror or aſſaſſination has been left unſung; and more blood has been ſpilt in the courſe of a ſingle volume by theſe ſanguinary poets, than flows from all the ſlaughter-houſes of *Clare-Market*, during the courſe of a whole year.

"Then a moſt glorious contempt for time and place, and an excluſion of every thing natural or probable are conſidered as neceſſary appendages. One line preſents us with a newly built caſtle, flouriſhing in the fourteenth century; in the next we are rambling among the ruined arches, and moon-ſilvered towers of the ſame fabric, in one thouſand eight hundred, which every one muſt allow to be a good jump, for even Pegaſus himſelf. We are now ſhivering in Norway, now broiling in Paleſtine, almoſt in the ſame moment.

"I had intended to conſider dramatic compoſition, and deſcant upon this other branch of poetry, but want of room prevents me from making any,

but a few paſſing obſervations. Tragedy would not have detained me long, as Melpomene ſeems to have gone very quietly to ſleep; and indeed, I believe the real Thalia, has been ſpirited away to doze for a while in fairy-land, and a falſe one ſubſtituted in her place; for the ſame muſe which inſpired a Shakeſpeare, or a Congreve, would hardly acknowledge any of our modern productions. The wit and humour of former days has [have] been ſupplanted by ſome continual repetition of a cant ſaying, introduced throughout the whole play, without even a with your leave, or a by your leave; ſuch as '*That's your ſort.*' '*Puſh on, keep moving.*' '*A propos.*' '*Thank you, good Sir, I owe you one,*' and various other expreſſions equally facetious, which nevertheleſs, contrive to draw thunders of applauſe, and burſts of laughter from the good-natured audience. One would conceive that many of our popular comedies had been written by inn-keepers, and venders of ſpirits; or, at leaſt, that the authors were in league with theſe gentlemen, as there is ever introduced ſome drunken man, of ſo amiable a character, and ſuch fair, though rough honeſty, that every one even admires the vice in the perſon, and the delighted gods deſcend from their *one shilling Olympus*, with full determination immediately to get equally drunk, and a full expectation of becoming equally amiable. I ſhall defer any further inveſtigation of this ſpecies of compoſition till another opportunity, and conclude my letter by preſenting to my readers the humble addreſs which I have juſt received from one *Peter Poeticus*, who engages in three leſſons to render any ſcholar of even the loweſt capacity, a perfect adept in the art of faſhionable verſification.

"This gentleman begs leave to inform his friends, and the public in general, that he poſſeſſes the true Parnaſſian pick-axe, for opening the poetical vein.

"He has a moſt complete aſſortment of poetical rhymes and modiſh alliterations, together with a choice collection of ſignatures, either paſtoral or romantic; epithets by the buſhel, and ſimilies by the gallon, together with every trope and metaphor in vogue. Ghoſts ſingle, or in companies, in the moſt eſteemed dreſſes, and genteel forms. Grinning goblins, and ſhrieking ſpectres, of the moſt faſhionable and prepoſſeſſing appearance. N. B. A higher price is expected if the drapery is dabbled in blood He ſells daggers, graves, torches, and cloiſters by wholeſale; but moonlight and bats only by retail to a few of his beſt cuſtomers. Blood in any quantity. He has a ſuperior aſſortment of plays, upon the true German model, merely deficient in the plot; and ſonnets as perfect as harmony and nonſenſe can make them. In ſhort, a moſt well choſen collection of every material neceſſary towards the perfect eſtabliſhment of a genteel poet for the year 1804." X. Y.

There are ſome very judicious obſervations, indeed, in the *twelfth* number, on national and local prejudices, and on their effects; and the following number, which is devoted to a conſideration of the different ſpecies of ambition, cloſes with the following reflections on a modern accompliſhment, which, by ſome readers will be regarded as fooliſh, but by others as wiſe.

"There is yet another ſpecies of ambition, ſtill more paultry and unaccountable than the former, which has already corrupted, diſgraced, and levelled with the loweſt dregs of mankind, many of our young nobility and gentlemen, and which loudly demands reprehenſion at the preſent day.

I allude

I allude to the cuſtom prevalent among many young men, of family and fortune, ſcarcely meriting the name of gentlemen, who think it *knowing* to preſide at every boxing-match, and cock-fight, that takes place within forty miles of the metropolis, and to be the princip*le* [principal] inciters and regulators of every battle in the kingdom. If the public prints tell us in one paragraph, that a moſt dexterous battle has been fought, between Burke and Belcher, or any two pugiliſtic heroes of equal celebrity, we are ſure to be informed in the next, that the amiable Lord K****, or [and] the daſhing Sir D. T*******, were preſent, and expreſſed their admiration of the combatants by reiterated ſhouts of applauſe. In a ſhort time I expect to hear of their aſcending the ſtage themſelves, and ſhewing off their proweſs and activity at the expence of character and reputation, for I underſtand that ſeveral of them have already been initiated in the noble and manly art of boxing, no doubt that they may hereafter be enabled to gain eternal laurels in the Campus Martius of pugiliſm. I ſhall now leave them to the enjoyment of their own glory and importance; and perhaps, they may one day regret the folly of having ſacrificed the love and eſteem of ſenſible and worthy men, for the vile and diſgraceful applauſe of deſigning adulation, and unprincipled villainy."

The *fourteenth* is one of the beſt-written numbers in the volume, on the moſt ſerious of all ſubjects death and futurity; the reflections on which do the greateſt honour both to the head and the heart of the author. The *ſixteenth* contains many judicious critical animadverſions on our modern dramatiſts. From this number, we would fain make ſome copious extracts; but our limits forbid it. On the introduction of children on the ſtage, the writer remarks:—

"The conſtant and perpetual appearance of children in almoſt every ſcene, who at the early age of three years, are enabled to argue, decide, provoke laughter, or draw forth tears at pleaſure. Without them no tragedy is orthodox, and with them none can fail of ſucceſs. Indeed, the introduction of children as principal actors is ſo generally approved, that we may ſoon expect a moſt intereſting tragedy in a nurſery, with notable diſcourſes by infants in arms; and upon recollection, I believe that a drama upon the memorable hiſtory of Tom Thumb, and the Ogre's Daughters, is already begun by a celebrated writer.

* * * * * * * * * *

"In ſhort, common ſenſe has been beaten off theatrical ground, by the genius of folly, who contrives to maintain a firm ſtation aſſiſted by her troops of harlequins, pantaloons, unknown animals, rope-dancers, tumblers and ſingers, ſo that I underſtand the managers have entered upon a ſcheme of conſiderably enlarging the theatre, for the ſake of accommodating the numerous retinue of nurſes and children, who attend in conſequence of theſe new entertainments.

"Morality has yielded to German philoſophy, and we may ſoon hope, by the aſſiſtance of the ſtage, to return to that original ſtate of *virtuous* ſimplicity, when marriage was unknown, or at leaſt unattended to: and dramatical compoſition is ſo completely devoted to modern principles of merit, buffoonery, and pantomime, that we muſt expect, if the preſent mode remains unaltered, that the whole nation will become modern philoſophers, merry-andrews, or pantaloons.

"The hope, however, ſtill exiſts, that when the dazzling novelty of the preſent theatrical ſpecies, which I am inclined to believe is their principle* [principal] attraction, ſhall have ſubſided, the audience will begin to perceive their error, and return to the better taſte of their anceſtors, who were contented with the more ſimple amuſements of probable adventures, natural language, and moderate action in the performers. I am willing to expect, with confidence, the ſpeedy arrival of the period which ſhall reſtore to the ſtage its original but reſpected embelliſhments; when the intention of dramatic exhibitions ſhall again be directed towards the improvement of private morals, and the public diſpoſition; when amuſement ſhall unite with inſtruction, to recommend virtuous principles, or eradicate vicious inclinations; and the theatre ſhall again become the promoter of good taſte, literature, and morality."

We ſhall only add—

"'Tis a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed."

The reprehenſion of a cuſtom, but too prevalent in almoſt every claſs of ſociety; the introduction of foreign, and eſpecially of *French* terms, into our language, is equally ſevere and juſt. It is a barbarous cuſtom, not unfrequently uſed for the purpoſe of concealing ignorance under the maſk of knowledge. And in this, as in too many other reſpects, the writers in our newſpapers have contributed moſt largely to deprave the public taſte, and to render themſelves, and their ſtupid imitators, objects of contempt and deriſion to all men of ſober underſtanding, and of real knowledge.

It is needleſs to purſue our analyſis any farther, as we have already exhibited ſufficient ſpecimens of this production to enable our readers to appreciate its merits. It only remains for us to notice ſome few more grammatical errors, which we have marked in our progreſs through the volume, and which, though they are blemiſhes which ought not to have appeared, do not affect the general character of the work.

In P. 169, an error preciſely ſimilar to one before noticed occurs. "Coldneſs, *or* a kind of awkward reſtraint *are* (is), &c."—In the ſame page; "had he have called," for—if *he had called*,—"The cogency of their arguments *are* (is) generally impreſſed," &c.

Travels in Trinidad during the Months of February, March, and April, 1803; in a Series of Letters, addreſſed to a Member of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. Illuſtrated with a Map of the Iſland. By Pierre F. M'Callam. 8vo. Pp. 354. Liverpool. Jones.

FROM the title-page of this work, we little ſuſpected the nature of the matter which it contains. We ſuppoſed, as many others, no doubt, will do, that we ſhould be inſtructed and amuſed with a

* This is evidently an error of the preſs, though unnoticed in the errata, and diſplays great inattention in the printer.

new

new combination of materials concerning the iſland of Trinidad. But the pleaſing illuſion vaniſhed, before we had proceeded a few ſtages in our progreſs. Line after line, and page after page, exhibited to our view the moſt unprincipled and indecent libel upon the character of a diſtinguiſhed individual, that for many years has claimed the attention of the public. This latter conſideration it is, which has induced us to enter at ſome length into the merits and tendency of a performance, ſtanding alone in the hiſtory of preſumptuous ignorance. The individual to whom we allude, and who has thus been vilified in the coarſeſt ſtrain of abuſe which the coarſeſt imagination could conceive, is no leſs than Brigadier-General Picton, late Governor of the iſland of Trinidad; upon the merits of whoſe conduct in that colony we feel it our duty, as it is our inclination, to be ſilent, as the ſubject will ſoon be diſcuſſed in its proper place, an Engliſh Court of Judicature. Had Mr. M'Callam been impreſſed with the ſame ſpirit of forbearance, the manuſcript of his work would have been committed to the flames (or would rather not have been written), and would not now exiſt as a monument of his folly and indiſcretion.

The compoſition in queſtion is divided into twenty letters, exhibiting neither ſelection of materials, nor elegance of arrangement; but diſfigured by an atrabilious malignity of temper, which no provocation could have warranted, and which a more temperate climate than that in which they were written, ſhould have ſuppreſſed. But the author was determined to publiſh; and it is our duty to examine his labours.

The firſt of the collection is a Journal of the author's departure from America, in which, *en paſſant*, we are favoured with "ſome curſory obſervations" on his "friend Touſſaint." The tone of ſelf-ſufficiency and impertinence which characterize the whole performance, cannot be exemplified better than in Mr. M'Callam's own words.

"The capital, Bridgetown, has been burnt four or five times. It is the ſeat of the Governor. The preſent one is Lord SEAFORTH, who, I find, is very much eſteemed; nor do I wonder at it, as his Lordſhip has always ſuſtained an amiable character. Every Governor is, by appointment, Chancellor of the iſland; and although his Lordſhip is deaf, yet his decrees are ſo equitable, as to procure the higheſt approbation. The town has an antique appearance; but what ſtrikes the ſtranger's attention, is the number of old women, cats, and parrots."

Thoſe perſons who can diſcover either dignity of narration, or the ſemblance of wit in this paſſage, muſt be formed of materials different from ourſelves. From Barbadoes Mr. M'Callam proceeded to Trinidad.

"On the 6th (which was Sunday with you, but here I obſerved no trace of it) we came aſhore, and were uſhered by Colonel Brown into the audience chamber of *Don Thomas Picton*, ci-devant *Gouvernador de la Ysla Britanica*

tanica de Trinidada, where we waited like malefactors for more than an hour and a half. In the mean time, I was diverted with the figure of a fine gentleman *sui generis*, who couched and recouched himself, at other times viewing his delicate features in a looking glass; frequently grinning eastward and grinning westward, admiring his grinders; when he strutted about, he gabbled like a goose. This creature, thought I, must be the great man's barber, probably the very brother of Curtis's barber, or it might be the identical barber himself. As I have not heard of him for a long time, I might have gone away under this impression, had I not heard Colonel Brown telling our Captain that his name was *M'Spriggin*, the Governor's aid-and-favourite. Is he in the army, then, said the Captain?—No; answered the Colonel. However, I could not divest my mind of the idea, that the personage before me was still the famous barber of *city* memory. Not having time to describe him more accurately, I shall be under the necessity of referring you to—*Hotspur's Description of a Fop.*"

And further on in the same strain of abuse, we are favoured with a kindred proof of the author's liberality.

"So is Picton, a mighty prater, whose knife was set in oil that it might cut the deeper, and never hesitated to engulf the reeking blade into the warm bowels of a fellow-creature, nor to pour *aqua-fortis* into the bleeding wound, in order to provoke the innocent object to a state of madness."

Surely the cause of B. G. Picton can sustain no injury from an enemy, who has already demonstrated, to the meanest capacity, a temper and disposition, so widely different from decorum and good manners; who has so egregiously set at defiance all the acknowledged decencies of temper, which are observed amongst men of *honour* even in their most rancorous feuds.

As the remainder of these letters have a unity of intention *prima facie*, it would be unnecessary to enter into a separate analysis of each; they are all subservient to the same purpose, which is, that of prejudicing the minds of the public against Mr. Picton; previous to the awful discussion which must speedily take place of his alleged delinquency. It is true Mr. M'Callum assigns to his conduct the noble motive of bringing a culprit to the bar of justice. Fie! Fie! upon the pretext. The business had been undertaken by higher authority. Why not have reserved his charges until the day of trial, and taken his proper station in the witness's box?

Were it not for the mischief which this book is calculated to produce; and the *uncommon avidity with which it will be circulated, both at home and abroad*, we should never have recorded its infamy in these pages. It is, both in essence and spirit, calculated to revive the deadly spirit of insubordination in Trinidad; and to communicate that spirit to every colony which we possess.

Had the author borne in mind his own declaration, when speaking of the mutiny of the 8th West India Regiment, we should now be performing a more pleasant duty. The following is part of a note, commenting on the melancholy relation of the revolt alluded to, and which appeared in the Barbadoes Mercury, of April 1802:—

"The

" The cauſe of this mutiny is attributed to the Colonel, the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnſtone, but as he will ſoon take his trial on four charges exhibited againſt him by Major Gordon, of the ſaid regiment, it would be premature to offer any comment at preſent, although I might be juſtified in matters of fact, as well as in giving the public a detached account of his conduct during the time he was Governor of *Dominica,* which, according to the information in my poſſeſſion, does not evince much prudence."

And pray Mr. M'Callum, is not the late Governor of Trinidad under the ſame circumſtances as Colonel Johnſtone? Here you ſeem to have forgotten yourſelf; and as if to perſuade the reader that you lay ſome claim to the Chriſtian ſpirit of forbearance, you drop the high tone of magnanimous reſolution, which all along you have aſſumed, and for a moment reaſon like a gentleman. Under theſe feelings, or perhaps failings of humanity, why did you not adopt the reſolution which you ſeem to have formed of relinquiſhing the compoſition of the preſent letters.

" Since the commencement of theſe letters, I frequently indulged the idea of relinquiſhing altogether my preſent purſuits, from the many difficulties with which I am circumvented, and the danger I am expoſed to in a colony governed by the Inquiſition. If the members of it only knew that my pen is ſo devoted to the cauſe of humanity, they would ſoon torture the hand that holds it; therefore I am obliged to be extremely cautious, leſt my inquiries ſhould inſinuate ſuſpicion: I ſhall be as expeditious as poſſible, in order to leave a colony already ſo much a prey to calumny and faction. The *Inquiſition,* or as it is mildly and moſt nobly called, the *illuſtrious Cabildo,* conſiſts of thirteen members, who meet every Monday to plot deſtruction; it is compoſed of a French junto of Jacobins, the dregs of *Spain,* and the filthy outcaſts of the ſcum of *Great Britain* and *Ireland.*"

We are not about to juſtify every meaſure of ſeverity which Governor P. exerciſed during the period of his command at Trinidad. But this we confidently aſſert, that from the moment when the iſland came into our poſſeſſion, it became a prey to diſloyalty and inſubordination. The ſeeds of civil commotion had ſtruck wide and deep; and every nerve of jacobiniſm was exerted to wreſt the poſſeſſion from the controul of legitimate authority, and to ſubject it to the multiplied horror of anarchy and bloodſhed. The ſame means which had been adopted to ſhake the tranquillity of an Empire, were purſued to diſturb the moral and political harmony of leſſer communities—the agency of *enterprifing needy* men. The French declaration of " The Rights of Man," that impious jargon, had reached its ſhores; and ſo had the *whine and cant* of methodiſtical reformers, about the miſery of negro ſlavery—theſe poiſoned the minds of the inhabitants of Trinidad, who again ſpread the contagion amongſt the ſoldiery and the negroes. We throw down the gage to our political knight-errant, and dare him in his ſober moments to deny theſe facts. Under ſuch circumſtances, it became neceſſary that the Governor ſhould meet the evil with commenſurate firmneſs. And, however, the ſympathies of our nature may induce us to lament the ſeverities, which, no doubt,

were

were exercised, yet justice to Mr. P. and to the British name, demands of us an explicit avowal of our approbation of his conduct in this *particular* The spirit of disorder was widely disseminated; the troops in garrison repeatedly evinced a disposition to insubordination; and unhappily requiring the most summary examples of punishment. All this, however, our author most flatly denies, and introduces the following proclamation of the Governor, that he may have an opportunity of so doing.

"*By his Excellency* Thomas Picton, *Esq. Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Trinidad, and its Dependencies, &c. &c.*

"The Commanders of Quarters, and Alcades of Barriors, are called upon to pay strict attention to the conduct of certain well-known seditious characters; who, disappointed in their endeavours to impose upon the good sense of the British inhabitants, are now employing every incendiary means to infuse a spirit of insubordination amongst the negroes and people of colour, by infamously representing the wholesome severity of the law, exercised against fatal and pernicious crimes, which threatened the very existence of the colony, as the emanation of a sanguinary, vindictive disposition, unnecessarily prodigal of human blood.

"As no reflecting person can be ignorant of the wicked intentions of these nefarious conspirators, his Excellency calls not only upon the constituted authorities, but upon every respectable individual who knows how to value the safety of his person and property, to use his utmost endeavours to bring them forward; and he pledges himself that no obloquy or calumny shall deter him from doing prompt and substantial justice.

"Given at Government-House, *Port of Spain*, this 5th day of Feb. 1802,

(Signed) "PICTON.

"By his Excellency's command,

"RICHARD COLLINS, Sec."

We have perused it again and again; and cannot but consider it as a temperate and manly production, warranted by the circumstances of the case. Where Mr. M'Callam obtained his information, that the inhabitants of Trinidad were uniformly loyal, we know not. But the case is otherwise; and we have taken considerable pains to ascertain it. Not from the American newspapers, those filthy sources of ignorance, and jacobinical principles, where we strongly suspect Mr. M'Callam has gathered his intelligence; but from residents in the island at the time, upon whose honour we place the most confident reliance. His Majesty's ministers were in possession of the fact; and with the benevolent view to remedy the evil; and to assuage the spirit of internal animosity, which prevailed in Trinidad, they appointed Colonel Fullarton, B. G. Picton and Commodore Hood, commissioners to adjust these unhappy differences. For reasons unknown to us, and which a future day must develope, the first commissioner separated himself from his colleagues, and left the island. But Mr. M'Callam remained behind, no doubt with the *purest motives to correct the evils of its administration!* He is not the only unaccredited agent who has assumed

ſumed to himſelf the important taſk of government-mending; and we ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that the buſineſs is not new to him. B. G. Picton and Commodore Hood ſeem to have entertained the ſame opinion, as the ſequel will prove.

In conſequence of the alarming ſtate of the colony previous to the period of our author's arrival in Trinidad, the Governor had iſſued a proclamation, enjoining every new comer to enliſt himſelf within ten days after his arrival into the volunteer corps, which had been raiſed for the defence of the iſland; under a penalty for omiſſion of two hundred dollars.

Mr. M'Callam, however, remained in the iſland nearly three months, and omitted to comply with this politic requiſition; in conſequence of which omiſſion, this defiance of the authority of the Governor, *united with other circumſtances*, he was apprehended and brought before the firſt and third commiſſioners, who very properly queſtioned him upon the reaſons of his not having complied with the proclamation adverted to. The anſwers of Mr. M'Callam, are impertinent in the higheſt degree, and ſuch as no magiſtrate of the moſt inferior degree would endure for a moment. But Mr. M'Callam ſhall now ſpeak for himſelf. Having been interrogated, as we have juſt mentioned, he concludes his reply upon the illegality of the proclamation, by ſtating it to be contrary to the firſt article of the coronation oath, which ſays,

"*Will you ſolemnly promiſe, and ſwear to govern the people of this kingdom of* Great Britain, and all the dominions *thereunto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in Parliament agreed, and the laws, and cuſtoms of the ſame?* Now, gentlemen, if you will point out to me any act of parliament, that will warrant you, or your former Governor, to put in requiſition the ſubject, or ſubjects of the realm, I ſhall think it my duty to join the corps. Brigadier-General Picton might have iſſued this illegal and tyrannic mandate, but I am not obliged to conſider it as a law, for ſurely, in a Britiſh colony, I do not forfeit thoſe rights, which are the boaſt of every Briton; on the contrary, they follow me to the moſt diſtant corner of his Majeſty's dominions; and ſhould his delegates abridge them, the fate of Wall will, in future, ſerve as a beacon when they ſport with deſpotic authority.

We take the liberty of telling Mr. M'Callam that, under certain circumſtances, the king of England, in virtue of his prerogative, has an unqueſtionable right to put in requiſition every individual amongſt his ſubjects who is able to bear arms, and without the acquieſcence of the two other branches of the legiſlature. In the event of *actual* invaſion during the prorogation of parliament, muſt the executive government wait the legal time to aſſemble the Houſe of Commons, before it attempts to ſtop the progreſs of a daring invader? Certainly not. Agreeably to the Britiſh Conſtitution, and to the reaſon upon which all law is founded, every efficient member of the community is *ipſo facto* under requiſition; and liable to be immediately called upon, to repel the enemy; to maintain the contrary of which is very dangerous doctrine. The coronation oath, therefore, does nothing for Mr. M'Callam's

M'Callam's argument. But the univerſal diffuſion of the principle denying this right of the Sovereign, would do much for *his cauſe*. Commodore Hood ſtands no better with our author than Mr. Picton. But there is a reaſon for it, he ſuſpected Mr. M'Callam to have been a ſpy!

"The Commodore in his turn, has poſitively affirmed, that I was formerly an editor of a democratic paper in *London*, which was the cauſe of the mutiny in the fleet; that I once abuſed his late brother in that paper; and that I was a dangerous perſon in the colony. You ſee, Sir, how credulous the naval hero is, and how eaſily he is perſuaded to believe any thing, however falſe and prepoſterous. Knowing all theſe aſſertions to have no foundation in truth, I ſhall treat them and their diſſeminators with equal contempt, and wait my doom, which muſt now be near at hand."

In this country of *freedom*; this aſylum of political delinquency, we preſume the preſent letters were either written or matured. It may not be unneceſſary, perhaps, to mention in this place, that the principal inſtances of cruelty and outrage with which Mr. M. charges the governor of Trinidad, were not the reſult of his own perſonal obſervations, but were gathered in "ſhreds and patches," from the itinerant politicians with whom our author aſſociated. Neither does it appear, that during his confinement he experienced or ſuffered any privation of a rigorous or unfeeling nature.

In the laſt letter of "my Travels," which is "a Curſory View of the Hiſtorical Events in St. Domingo from the year 1790, till 1802," Mr. M'Callam paſſes a high eulogium upon the moſt miſchievous production which has ever appeared in the world.

"The declaration of the rights of man, that immortal work, beneficial to enlightened men, which, if true at all, ought to be as general as day light, was in the wretched iſlands, deſtined to give a taper light in the reſidence of the planter, whilſt the poor and deſtitute negro was to ſit in darkneſs in his hut."

This panegyric in favour of the French declaration of the Rights of Man, offers to us the moſt deciſive teſtimony of the nature of our author's political creed. It is equal to a volume on the ſubject. Has Mr. M. duly appreciated the merits of the declaration which has thus rouſed him to a blaze of oratory? This production of metaphyſic madneſs; this ſubtle inſtrument of deſigning villainy, has been a chief cauſe of all the horrors and maſſacres which for many years have lacerated the boſom of Europe. It has broken in upon the economy of God; has deſtroyed the decencies and diſtinctions of poliſhed ſociety, and has engendered a ſpirit of reſtleſſneſs and rebellion againſt lawful authority which ages cannot ſubdue.

As we have in the progreſs of this examination expreſſed with freedom our opinion of "my Travels *," it will not be neceſſary to add,

* The expreſſion of "my Travels," occurs in almoſt every page with an egotiſm and vanity which ſeem peculiar to Mr. M'Callam.

as a ſummary, our firm conviction that it is a bad book; and written with a bad intention.

Rainsford's *Hiſtory of Hayti.*

(Concluded from P. 244).

THE account of the internal ſtate of Hayti, which to us is perfectly novel, forms one of the moſt curious and intereſting parts of this volume. Major Rainsford, who was anxious to viſit the country after the revolution, thought it expedient to aſſume the character of an American, as the Engliſh were ſtill viewed with a jealous eye by the victorious blacks. He landed at Cape Francois, and repaired to the Hotel de la Republique. From his deſcription of this city, and of the people to whom it is now ſubject, we ſhall make a pretty long extract.

" Here were officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, at the ſame table indiſcriminately; and the writer had been ſcarcely ſeated at a repaſt, in the firſt room to which he was conducted, when a fat negro, to initiate him in the general ſyſtem, helped himſelf frequently from his diſh, and took occaſion to ſeaſon his character by large draughts of the wine, accompanied with the addreſs of " Mon Americain." The appearance of the houſe, and its accommodations, were not much inferior to a London coffee-houſe, and, on particular occaſions, exhibited a ſuperior degree of elegance. Touſſaint not unfrequently dined here himſelf, but he did not ſit at the head of the table, from the idea (as was aſſerted) that the hours of refection and relaxation ſhould not be damped by the affected forms of the old regimen, and that no man ſhould aſſume a real ſuperiority in any other place than the field. He was in the evenings at the billiard-table, where the writer converſed and played with him ſeveral times; and he could not help, on ſome occaſions, when a want of etiquette diſturbed him for a moment, congratulating himſelf, that if he experienced not the refinement of European intercourſe, he ſaw no room for inſincerity; and that if delicate converſe did not always preſent itſelf, he was free from the affectation of ſentiment.

" In traverſing the once ſuperb city of the Cape, though preſenting a tolerable appearance from the ſhore, deſolation every where preſented itſelf. On the ſite where elegant luxury had exhauſted its powers to delight the voluptuary, all was magnificent ruin!—and, to mark the contraſt ſtronger, of the wrecks were compoſed temporary houſes for the American merchants, and petty ſhops inhabited by the natives. Several ſpacious ſtreets, towards the centre, diſplayed the walls of ſuperb edifices of five and ſix ſtories, with gilded balconies, of which the beautiful ſtructure exhibited the devaſtation that had occurred, with additional horror. Nor was this all; for, in different parts of theſe ruins, the ſad remains of the former poſſeſſors were viſibly mingled with the crumbling walls:

> ' There—heedleſs of the dead,
> The ſhelter-ſeeking peaſant rears his ſhed,
> And wonders man could want the larger pile.'

" Having been informed of a review which was to take place on the plain of the Cape, the writer availed himſelf of the opportunity, accompanied

panied by ſome Americans, and a few of his own countrymen who reſided there under that denomination. Of the grandeur of the ſcene he had not the ſmalleſt conception. Two thouſand officers were in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the enſign, yet with the utmoſt attention to rank; without the ſmalleſt ſymptom of the inſubordination that exiſted in the leiſure of the hotel. Each general officer had a demi-brigade, which went through the manual exerciſe with a degree of expertneſs ſeldom witneſſed, and performed, equally well, ſeveral manœuvres applicable to their method of fighting. At a whiſtle, a whole brigade ran three or four hundred yards, then, ſeparating, threw themſelves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or ſides, keeping up a ſtrong fire the whole of the time, till they were recalled; they then formed again, in an inſtant, into their wonted regularity. This ſingle manœuvre was executed with ſuch facility and preciſion, as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in buſhy and hilly countries. Such complete ſubordination, ſuch promptitude and dexterity, prevailed the whole time, as would have aſtoniſhed any European ſoldier, who had the ſmalleſt idea of their previous ſituation.

"The pleaſing ſenſations inſpired by the ability manifeſted in this review were checked by the additional monuments of human ferocity which preſented themſelves on his return to the city; the conflagration of which, and of the ſurrounding plantations, was ſtill in the memory of ſeveral Americans, who deſcribed the effect as awfully grand beyond conception.

"In one of the ſquares, in the north-weſt quarter, was placed an edifice, that made ſome amends for the deſolation appearing in its vicinity, from the elegance of its execution. It was an aſcent to a canopy, or dome, of which the architecture was not perfectly regular; beneath which were two ſeats, and, above them, an inſcription, that eminently exhibited the tolerance of Touſſaint. There were two centinels to guard it; who, being aſked if any one might aſcend the ſteps, anſwered in the affirmative, but with a ſtrict prohibition againſt touching the cap of liberty, which crowned it. It was a tribute of reſpect to the memory of Santhonax and Polverel, the French Commiſſioners, and had been erected by ſome of their advocates, at a time when their largeſſes obtained for them what they would not otherwiſe have enjoyed—a tranſitory popularity. An extract from a ſpeech of one of them formed part of the inſcription, in French, and which countenanced the opinion, that the abolition of ſlavery was a primary object of their miſſion. It was to the following effect:—

'My Friends,
We came to make you free.
Frenchmen give Liberty to the World.
You are free.
Guard your Freedom.
Vive la Liberté! Vive la Republique!
Vive Robeſpierre!'

"The remainder of the inſcription conſiſted of a ſelection from the proclamation for aboliſhing ſlavery. The prevailing opinion of theſe men, notwithſtanding they had been execrated for their conduct, was favourable to their talents, and to their ſpirit.

"Though impreſſed with the neceſſity of caution, it would have required much more *sang-froid* than was poſſeſſed by the obſerver, to reſiſt the numerous impulſes of mingling with a people whoſe conduct preſented the

moſt

moſt generous hoſpitality, and objects of the moſt intereſting contemplation. He obtained acceſs to the houſes of moſt whoſe intercourſe could furniſh either information or pleaſure; nor did he reject the negro hut at other times, though certainly of leſs attraction.

"As in all ſtates of human ſociety, particularly in the vortex of a revolution, which effected ſo complete a change, the able and the cunning had elevated themſelves above thoſe who were of the ſame rank of life. Negroes, recollected in the loweſt ſtate of ſlavery, including Africans, filled ſituations of truſt and reſponſibility: they were, likewiſe, in many inſtances, occupied by thoſe who had been in ſuperior circumſtances under the old regimen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

"The ſuperior order had attained a ſumptuouſneſs of life, with all the enjoyments which dignity could obtain, or rank confer. The interior of their houſes was, in many inſtances, furniſhed with a luxe beyond that of the moſt voluptuous European, while no want of trans-atlantic elegance appeared; nor, amidſt a general fondneſs for ſhew, was the chaſteneſs of true taſte always neglected. Their etiquette extended to a degree of refinement ſcarcely to be conceived; and the ſervice of their domeſtics, among whom were, from what cauſe was not aſcertained, ſome mulattoes, was performed with more celerity than in many inſtances in Europe. A conſcious eaſe, and certain *gaieté de cœur*, preſided over every repaſt. Converſation had free ſcope, except as related to their own former circumſtances; but when the defence of their country was the ſubject, every eye filled with fire, and every tongue ſhouted—Victory! The names of ſome, who had ſeceded from the Black army were, the only objects that ſeemed to excite deteſtation. In many inſtances the writer has heard reaſoning, and witneſſed manners of acuteneſs and elegance, the relation of which would appear incredible, from thoſe who were remembered in a ſtate of ſervitude, or whoſe parents were in ſituations of abject penury; while ſallies of wit, not frequently ſurpaſſed, have enlivened many an hour. It would ill become him, notwithſtanding the tide of prejudice, which has always prevaded his aſſertions, to ſuppoſe his readers capable of gratification from the chit-chat of a St. Domingo table; and it would be equally unjuſt to employ the opportunities afforded him by unguarded kindneſs, in the accumulation of fleeting anecdotes, ariſing from domeſtic privacy. He therefore contents himſelf with ſtating, that the enjoyments of life were to be found in a high degree in the capital of St. Domingo, and that their alloy did not exceed, nor perhaps always equal, that of ancient European cities.

"The men were, in general, ſenſible and polite, often dignified and impreſſive; the women frequently elegant and engaging. The intercourſe of the ſexes was on the moſt rational footing; and the different degrees of colour which remained had loſt moſt of that natural hoſtility which formerly exiſted. Several Americans had intermarried with ladies of colour very advantageouſly, and to appearance happily. They were, generally, very agreeable women, and felt no inequality in their difference of complexion or nation. Like Sappho, they could plead (in many inſtances, in point of wit, ſprightlineſs, and pathos, little inferior to the Leſbian muſe, though without her powers of ſong)

> 'Brown though I am, an Ethiopian dame
> Inſpir'd young Perſeus with a generous flame;
> Turtles and doves of different hues unite,
> And gloſſy black is pair'd with ſhining white.'

"The

"The drama, that ſource of rational delight, always ſo prevalent in St. Domingo, exiſted, in more ſtrength and propriety than it had done before; and that licentiouſneſs which appears inſeparable to it in a higher ſtate, was actually reſtrained. The repreſentations were chiefly comedies *en vaudeville*, and a ſort of pantomime; ſometimes ſerious repreſentations, alluſive to local circumſtances, and ſometimes merely humourous burleſques. The conduct of the whole was highly creditable to the talents of the performers, ſome of whom yet remained from the French ſchool, who, although driven to ſeek a livelihood under ſuch doubtful auſpices, might have ſhone with equal luſtre to their more fortunate contemporaries on an European ſtage. The Black performers, who preponderated in number, were not behind in talents: the writer ſaw a play of Moliere's performed with an accuracy that would not have diſgraced the firſt theatre in Europe. Even painting, from ſome recent ſpecimens, appeared to be encouraged, and cultivated as an accompliſhment, in a ſlight degree. A young lady of colour, of the name of La Roche, preſented a large company, of which the writer was one, in the courſe of a few minutes, with their likeneſſes, very accurately cut in profile. Muſic, alſo, though it muſt be confeſſed, not ſuch as to vie with the harmony of the ſpheres, was every where prevalent to an exceſs, and the practice of moſt kinds in uſe, though ſtringed inſtruments were preferred. Yet, with an ardent ſenſibility that appeared in many inſtances, and which could not fail to be cultivated under preſent circumſtances, the rich Blacks ſuffered the greater part of the capital to lie in ruins; they appeared to ſhrink from re-inſtating it, as if in rebuilding their former reſidences, they ſhould create new maſters.

"The ſituation of thoſe who ſtill remained in humble privacy, and who formed the great bulk of the people, was indeed very greatly changed. Their condition, agreeably to their capacities of enjoyment, approached nearer happineſs than many others which are conſidered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and thoſe rather attributable to accident than vice. They were perfectly at liberty as regarded themſelves, and were more ready to perform their ſocial duties, than the ſtate was urgent in requiring them. Thoſe qualities, conſpicuous in the negroes under their worſt circumſtances, their regard for all the relations of life, and tenderneſs to each other, ſeemed expanded with their freedom, and many of the little prejudices that had exiſted wore away. Thoſe amuſements, which were formerly ſuppreſſed, had now free ſcope, but they reſtrained themſelves from public annoyance with more regularity than could have been affected by the ſtricteſt police.

"The *menage* of the labourer, in the town and its vicinity, was improved in a proportion equal to his condition. A rough yet neat couch ſupplied the place of the wretched bedding of a former period; and the viſitor was not unprovided for; though it is lamentable to ſtate, that in ſeveral inſtances the furniture of the cottage was beholden to the public commotions; and in one inſtance, painfully viſible, a beautiful fire-ſcreen, the dexterous workmanſhip of ſome fair ſufferer, concealed a dog then roaſting from ſome of their fellows, who conſidered it opprobrious to be *mangeurs des chiens*."

This is a very flattering deſcription, indeed; and, if it be correct (and far be it from us to queſtion its accuracy), it preſents a very different picture of this extraordinary empire, from that which the major part of the European world, we ſuſpect, had previouſly drawn in their

their own imaginations. This people, whom the French, after the peace of Amiens, first sent an army to reduce them, was generally described as a horde of ferocious savages, destitute alike of discipline and of resources, and consequently unable to make the smallest stand against their powerful and determined assailants. But how completely has the result falsified this prediction, and demonstrated the ignorance of those who made it, certainly with more confidence than judgment.

Our traveller, however, soon became an object of suspicion. He was accordingly apprehended; tried, in a summary way, by a Military Commission, at which the black General Christophe presided; and condemned to die. He was relieved, however, during his confinement, by a benevolent female of colour, who supplied him with food and refreshments, at the risk of her life; and was, at length, released, by the humanity of Toussaint.

The interview between Toussaint and his children, who were sent to allure him to the interest of the French, is described in an affecting manner. After the failure of this attempt, Toussaint, to whom Buonaparté had just written in the most flattering terms, was publicly proclaimed a rebel and an outlaw; and the cold-blooded miscreant, Le Clerc, whose atrocities were only equalled by his ignorance, carried on a furious war against the Blacks, employing the usual resource of the French, fraud united with force, to subdue them. He so far succeeded as to detach some of Toussaint's principal generals from his cause; when, elated with his success, he pressed forward to give battle to Toussaint himself, with whom a part of his army came up, on the 24th of February, 1802.

"On the same day, Rochambeau's division entered the Ravine-a-Couleuvre, where General Toussaint, with his guard, forming a corps of fifteen hundred grenadiers, drawn from different demi-brigades, and about twelve hundred other chosen troops, with the addition of four hundred dragoons, waited to receive them in person. The Ravine-a-Couleuvre is extremely well protected, being flanked by lofty mountains covered with wood; in advantageous places were posted more than two thousand cultivators. They formed a considerable number of abattis, which obstructed the passage, and occupied the entrenched positions which commanded the Ravines. From the advantages of the defection, and a knowledge of the country, General Rochambeau executed his movement with a rapidity similar to that of the enemy he was encountering, and attacked their entrenchments. A battle ensued, in which, Le Clerc acknowledges, "man was opposed to man, and the troops of Toussaint fought well." It was an affair deserving an accurate description in the military annals of the time. The ability and bravery of the French troops were called forth, and every manœuvre of the Black tactics was displayed. On a bloody field, at the close of the day, victory remained doubtful, and each party were more anxious with regard to their future movements, than the honour of superiority so dearly bought. Toussaint retired to the banks of La Petit Rivière, and Le Clerc to Gonaives. General Maurepas continued in considerable power in the western province, and repelled the attacks of Generals Debelle and Boudet, until they were reinforced by two divisions, those of Desfourneaux and Rochambeau,

diſpatched by the French General to ſupport and collect their ſcattered forces."

This battle alone was fully ſufficient to remove the falſe impreſſion which was entertained, reſpecting the abſolute inability of the Blacks to oppoſe any effectual reſiſtance to the French. The latter, however, made ſome progreſs, which induced Le Clerc, though ſtill in poſſeſſion of a very ſmall part of St. Domingo, boldly to aſſert, that he was *maſter of the colony*. But in this he ſoon found himſelf woefully deceived. And, at the very time when Buonaparté was declaring to his proſtituted Senate, that Touſſaint was reduced to the laſt extremity, "without fortreſſes, without money, and without an army," that active chief poured down with his battalions into the plain of the Cape, deſtroyed all who attempted to oppoſe his progreſs, and, after laying waſte the adjacent country, retired, without loſs, to the mountains. This ſpecies of warfare was carried on for a ſhort time, when a peace was concluded (in May, 1802), and Touſſaint retired to his plantation at L'Ouverture, whence he was afterwards kidnapped by Le Clerc, the worthy brother-in-law of the Corſican ruffian. *Par nobile fratrum!* Of the ſtate of the country after this act, we have the following brief account:—

"The government at this period (if, in the inſubordinate ſtate in which every thing appeared, any government could be conſidered to exiſt) aſſumed a complexion more ſanguinary and terrible than can be conceived among civilized people, and formed a new æra in martial law. In attempting to diſarm the Black troops which had been incorporated with the French, the neceſſity whereof was diſcovered too late, the moſt barbarous methods were practiſed. Ship-loads were collected, and ſuffocated in the holds. In one inſtance, ſix hundred being ſurrounded, and attempting a reſiſtance, were maſſacred on the ſpot; and ſuch ſlaughters daily took place in the vicinity of Cape Francois, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies. At the ſame time, the French troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themſelves in the chief towns, contagion ſpread every where, and the diſtreſs became dreadfully general. In their extremity, to aid and fill up the meaſure of their enormities, the uſe of blood-hounds was reſorted to—that dreadful expedient, the temporary adoption of which, in a neighbouring colony, had already excited the diſguſt of the powers of Europe *.

"Fort

* "In this alluſion to the circumſtance of the introduction of blood-hounds to an Engliſh colony, the author has no other aim than to add his teſtimony (he was an eye-witneſs) to the rectitude of the Governor of Jamaica in regard to their uſe. Though a ſucceſsful, yet it was a dangerous experiment, and one which will, it is hoped, never be again tried by Britiſh ſoldiers; but with the controul of ſuch men as Lord Balcarras and General Walpole, the rights of humanity can no more be violated, than the higheſt point of military honour or diſcipline. The writer was witneſs to an anxiety with regard to *any* employment of the dogs in the noble governor, which muſt

"Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and several other favourite eſtabliſhments, were, by the middle of October, completely loſt to the French; and it became known to the ſeamen who viſited the Bight of Leogane; that after a conſiderable number of Blacks had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Port Republicain, they were hurried on board of the ſhips at anchor in the bay, and crowded into their holds; that, under cover of the night, this diſhonoured navy put to ſea, and firſt either burning brimſtone in the hold, or extinguiſhing ſenſe by ſuffocation, or neither, the miſerable cargoes were diſcharged into the ſea, in ſuch quantities, that at length the tide (as if the mighty Arbiter of all, meant to hold their ſhame before them) brought the corpſes into the bay, and rolled them on the very beach. Human nature recoils at the deſcription, yet the ſcene is not ended,—under the dark concealment of night, the tender wife, the aged parent, and even the rougher comrade in arms, ſtealing by the watchful ſuſpicion of their maſters, were ſeen wandering on the ſea-ſhore, to identify each victim as the wave produced him."

On the firſt of November this year, Le Clerc died, and was ſucceeded by Rochambeau: and, in the courſe of ten months, no leſs than 40,000 French troops are ſaid to have been deſtroyed, by the joint efforts of the ſword and the climate. Freſh ſupplies, however, were ſent from time to time; the war was continued, with ſhort intervals of peace, and cruelties were again perpetrated by the French, on their priſoners, and were at length retaliated by the Blacks, who were now commanded by Deſſalines. But, in the ſummer of 1803, the Black Chief, after defeating his opponents in every quarter, laid ſiege to the Cape, which was alſo blockaded by a Britiſh ſquadron. In the month of November, Rochambeau was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating with Deſſalines, and, afterwards, of ſurrendering his whole force, conſiſting of 8000 men, with three frigates, and ſeventeen merchantmen, to the Commander of the Britiſh ſhips. Thus ended this ill-fated expedition, defeating the hopes, and marring the proſpects, diſappointing the expectations, and falſifying the predictions of its projectors. With the new year, a new empire was

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muſt confer eternal honour on his feelings as a gentleman and a ſoldier, while the ſentiments of General Walpole on the occaſion are equally honourable. Strange as it may appear to thoſe who had an opportunity of knowing the fact, the public mind (with a jealouſy of national character moſt laudable and dignified) has never been ſatisfied that the Maroons were not really hunted down, and deſtroyed by blood-hounds: it is therefore moſt ſolemnly declared in this place, that no farther uſe was made of them than being marched in the rear of the army, to inſpire terror in the Blacks; as has been mentioned in an account furniſhed to his reſpectable hiſtorian by Mr. Quarrel, although the writer is not certain that the care taken by Lord Balcarras to prevent it, was perfectly conſonant to the inclinations of that gentleman. Some accidents, and perhaps more than thoſe ſtated by Mr. Dallas, did occur, but they were never let looſe, indiſcriminately, by a Britiſh general, for the inhuman purpoſes for which they are bred."

eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, and its primitive name, *Hayti*, reſtored to this importan colony. Of its ſtate ſubſequent to this revolution, we have already extracted our author's deſcription. We ſhall now add his *opinion* reſpecting its future deſtiny, and with that cloſe our account of a work which, we muſt repeat, contains much uſeful and valuable information.

"Should they adhere to the baſis on which they have founded their proceedings, and remain unmoleſted by European powers, they may arrive at the moſt enviable ſtate of grandeur and felicity; but ſhould any evil ſpirits obtain a footing among them, and interrupt the harmony which may otherwiſe be maintained, by occaſioning factions to ariſe from old contentions, or new diviſions, the frequent conſequence of overgrown wealth or dominion, they will in all probability fulfil the prediction of Edwards, by becoming 'ſavages in the midſt of ſociety, without peace, ſecurity, agriculture, or property.'

"But, in either caſe, their reduction to their former ſituation is impoſſible; and though Europe waſte her armies, and exhauſt her navies in the endeavour, the Blacks of St. Domingo will be unſubdued; and if they cannot repel the invaſion of a reiterated and extended force, they will cut them off, as hath been already obſerved, with a ſcythe more keen and rapid than that of time. Every year and every day has been, and will ſtill continue, to be pregnant with experience to them, and no power on earth will be able to reduce them, while their population will continue to increaſe in a vaſt proportion. The writer has reiterated theſe ſentiments for ſeveral years, and through a period in which their confirmation *appeared* more than doubtful; his opinions were diſintereſted, and unmingled with any prejudice, either local, political, or pecuniary, and every event has tended to ſtrengthen them. Should it ever happen in the courſe of time, that any of the various means diſpenſed by Providence to check the exuberance of population ſhould fall on Hayti, either in the form of contagion, or by a multiplication of the various diſeaſes to which the African race are ſubject, in the degeneration of ſlavery; and that a white population ſhould by that time be formed, capable of taking advantage of ſuch a calamity; then, but not till then, ſhould the neighbouring continent of America be in a ſtate to colonize, or the policy of European governments deſire the attainment of the moſt ſplendid colony of the Antilles, an opportunity might poſſibly be afforded. Whether it would be rational on the ſcore of juſtice or humanity to do ſo, is a ſubject not to be argued at preſent. Thoſe who undertake the project, if ever it ſhould be undertaken, will be capable of defending it with plauſibility."

The Female Revolutionary Plutarch, containing Biographical, Hiſtorical, and Revolutionary Sketches, Characters, and Anecdotes. By the Author of the Revolutionary Plutarch, and Memoirs of Tallyrand. 3 vol. 12mo. Pp. 1336. Murray. 1805.

THESE volumes are dedicated to the revered memory of the perſecuted Queen of France, "whoſe murder (ſays the author) is ſtill unrevenged." Not quite ſo, for *moſt* of her aſſaſſins, like thoſe of

of our firſt Charles, have periſhed, either on the ſcaffold, by their own hands, or by other violent means. We have here the political lives, or rather, as the author terms them, Biographical Sketches of Forty Females who have borne a conſpicuous part in the dreadful Tragedy of the French Revolution. Of courſe, we have a motley exhibition of tranſcendant virtues, and of enormous vices, in the contemplation of which admiration and diſguſt are alternately excited, in the mind of the reader. To analyſe ſuch a production would not be practicable within the limits of neceſſity preſcribed to ſuch an article of criticiſm; we muſt therefore content ourſelves with an article or two, by way of ſpecimen of the author's ſtyle, in the firſt place, (which, by the bye, is very much improved), and ſecondly, that our readers may be enabled to form ſome opinion of the entertainment which they may expect from the peruſal of theſe volumes.

"Among the many Swiſs heroines, whoſe names are ſtill in the mouth of every friend of liberty and of honour in the Helvetian Alps, is that of Martha Glar, a daughter, grand-daughter, wife, ſiſter, mother and grandmother of ſhepherds; of thoſe innocent citizens, whoſe retired and obſcure lives, until they were viſited by the curſes of heaven and the offſprings of hell, French revolutioniſts, paſſed in hard labour, but in honeſt independence; in performing thoſe moral and ſocial virtues, which every where proclaim the religious faith of ſincere Chriſtians.

"In thoſe vallies, among thoſe mountains, on the banks of thoſe lakes, where generations had glided away, undiſturbed for ages, the rumour of French threats, the report of Gallic perfidy, and the relations of revolutionary ferocity, ſuddenly penetrated in the latter part of 1797, and in the beginning of 1798, not to terrify trembling cowards, but to excite enthuſiaſm among a brave and loyal people acquainted with their own worth and with the juſtice of their cauſe, and therefore thinking themſelves invincible. Alas! they were not aware that againſt daſtardly aſſaſſins and armed ſlaves, backed by artificial ſupport, by a numerous artillery, experienced in tactics and adroit in manœuvres, natural bravery and innate heroiſm often avail but little.

"Martha Glar, when in February 1798 her huſband had marched with all other farmers, peaſants, and ſhepherds, againſt an approaching enemy, convoked and collected around her all her countrywomen and girls of the ſame pariſh with her. This meeting took place in the church-yard, on the laſt Sunday of February, half an hour before divine ſervice was to be performed. She addreſſed them thus:

'Daughters of William Tell! the time is now at hand when you may prove yourſelves worthy deſcendants of that hero, of that father, of that deliverer of his country.

'At the time that our country is in peace with all nations, friends with all people, reſpecting the uſages of every body, encroaching on the claims of none, thoſe deteſtable Frenchmen, with whoſe vicinity Providence has puniſhed us for our ſins; thoſe ſcourges of mankind, have dared to threaten us with the ſame fetters which degrade themſelves, and hope to impoſe upon us the ſame ſhameful yoke, which has made them degenerate, and reduced them to a level with the moſt ferocious of beaſts of prey. Our fathers, our huſbands, our brothers, our ſons, and our friends are already advancing to

oppoſe them. Suppoſe they are defeated by ſuperior numbers; ſuppoſe the God of Victory is as blind, as unjuſt, as indifferent as Fortune, the ſole divinity of French infidels and blaſphemers: will you ſtoop to receive the conſolation from, and the embraces of their aſſaſſins? Will you ſuffer thoſe criminals to chain you to their bondage; to their enormities? Will you ſerve as miſtreſſes or as ſervants thoſe monſters who in ſuch an unprovoked barbarous manner have made you widows, orphans, and mourners? The expreſſions of your countenances beam with patriotic and becoming indignation. No, never! rather death—a thouſand deaths!

'My deareſt friends, if this is your ſincere determination, we have nothing to do but to arm and to march, and immediately to join in the ranks, combat by the ſide, or periſh in our country's cauſe by the corpſes of thoſe ſo juſtly dear to us.

'But ſome of you may perhaps think that thoſe who have butchered our relatives and friends, our defenders, our protectors, and our fellow-citizens, may perhaps have ſome regard for our ſex, and ſuffer us at leaſt to moan and to cry undiſturbed and in peace. Can any one of you be ſo blind, ſo weak, or ſo ignorant, as to believe that it is poſſible that ſlaves can confer freedom, and guilty wretches evince any juſt, generous, nay even human feelings?

'Remember! I beſeech you remember, that wherever revolutionary Frenchmen have hitherto penetrated, crime has always accompanied them, infamy and oppreſſion continued with them, and want, diſtreſs, and miſery, remained behind them.

'But ſuppoſe (what there is not the moſt diſtant probability of happening) that they ſhould behave better to us than they have done to our German and Italian neighbours; ſuppoſe that they do not pollute our temples, plunder our property, violate our ſiſters, ſeduce the chaſtity of our daughters, and pervert the morality of our ſons; ſuppoſe they do not make us abandoned and profligate as well as ruined and wretched; are we, we who are the deſcendants of freemen, to live and to ſee our country enchained and our poſterity enſlaved? are we to expoſe ourſelves to be hunted by the bayonets of the invaders from the reeking rubbiſh of our dwellings, from the tombs of our foreſathers, from the altars of our God, to the bed of the regicide who oppreſſes us, or of the plunderer who ruins us? are we to ſerve like beaſts of burden to the projects of univerſal overthrow of theſe great and ambitious criminals? or are we to decorate as trophies the triumphal chariot or entry of a vile and corrupted tyrant? I think that I feel the bones of our anceſtors rattling with horror under me in their graves of this ſacred place! I imagine I hear them call to us loudly from their bleſſed abodes; 'Daughters of freemen! die, or bequeath to your children the happineſs and liberty you inherited from your fathers.' Yes! yes! I believe I ſee the heavenly ſpirit of William Tell deſcend and inſpire us to perform valiantly what we owe to our country, to our families, to our cauſe, and to ourſelves.' ('Let us arm, and let us march!' reſounded from all parts.) 'I rejoice,' continued Martha Glar, 'in obſerving and hearing your noble determination and your liberal ſentiments. Ages to come will record a patriotiſm on which I moſt ſincerely compliment you. I cannot, however, preſent you either with embroidered ſtandards, with decorated helmets, or with glittering arms; but in the day of battle do not loſe ſight of Martha Glar, her daughters, and her grand-daughters; they will always be found in the way of honour and glory; let them ſerve you for a rallying point. Should victory not crown our efforts, we ſolemnly ſwear not to ſurvive our defeat;

and

and this my addreſs to you, deareſt countrywomen, will then be our laſt and eternal adieu, in the firm conviction that we ſhall one day meet again to ſeparate no more. The patriot's place in heaven is next to that of the ſaint, and the Creator of the univerſe ſmiles equally on both.

'But no! let us lay aſide all gloomy ideas, all doleful preſentiments! let us have more confidence in an all-governing Providence. Let us now follow our worthy paſtor, whom I ſee advancing towards our church, and with him implore the bleſſing of the Almighty on our undertakings, on our patriotic oath, TO CONQUER OR TO DIE, TO LIVE OR TO PERISH WITH THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF OUR DEAR COUNTRY.'

"Martha Glar, after achieving prodigies of valour at the battle of Frauenbrun, on the 3d of March 1798, was, at the age of 64, ſlain, together with two daughters and three grand-daughters, of whom the youngeſt was ſcarcely ten years old, by the ſide of her father, huſband, brother, and two ſons, who were all likewiſe killed. Of the two hundred and ſixty women whom her patriotiſm had rouſed, one hundred and eighty periſhed, and the remainder were carried wounded or mutilated from the field of battle. Their French murderers being ſtill the tyrants of their country, no marble is yet conſecrated to their memory, to record ſo much heroiſm; but when the day of deliverance comes, in every church-yard in Helvetia a monument will be erected to thoſe whoſe fate every patriotic and tender mind deplores. Thus the French *friends* of liberty aſſaſſinated liberty in her native ſoil; and puniſhed the mountains of Helvetia, as they intend to do the plains, dales, and hills, of Great Britain, for having given her birth *."

The next extract we ſhall make contains an intereſting and pathetic account of an unfortunate lunatic who fancied herſelf the Queen of France.

"In the forenoon of the 2d of November 1794, a young and beautiful female about eighteen, dreſſed in the deepeſt mourning, attracted a crowd around her on the Pont-neuf by her lamentations, and by her tears. By feeling expreſſions, and pathetic though incoherent language and manners, ſhe called for the pity, and demanded the ſupport, of every paſſenger. She ſaid that ſhe was their queen, whom regicides had beheaded, but whom Providence on that day, her former birth-day, had reſtored to life. She diſplayed before the people ſome deep ſcars round her neck, the marks of the guillotine, which ſhe ſaid would never be healed before the Dauphin her ſon aſcended the throne of his anceſtors. Her good huſband, their king, Louis XVI. ſhe informed them, would never more appear upon earth, being ſeated in heaven on the right hand of his Saviour by the ſide of St. Louis, where he prays to convert and forgive his aſſaſſins. She declared that ſhe every night viſited her children in the Temple; but that ſhe was ordered from above to ſhew herſelf during the day, a living example of divine goodneſs, to warn Frenchmen of eternal perdition.

"She interrupted her ſpeech every moment with prayers for the living and for the dead, for friends and for foes. She always ended her devotion with imploring Divine Providence for the repoſe of the ſoul of Louis XVI.

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* "Beſides the authorities already quoted, Diſſolution of the Swiſs Confederacy, by Planta; the very well-written Caſſandre, by the loyal General Danican; and Europaiſche Annalen for 1798; have been conſulted in this ſketch."

and for the preſervation of her ſon and daughter. When aſked by brutal intruders whether ſhe had heard any thing of Robeſpierre in the other world, ſhe turned pale, and almoſt fell into fits; but her tears relieved her, and ſhe anſwered ſtammering: 'Yes; yes! ah, how the monſter ſuffers! the devils day and night moving his entrails with a red hot poker, burning but never conſuming them.'

"The number of perſons collected round her, or rather the compaſſion ſhe ſeemed to excite, cauſed the police-agent to deſire her to walk with him, as he wiſhed to ſpeak with her; but the mob interfered, ſaying it was a cruelty to arreſt an innocent and harmleſs woman, whoſe inſanity itſelf was tenderneſs and charity, and no doubt the effect of ſome ſevere afflictions: he was therefore for that time obliged to relinquiſh his prey. She had indeed, between praying and ſpeaking, diſtributed among thoſe near her whoſe external appearance beſpoke want, both what money ſhe had and a great part of her clothes, and almoſt every thing but her mourning gown. She refuſed however to part with a medallion having a portrait of Louis XVI. on one ſide, and thoſe of his two children the Princeſs Royal and the Dauphin on the other."

This unhappy creature was ſoon ſeized by the police-officers and conveyed to a public receptacle for lunatics, where ſhe ſtill ſupported the royal character which ſhe had aſſumed, held her levies, had her court days, and exhibited all the imaginary pomp of frenzied royalty. She died in this place, on the 20th of July, 1799, and, notwithſtanding all the vigilant reſearches of a revolutionary police, no diſcovery could be made of her name, or birth. Probably, ſhe was ſome unhappy lady, the murder of whoſe family, and the plunder of whoſe property, had driven her to madneſs.

Madame Roland's Life is interſperſed with a variety of pertinent obſervations, tending to expoſe the pſeudo-patriotiſm and falſe philoſphy of that revolutionary heroine. Beſides theſe biographical ſketches, there are various other papers introduced, filled with revolutionary anecdotes, ſome of which make us ſhudder with horror. As this work is well calculated to pleaſe that numerous claſs of readers who have read with ſatisfaction the former productions of the ſame author, (which have run through ſeveral editions) there can be no doubt but that it will meet with equal ſucceſs.

It is neceſſary to obſerve that the author almoſt always refers to the authorities where he has derived his information, ſo that thoſe who doubt his veracity may have their doubts diſpelled by a reference to the original documents.

MISCELLANIES.

Obſervations on the Cultivation of Waſte Lands. Addreſſed to the Gentlemen and Farmers of Glamorganſhire. By James Capper, formerly Colonel and Comptroller-General of the Army and Fortification Accompts on the Coaſt of Coromandel. Pp. 61. 8vo. Egerton. 1805.

COLONEL CAPPER, after retiring to Wales, now preſents the public with a brief extract from his Farming Journal, during four years, accompanied with obſervations, and detailing the ſucceſs of his plan of cultivating

tivating "a part of the new encloſure on Cardiff Great Heath, Glamorganſhire." The author's experience induces him to ſpeak very decidedly in favour of paring and burning, as the beſt means of improving waſte lands. A field of ten acres coſt for paring, burning, ploughing, ſowing, &c. 68l. 2s. 6d. and yielded eight buſhels per acre, at 30s. per buſhel, which gave a clear profit of 51l. 17s. 6d. The beſt courſe of crops, ſhould the firſt ſucceed, he conſiders to be wheat, then turnips, followed by barley or oats, and ray graſs and clover. It is alſo ſtated, that capital thus employed will give a return of 30 per cent. but that the cultivator who would occupy an encloſure of an 100 acres ſhould poſſeſs at leaſt 1000l. capital, and the gentleman who would convert 1000 acres of waſte lands into a demeſne, ſhould reſerve 20,000l. to inſure the moſt complete ſucceſs. It is unneceſſary to obſerve that the Colonel is a temperate friend to general encloſure. In his preface, he ſuggeſts the propriety of eſtabliſhing a "ſchool of induſtry for the children of the labouring poor of the county," that we think merits the attention of the officers for the poor in every county in England. The pamphlet abounds with thoſe proofs of juſt obſervation and good ſenſe that are the fruit of experience. The author's remarks on labourers are as profound as they are humane, and cannot fail being eminently uſeful to farmers and their ſervants.

Reply to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, containing Remarks on his Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, and a farther Account of the Diſcovery of the Power of Mineral Acids in a State of Gas to deſtroy Contagion. By John Johnſtone, M. D. Pp. 279. 8vo. 5s. Mawman. 1805.

IRA multa facere cogit mala: Mercy on poor Dr. Smyth; Chaptals, Guytons, and Johnſtones, French and Engliſh, attack him with pitileſs fury. A volume of Doctors, A. B. C. &c. Johnſtones, dead, living, and yet unborn, are here invoked to reclaim and participate, to the lateſt poſterity, in the honour of "*inventing*" fumigation with muriatic acid. Monuments, temples, mauſoleums, *were to have been* erected to the immortal memory of a Dr. James Johnſtone of Kidderminſter, had not the parſimonious ſpirit of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons refuſed, moſt ungenerouſly indeed, to beſtow the public money on this "benefactor of the human race." Unfortunately theſe pompous claims to public remuneration are, we are told, "now abandoned with *regret* indeed, but *without anger*." This, too, is an aſſertion without proof: if true, why charge the public with a five ſhilling volume only to repeat a family claim, the ſum of which was previouſly conceded, and to abuſe a brother phyſician, who has fortunately diſcovered *another* and more uſeful means of deſtroying contagion? In truth, our would-be Greek-mouthed author, who, as he exhauſts his ſtock of Greek quotations, proceeds to Latin, and in the progreſs of his work at length deſcends to the plain Engliſh monoſyllable "then," dreſſed indeed with all the archneſs of italics and ſmall capitals; ſhould have remembered in citing numerous Doctors, fathers, brothers, &c. that Πολλῶν ἰατρῶν ἐισοδὸς μ' ἀπώλεσεν. The appeal to Dr. Gregory for the production of his brother Edward's academical exerciſe under the *late* Dr. Hope, is an unfortunate ſpecimen of the conſultation of Doctors. This important document, this *ſuppoſed theſis*, that was to have proved and eſtabliſhed all the lofty honours of the family, the uſe of the mineral acid in 1779, is now, we learn from Dr. Gregory, *loſt!!* a proof of the curioſity it muſt have excited, and the

mportance

importance in which it was held at that period. Notwithſtanding this, our author, with his uſual modeſty indeed, aſks Dr. Smyth to "give Dr. Edward credit for memory enough,"—for what? for all the experiments and diſcoveries he chooſes to *ſay* that he made above twenty-ſix years ago! We ſhall not inſult the good ſenſe of our readers with any analyſis or farther obſervations on this farrago: nor are we certain that it is worthy of an anſwer from Dr. Smyth, who has nobly conceded to his father all that he can juſtly require, namely, the merit of having applied the marine acid in 1756, long prior to the attempt of Guyton; but that ſuch application cannot in the leaſt detract from the diſcovery of nitrous acid fumigation, every one muſt admit. Yet our doughty champion of the Johnſtones is pleaſed to call Dr. Smyth an "impoſter," and a "plagiariſt" of Guyton! This learned Doctor is candid enough indeed to confeſs his diſgraceful ignorance of chemiſtry,* and does not heſitate to declare, ſpeaking on a chemical ſubject, that he prefers the obſervation of an old woman, (as ſuch perhaps highly reſpectable) to "the opinion of all the chemiſts in Europe!!" In a few lines more he inſinuates that he "*had*" ſome reſpect for "a Parliamentary Committee," but it is doubtful with him whether he now has. He alſo hints that his family would accept of no patronage from government, except that which tended to declare the father "an inventor:" but we truſt, for the common intereſt of our country, that the patronage of government, that is the nomination of public officers, will always be directed to more able hands. If Dr Johnſtone's practice was ſucceſsful at Worceſter, he was of courſe rewarded by the "approbation of his employers," as his ſon elegantly denominates his father's patients: not ſo an active ſervant of the public under government; his ſucceſſes left him only the applauſe of talents and virtue, thoſe of Dr. J. the guineas of "his employers." Our Grecian Doctor informs us in his preface, that he has "*worked the ſubject agoniſtically*:" we believe it; as not a page occurs without groſs errors, inelegant language, weak or falſe arguments, and vapid expreſſions. If it be true that controverſy is the touchſtone of genius, "then," we have here only "baſe metal." Let Dr. John Johnſtone remember, if he underſtands Greek, Σοφὸς γὰρ εἶδεῖς ὃς τὰ πάντα ψευσιόπλω—he cannot be learned who errs in every thing.

The Revolutionary Plutarch, exhibiting the moſt diſtinguiſhed Characters, Literary, Military, and Political, in the recent Annals of the French Republic. The greater part from the original Information of a Gentleman reſident at Paris. Fourth Edition. 3 vols. 12mo. 18s. Murray. 1805.

THE ſucceſs of this work has fully juſtified our predictions reſpecting the rapidity of its circulation; and we truſt that our hopes alſo reſpecting the impreſſion which it was calculated to make have been fulfilled. The

* After aſſerting "that muriatic acid gas is at leaſt as uſeable as nitric," in fumigation, he adds, "as to the quantity of muriatic acid gas which can be borne without inconvenience in a given ſpace, I find that in an apartment containing 360 cubic feet, reſpiration is not diſturbed by the gas extricated from one ounce of ſalt by one ounce of ſulphuric acid." This is the whole of our author's original chemical experiments detailed in this octavo volume!

preſent

preſent edition contains a new life—that of the Dutch patriot, Schimmelpenninck, which ſerves to complete the Revolutionary groupe. The author, however, leaves us to gueſs his profeſſion previous to the commencement of his revolutionary career. He was an attorney, of better talents than character. It is needleſs to add, that he is the ſervile tool of the Corſican uſurper.

Eſſay on Quackery and the dreadful Conſequences ariſing from taking adverti ſed Medicines, &c. &c. 8vo. Pp. 140. T. Clayton, Kingſton upon Hull; J. Cundee, London. 1805.

WE do not give the whole of the title-page, which is as verboſe as any Quack Doctor's Bill. As to the work itſelf, the object which the author profeſſes to have in view is highly commendable, and we wiſh that we could beſtow commendation on the execution. It is made up of ſcraps in proſe and verſe, collected from every quarter, and put together without attention to arrangement. But, had its merit been much higher than it is, had it attacked Quackery much more powerfully than it does, we are afraid that the evil is too deeply rooted in human nature to be extirpated. To obtain health, to preſerve life we have ſeen, we ſee every day, and are afraid ever ſhall ſee man believing in knavery and folly, and having recourſe to impoſſibility. Some legal arrangements might palliate the evil, but a radical cure is not to be expected. The crouds who are attracted by the following advertiſement, and hundreds of a ſimilar kind, and the ſums which are pocketed by the advertiſers, are a melancholy confirmation of this truth.

"The Solar Tincture combines the eſſential and occult virtues of all ſcorbutic vegetables, ready digeſted, concocted, purified, and reſolved into an elegant balſamic eſſence, pleaſing to the taſte, and grateful to the ſtomach. It flies immediately to the *heart*, whether internally or externally applied, blends and aſſimilates with the venal and arterial blood, which it generates, corrects, warms, purifies, animates, and impels through the whole ſyſtem. It cleanſes all the viſcera and glandular parts, particularly the lungs and kidneys; ſtimulates the fibres, whereby the gaſtric juice and digeſtion are promoted; diſſolves viſcid humours and expels infection. It exerts very conſiderable effects on the whole nervous ſyſtem, ſenſibly raiſes the pulſe, ſtrengthens the ſolids, and invigorates the animal ſpirits. It penetrates the mouths of the minuter veſſels, reſtores the natural perſpiration, and promotes all the fluid ſecretions; and is, in ſhort, *more* than a match for diſeaſe and DEATH!!!"

We are ſorry for the ſituation of the author, who ſays, "that his ſuffering under accumulated calamities did not permit him to pay that attention to the work which it required:" but had he not better have deferred his literary labours till his mind was more at eaſe; eſpecially as he is "engaged in a laborious profeſſion, on which his family is dependent for ſupport," for we are afraid that he will find the profeſſion of an author by no means a profitable one.

DIVINITY.

DIVINITY.

The limit to our Inquiries, with respect to the Nature and Attributes of the Deity. A Sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge, on Commencement Sunday, July 1, 1804. By George Law, D. D. Prebendary of Carliſle. 4to. Pp. 38. Faulder and Rivingtons, London; Deighton, Cambridge.

THIS diſcourſe, upon an important and delicate ſubject, is truly worthy of the very learned body before which it was delivered. It diſplays great depth of thought, cloſeneſs of reaſoning, and philoſophical accuracy. The limits of human knowledge are very correctly defined, and the boundaries of reaſon and of faith diſtinctly marked. To thoſe, among whom nearly the whole claſs of Socinians and Unitarians muſt be ranked, who, puffed with vanity, and proud of the vaſt exertions of the human mind, in purſuits adapted to its nature, make their own limited and finite comprehenſion the criterion and the ſtandard of their faith: To men of this deſcription, the leſſon conveyed in Dr. Law's moſt excellent ſermon, will impart moſt valuable and neceſſary inſtruction. "There are inquiries," ſays this eloquent divine, "which lie beyond the utmoſt ſtretch of our comprehenſion; and much perplexity and infidelity have been occaſioned, by a too curious inveſtigation of ſubjects which human reaſon in vain attempts to explore. Of this nature are many of the ſpeculations, which relate to the eſſence and attributes of the Deity. In theſe purſuits the limit of human knowledge is ſoon attained. When we would urge our reſearches farther, doubts and darkneſs intercept our view; nor can any efforts of genius and learning advance a ſingle ſtep beyond the revealed word of God." It is the proper province, then, of human reaſon, in matters of religion, to aſcertain what really is the word of God; and having once aſcertained *that*, there the taſk of *reaſon* is finiſhed, and the work of *faith* begins. But the pride of human reaſon makes it labour to extend its reſearches beyond the ſphere within which alone it is deſtined, by God, to act; and finding itſelf baffled in its efforts, from its comparatively narrow and circumſcribed powers, it becomes petulant, fretful, and rebellious, and unwilling to acknowledge its own inſufficiency, ſinks into infidelity, by refuſing its aſſent to every thing which it cannot comprehend. Yet, ſtill afraid to purſue its principle to its natural conſequences, it is betrayed into the moſt glaring inconſiſtency, by acknowledging the exiſtence of things both divine and human, which are equally incomprehenſible by the underſtanding of men, with thoſe proper objects of faith which it ſo obſtinately and impiouſly rejects. Dr. L. illuſtrates his general obſervation by three important examples. 1. The influence and operation of the Holy Spirit. 2. The compatability of man's liberty or free-will with the preſcience of God. 3. The doctrine of the Trinity. On all theſe ſubjects the preacher ſhews that the vain efforts to extend human reaſon beyond its allotted powers have given birth to much ſchiſm and infidelity. In his reflections on the firſt of them, he juſtly remarks, that no paſſages of Scripture, "when fairly interpreted, give any countenance to the opinion of thoſe, who pretend to a ſenſible experience of the ſpirit—an irreſiſtible impulſe—an immediate converſion: and who affect to point out the exact line of partition, between human efforts and divine illumination. Theſe doctrines are in the higheſt degree deceitful and dangerous. Reformation is the work of time, and not inſtantaneous; nor

nor can the true Chriſtian, who knows that he is at beſt but an unprofitable ſervant, ever preſume to be confident, either of his future perſeverance, or final ſalvation. To prove the falſity, or at leaſt the uncertainty of theſe pretenſions, we need only appeal to the more ſober experience of many careful and conſcientious obſervers of what paſſes in their own minds. Theſe will acknowledge, that they have never been able to aſcertain, either the time, or the meaſure, or the mode of the operation of the ſpirit. Never then let it be ſuppoſed, that the knowledge of this præternatural inſpiration can be denied to the good and wiſe, but beſtowed, as, if we give credit to every pretenſion, might ſeem to be the caſe, upon the worſt and weakeſt of the ſons of men."

In purſuing his reflections on the ſecond of the above ſubjects, Dr. Law adverts to the inconſiſtency, which we before noticed, and thoſe who refuſe their aſſent to ſome things, becauſe they are incomprehenſible, and give it to others though equally incomprehenſible.

"That a Being of infinite power ſhould have exiſted from all eternity, is a propoſition which we ſee not only reaſon to believe, but an abſolute neceſſity for admitting, but which, nevertheleſs, we are totally unable to comprehend. Even the very terms by which theſe qualities are expreſſed, we can neither clearly conceive nor define. Infinity and eternity are ideas which elude our graſp, though we are not the leſs convinced that there muſt be a Being infinite and eternal. Theſe ſubjects, however, while they ſhew us the bounds which are ſet to the human underſtanding as at preſent conſtituted—the point at which our knowledge breaks off, at the ſame time elevate our views to a nobler ſtate of exiſtence, and form a principle of connection between man, and a ſuperior order of beings.

"But it is not in theſe ſpeculations alone that our knowledge is circumſcribed. All nature is full of myſteries. The moſt common incidents we only ceaſe to wonder at, becauſe frequency has rendered them familiar. The germination of ſeeds, the growth of plants, the generation of animals; theſe, and an infinite variety of ſimilar productions we can no otherwiſe explain, than by pointing out the fact. In ſhort, all our knowledge is acquired by experience. We ſhould judge, therefore, with proportionable reſerve of thoſe ſubjects, in which our experience is only indirect; and amongſt thoſe of the attributes of the Deity, known to us, ſo far as they are known, only in their effects. Knowledge ſo acquired cannot but be a partial knowledge, foraſmuch as a part only of theſe effects is ſubmitted to our obſervation.

"In ſome ſuppoſed incompatibility, however, between the liberty of man, and the foreknowledge of God, the foundation Calviniſm has been laid. According to which ſyſtem every thing is pre-ordained, and we are mere machines or inſtruments paſſive under the hand of God. The conſequences are, that Chriſt did not die for all, that he was not, as the Scriptures aſſure us he was, a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world. It follows alſo, that man is created to be neceſſarily wicked and miſerable, without any fault of his own; a doctrine which annihilates the diſtinction of blame or deſert, and with them, thoſe ſtrong arguments which natural religion ſuggeſts, in proof of a future ſtate of remuneration. If things be ſo, what muſt we think but that the God of all mercy is unmerciful, the God of all juſtice, unjuſt?"

A Sermon

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Wormley, Herts, on Sunday the 10th of July, 1803. By the Rev. Thomas M'Culloch, Rector; which being peculiarly appropriate to the preſent Criſis, is publiſhed at the requeſt of his Audience. 8vo. Pp. 20. 1s. Hatchard.

WITH all due deference to the worthy pariſhioners of Wormley, we confeſs it appears to us that the ſermon before us is no more appropriate to the preſent Criſis, than to any other period, paſt or preſent. The apoſtolic exhortation to "Be of one mind," is equally applicable to Chriſtians in all times. In fact, this diſcourſe is both declamatory and obſcure; nor is it more conſpicuous for grammatical accuracy than for clearneſs of conception, or perſpicuity of arrangement. Two or three inſtances will ſuffice to juſtify this apparently ſevere ſentence.—"All theſe operations *worketh* [works] one of the ſame ſpirit," p. 7.—"Vanity or intereſt engage [engages] mankind," p. 8. In p. 11, we are told, "The eyes of a Chriſtian are fixed on no banner but the banner of the Croſs, till, by inceſſantly contemplating his Saviour's virtues, he is inclined to holineſs by *that natural propenſity* [which] *he poſſeſſes to imitation.*" Indeed! has the Chriſtian no higher motive to obey the precepts of his divine Redeemer? Does not this ſtrange imputation of his obedience to the *propenſity of imitation* reduce him to a level with the ape? We have not ſo read the Scriptures!—In the following page we are aſſured, that Chriſt "laid down his life for his *friends.*" Are *ſinners*, then the *friends* of Chriſt?

Mr. M'Culloch ſays that religious behaviour is the *ſource* of every moral virtue. But hereby the *exercise* of every moral virtue muſt be included in truly religious behaviour? One other proof of inaccuracy, and we have done. "We cannot, therefore, but *deprecate* with every prayer, with every amendment, with every nerve, *againſt* the progreſs of ſuch encroachment." P. 15.

The laſt paragraph is, beyond all compariſon, the beſt in the ſermon, both as to ſtyle and ſubſtance.

Britain's Duty in the Proſpect of a French Invaſion. A Sermon, preached Auguſt 11. 1803; *in the Pariſh Church of St. Mary-Le-Port, Briſtol, at the opening of a weekly Evening Lecture, on the Perils and Duties of the preſent times. Publiſhed by requeſt.* By the Rev. Richard Hart, A.M. Vicar of St. George's, Glouceſterſhire. 8vo. Pp. 24, 1s. Bulgen, Briſtol; Rivington's, London.

MR. Hart here expatiates, in emphatic terms, on the dangerous conſequences of ſin, and on the magnitude of the puniſhments which are denounced againſt thoſe impious and obdurate ſinners who "deſpiſe both the myſteries and the precepts of Revelation." The ſermon is written, at once with ſimplicity, and with energy.

A Sermon preached for the Benefit of the Charity School, at the Pariſh Church of Crediton, January 8; *and at the Chapel of Okehampton, June* 1, 1792. By the Rev. Rees Price, Vicar of Lamerton. 8vo. Pp. 16. Trewman, Exeter, 1803.

THIS is one of the ableſt Charity Sermons which we recollect to have read, as well in matter as in manner. The preacher takes an enlarged and liberal

liberal view of the effect of knowledge on the human mind, in order to enforce the neceſſity of inſtructing the poor. His arguments, on the ſubject, are preſſed with equal ingenuity and thought; and his reaſoning is alike creditable to him as a ſcholar and a Chriſtian. In his notes, he quotes Dr. Currie's Life of Burns, to ſhew the good conſequences which have reſulted in Scotland from the legiſlative eſtabliſhment of parochial ſchools. And, indeed, it is much to be wiſhed, that the legiſlature would pay more attention to ſimilar eſtabliſhments in this country; for it is high time that ſomething ſhould be done, when we ſee a moſt dangerous ſcholaſtic eſtabliſhment, ſuddenly, as it were, ariſing, in the vicinity of the metropolis, and threatening to ſpread its baleful effects over the whole land. Strange to ſay, the inſtitution to which we allude, though formed on a revolutionary plan, the dangers of which muſt be obvious, we ſhould think, to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, and *to the absolute exclusion of all religion whatever*, has been patronized, not only by people of the firſt diſtinction, but by ROYALTY itſelf, and even by BISHOPS!!!—This ſubject, however, is of too much importance to be *incidentally* diſcuſſed. We propoſe to conſider it in our next number, more at large; to probe it to the very bottom, and not to quit it, until we have fully and completely ſtripped the hideous monſter of its maſk, and laid it, in all its naked deformity, before the public eye.

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Gillingham, on Wednesday, October 19, 1803. *Being the Day appointed for a General Fast and Humiliation.* By William Chaſy, M.A. Chaplain to Lord Henniker, &c. 8vo. Pp. 30, 1s. 6d. Rivingtons.

THE multiplicity of ſingle ſermons which have been printed within the laſt three years, have unavoidably obliged us to delay our review of many of them; and thoſe by no means leſs able or meritorious than others which had the precedence. We ſhall ſtrive, however, to pay this debt to our readers with all practicable expedition.

Mr. Chaſy's Sermon, from the 5th v. of the 2d c. of Joel, contains much ſound doctrine, and many reaſonable admonitions, conveyed in good language, and in an eaſy and correct ſtyle. In adverting to the cauſe of our calamities, our national ſins, he emphatically calls on his hearers, to contemplate the ſurrounding ſcene.

"Look around you (would that I had not reaſon to make the remark) and you will ſee *vice ſtalking abroad, with ſhameleſs impudence at noon-day, uſurping the ſeat of virtue, encouraged in converſation, and countenanced in example.*"

Yes, they will ſee the moſt ſhameleſs adultreſs that the world ever produced, without the plea (ſuch as it is) of either youth or poverty, to palliate her ſin, inceſſantly braving public decency, in the moſt outrageous manner, and receiving, ſtrange to ſay, the homage, the baſe, the ſervile homage, of the *proudeſt* ſubjects, male & *female*, of our virtuous ſovereign: They will ſee, alſo, the ſpurious offſpring of elevated rank, careſſed, courted, obtruded upon public notice, introduced in the higheſt circles, and placed on a perfect level (in contempt alike of law, morals, and decency) with the legitimate progeny of chaſte, connubial love. They will ſee—but this ſubject would carry us far beyond our preſcribed bounds. Dropping, therefore, the delineation of this hideous picture, we return to our preacher, and purſue our quotation.

"You will ſee atheiſm and infidelity ſcoffing at religion, and rearing their creſts

crefts on the ſhrine of modern PHILOSOPHY, falſely ſo called. You will ſee the churches of God forſaken, his miniſters deſpiſed, his ſacraments rejected, his ordinances trampled under foot."

Unhappily there is but too much truth in this deſcription, and unleſs, repentance and reformation ſpeedily take place; there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing that this nation will not incur the vengeance of an offended God.

In a note to p. 25, of this Sermon, there is a well-written, and well-merited tribute to the talents and public virtues of Mr. Pitt.

EDUCATION.

Etymological Exercises on the Latin Grammar. In two parts. By the Rev. William Johns. 24mo. Pp. 50. Aſton, Mancheſter; Longman and Co. London. 1805.

PRACTICE is ſo much better than theory, that we are more inclined to take Mr. John's word, for the efficacy of his mode of expediting and facilitating the Knowledge of the Latin Language, (that is by theſe Etymological Exerciſes) founded on experience, than to truſt to our own judgment, from the mere peruſal of his book. But it is proper at the ſame time, to add, that the Exerciſes appear to us extremely well calculated to anſwer that purpoſe.

Exempla Erasmaniana or English Examples (for the Use of Beginners) to be turned into Latin according to the order of the rules in Erasmus's 'Compendium of the Latin Syntax' to which are added a few English Idiomatical expreſſions. By B. D. Free, A. M. 12mo. Pp. 188. Robinſon. 1805.

THESE examples have an advantage over the well-known Compendium of Eraſmus, inaſmuch as the rules are here inſcribed at length, and accompanied with an explanation. The rules alſo are intended to be committed to memory, ſo as to ſerve as a Syntax alſo. This is certainly an uſeful plan; and we also approve much of Mr. Free's caution in ſo arranging his examples as to oblige the ſcholar to have more frequent recourſe to his Dictionary (and conſequently to have greater neceſſity for mental exertion) than he is under the neceſſity of doing when employed in other exerciſes of a ſimilar nature.

Fables Ancient and Modern, adapted to the Use of Children from Three to Eight years of Age. By Edward Baldwin, Eſq. adorned with Seventy-three Copper-plates. 2. Vols. 12mo. Pp. 426. 8s. Hodgſons, at the Juvenile Libray, Hanway-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet.

THESE fables are unqueſtionedly written on a much better plan for making an impreſſion on, and for conveying uſeful inſtruction to the minds of thoſe infants for whoſe uſe they are deſigned, than any other fables which have fallen under our cognizance. The dry conciſeneſs, and abrupt terminations of other fables are judiciouſly avoided in theſe, which are told in a manner particularly well calculated to intereſt the feelings, and to amuſe the fancy, while they inform the mind of the child. But as an example is better than a thouſand obſervations, we ſhall extract the common fable of the Dog in the Manger, that our readers may be able to compare it with the ſame fable

fable as uſually told, and from ſuch compariſon deduce the advantages of this new mode of narration.

" A naughty dog once went into a ſtable, and having looked about him, jumped into the manger, thinking that was a nice ſnug place for him to lie down and ſleep in. Preſently a little boy came into the ſtable, leading his papa's horſe, that had been ploughing a whole field, and was very tired and very hungry. Come out, poor fellow! ſaid the little boy to the dog, papa's horſe wants to eat ſome hay; but the naughty dog never ſtirred a bit; he only made up an ugly face, and ſnarled very much. The little boy went cloſe up to him, and endeavoured to take him out; but then the naughty dog barked and growled, and even tried to bite the little boy. The little boy was not big enough to manage ſuch an ill-natured cur; ſo he turned in the horſe and ſtood by to ſee what would happen. The horſe looked very hungry, and very tired, and put up his head to the rack to get a mouthful of hay; but the naughty dog ſnapped at the poor horſe's mouth. The horſe was very ſorry, and would have ſaid, Pray dog let me eat! if he had been able, but the naughty dog did not care. You ſilly dog, ſaid the little boy, hay is of no uſe to you, dogs do not eat hay, though horſes do; and if you ſtay there, you'll ſoon be as hungry as papa's horſe. So the dog ſtaid a long while, and by and by he grew hungry, and came to the little boy and begged for meat. Silly dog, ſays the little boy, if I were as naughty as you, I ſhould give you nothing to eat, as you prevented papa's horſe from eating. There is a plate of meat for you, and remember another time, that only naughty dogs, and naughty boys and girls, keep away from others what they cannot uſe themſelves."

Select Paſſages from various Authors, deſigned to form the minds and manners of Young Perſons; and at the ſame time to afford an agreeable Miſcellany for thoſe of riper Years. By the Author of the Hiſtory of Inſects, &c.

NUMEROUS as the books of this deſcription already are, ſtill it is no difficult matter for a perſon who reads much, and with judgment, to make ſuch a ſelection of paſſages, on different ſubjects of importance, as will be an acceptable preſent to youthful readers, and, indeed, to another claſs, who, though arrived at years of maturity, have infantine minds, and are at once too lazy and too ignorant to ſelect *Beauties* for themſelves. The preſent ſelection is certainly made with judgment, and with a ſtrict attention to the religious and moral principles of the young reader.

A Manual of Religious Knowledge, for the Uſe of Sunday Schools, and of the Poor in General. By the Rev. J. Grant. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. 18mo. Pp. 88. Haddock, Warrington; Hatchard, London; Jones, Liverpool.

A familiar Abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, with a Catechiſm belonging to it: to which are added, Queſtions referring to the Hiſtory, Doctrines, and Precepts of the New Teſtament: for the Uſe of Charity and Sunday Schools, and of the Poor in general. By the Rev. J. Grant, Curate of Warrington. 18mo. Pp. 72.

THESE two tracts, which are bound together, contain much good and proper inſtructions for the frequenters of Sunday Schools. Indeed, if all the children who attend ſuch ſchools, are made converſant with the con-

tents of this book, they cannot fail to become good Chriſtians, and conſequently excellent men. The firſt tract contains the elements of Chriſtian Knowledge; and all the eſſential parts of a Chriſtian's duty; and the ſecond is a conciſe, plain, and judicious abridgement of the Bible.

NOVELS.

The Duelliſts; or Men of Honour: a Story, calculated to ſhew the Folly, Extravagance, and Sin of Duelling. By William Lucas. 1 vol. 12mo. Pp. 182. 3s. 6d. Cundee. 1805.

IN our number for September we noticed this excellent little volume: but by one of thoſe accidents which unavoidably occur in printing periodical publications, the *firſt ſentence* only of our account was inſerted; and as this ſentence implies more cenſure than praiſe, we, in juſtice to the author, reprint the article as it was originally written.

Any attempt to place the principles of human actions, whether good or bad, in a juſt light, muſt meet with the applauſe of all who wiſh to promote the welfare of mankind. The practice of duelling, which is nothing leſs than premeditated murder, has of late increaſed in an alarming degree: the peace and happineſs of families are daily deſtroyed by the influence of modern ſophiſtry, and the depravity of modern manners, while the admirable prin iples of the Chriſtian religion, which inculcate the forgiveneſs of injuries, are totally diſregarded, and men of every rank in life, ſeek the revenge of blood for the moſt contemptible of trifles.

It is remarkable that though many of the moſt able writers which England ever produced have exerted their talents to check the practice of duelling, yet their abilities have been diſplayed in vain; it is not, therefore, likely that a *fiction* will produce an effect for which innumerable moral eſſays, ſermons, &c. have been brought forward in vain. But the author of the abovementioned tale deſerves every praiſe for his laudable attempt, which, though it cannot be expected to prevent the vice, may tend to check the propenſity for committing it. The ſtory is intereſting, and abounds with pointed references to ſcripture.

THE DRAMA.

A Prior Claim: a Comedy, in Five Acts. By Henry James Pye, and Samuel James Arnold. 8vo. Pp. 68. 2s. 6d. Ridgway, 1803.

THE wild extravagance of which moſt dramatic productions have been characterized, for ſeveral years, has gradually tended to corrupt the public taſte, and to throw increaſed difficulty in the way of thoſe authors who wiſh to found their productions on ſuch rules as have long been conſidered as the eſſential conſtituents of legitimate comedy. A compoſition founded on thoſe rules is likely at preſent to appear tame and lifeleſs, in compariſon with the *daſhing ſpirit*, as it is termed, of moſt comedies of theſe times. The work before us is, however, governed by the principles which have received the ſanction of example among our moſt approved writers. The ſtory is intereſting, and it is well conducted. It has, in fact, a proper beginning,

beginning, middle, and termination. *The Prior Claim* reſts upon a promiſe which Sir William Freeman had given to Colonel Raymond of his daughter Maria's hand, as ſoon as the Colonel returned to this country from his ſervice in India. During the Colonel's abſence, Maria, who was very young when Raymond left England, and who had only thought of him in compliance with her father's wiſhes, had conceived an attachment to Henry Mortimer, another Britiſh officer. As Colonel Raymond was ſtated to have fallen in the action at Seringapatam, Sir William Freeman of courſe conſiders himſelf as entitled to beſtow his daughter's hand wherever her heart may direct. The play opens with the approaching nuptials of Henry Mortimer and Miſs Freeman. It appears that the account of Raymond's death was erroneous. He ſoon makes his appearance, and demands the fulfilment of Sir William Freeman's promiſe. This impediment to the marriage may be conſidered as a legitimate middle to the fable. At length Raymond reflects upon the impropriety of marrying a woman whoſe affections are engaged to another, and generouſly reſolves to forego his *prior claim*, that the lovers may be happy. The piece of courſe ends with this reſolution, but the cataſtrophe is ſhewn by the *grouping of the characters* in the laſt ſcene, according to the practice of Kotzebue and other German dramatiſts, a meaſure which we are ſorry to ſee adopted by the author, or rather authors, of the preſent work, who are avowedly Mr. Pye, the Poet Laureat, and his ſon in law Mr. Arnold. The ſerious parts of this comedy are relieved by the introduction of an Iriſh ſerjeant, an honeſt Scotchman, a Bond ſtreet lounger, and an Engliſh ruſtic. The ſentiments of this play are characterized by pure morality, and genuine pathos. The language is terſe and pointed. It muſt however be acknowledged, that much of the dialogue gives the play rather the form of a dramatic novel than of a piece intended for the buſtle, ſpirit, and variety, neceſſary in theatrical repreſentation. Loyal paſſages are introduced as often as opportunity would admit, and the play altogether is creditable to the allegiance and patriotiſm, as well as to the feelings and judgment of the confederate authors.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

I HAVE been a conſtant reader of your Miſcellany ſince its commencement; and I have generally read it with great ſatisfaction. Of late, however, I think I have obſerved a ſlovenlineſs in the compoſition of ſome of your articles; and, which is of more importance, an occaſional dereliction of your avowed principles. What, for inſtance, give me leave to aſk, could induce you take part in the diſputes which have long divided the Church of Scotland, and which have of late found their way into the Univerſity of Edinburgh; whether to the honor of that learned body, time will ſhew? If the miniſters of Edinburgh acted irregularly in their oppoſition to the election of Mr. Leſlie to the mathematical profeſſorſhip (and that they did, you cannot be more firmly convinced than I am), are you ſure that a charge of irregularity could not likewiſe be brought againſt the conduct of their opponents? If the miniſters were influenced by the *eſprit du corps* to patronize Mr. Macknight; are you ſure that thoſe were influenced by a *purer ſpirit* who patronized Mr. Leſlie? Mr. Stewart has, indeed,

deed, told a tale that muſt be plauſible to *ſuperficial thinkers*; and you have contributed to the circulation of that tale by the partial account of it in your laſt Number; but how long has the admirer of TURGOT, Condorcet, and D'Alembert had ſuch authority with the Anti-Jacobin Reviewers, that on his ſingle teſtimony, they ſhould condemn, unheard, as reſpectable a body of clergymen as is to be found in any one city in the Britiſh empire?

I am, Sir, no miniſter of Edinburgh; I am no profeſſor in the Univerſity of that city; and I was no member of the laſt general aſſembly of the Church of Scotland. I have ſeen Mr. Stewart once, Mr. Leſlie twice, and Mr. Macknight not at all; and I have no undue partiality to any one of them, in preference to any other. I feel, however, that I have ſome partiality to the cauſe of truth, of order and of religion; and *that* partiality, if ſuch it muſt be called, compels me to ſay, that the preſbytery of Edinburgh was imperiouſly called upon by duty to take the ſteps which it *firſt* took, to prevent the appointment of Mr. Leſlie to the vacant profeſſorſhip. I think, indeed, that the majority of that reverend body ſhould have ſtopt their proceedings, when they received, through the hands of the Profeſſor of Divinity, Mr. Leſlie's letter explanatory of the note, to which they juſtly objected; but if without receiving any ſuch explanation, they had NOT oppoſed his appointment to the chair, vacant in the Univerſity, they would have been falſe to the truſt repoſed in them by God and their country.

Your reviewer, indeed, is pleaſed to ſay (p. 129.) that the preſbytery of Edinburgh interfered "on the ground of certain metaphyſical notions incorporated, as they pretended, with the national creed;" but he knows well, if he knows any thing of the matter, that the notions to which they objected, are incorporated with *no creed*. They objected to Mr. Leſlie's *unqualified* recommendation of Mr. Hume's *Eſſay on neceſſary Connection*; an eſſay which they thought, as I believe all men of competent judgment had thought before them, leads to *Atheiſm*, and of conſequence to the abolition of *all* religious creeds. Mr. Stewart contends that they had *no reaſon* to make this objection; and labours to prove that Mr. Leſlie could not be *ſuppoſed* to extend his recommendation of Hume's eſſay farther than to the relation between *phyſical* cauſes and effects; but I have no heſitation to ſay, that Mr. Stewart's *proofs* are contemptible ſophiſtry. Mr. Leſlie ſays that Mr. Hume is the *firſt*, as far as he knows, who has treated cauſation in a truly philoſophical manner; and that his eſſay on neceſſary connexion ſeems a clear model of accurate reaſoning; but if Mr. Leſlie does not know that Mr. Hume is *not* the firſt who taught that the relation between phyſical cauſes and effects is not neceſſary, he is very ill qualified to occupy the chair of the late Dr. Robiſon. The miniſters of Edinburgh had therefore reaſon to believe, that Mr. Leſlie meant to recommend the whole of Mr. Hume's doctrine of cauſation—*metaphyſical* as well as *phyſical*; and they could not be ignorant that Mr. Hume has endeavoured to prove that we have no idea of connexion or *power* at all; that theſe words are abſolutely *without any meaning*, "when employed either in philoſophical reaſonings or in common life;" of courſe, that it is impoſſible to infer, not this or that *particular* cauſe, but *any* cauſe from witneſſing an event; and that even a thing may *begin to be without a cauſe!*

Surely you will admit that the miniſters of Edinburgh had reaſon to be alarmed at the proſpect of ſuch doctrines as theſe being taught from a profeſſional chair, in their Univerſity; as well as that Mr. Stewart arrogates too much importance to himſelf, when he treats the alarm of *ſuch men, a credu-*

cited, with contemptuous arrogance. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the oppoſition of thoſe miniſters, after Mr. Leſlie had explained his principles, was very improper; but that there was intriguing among them, as your reviewer inſinuates, I do not believe, though it is very generally believed that there was intriguing among their opponents.

But, ſays the reviewer, "the diſcovery of the dangerous tendency of the note was made only a day or two before the election!" This, were it true, would indeed be a ſuſpicious circumſtance; but it cannot be. No man accuſtomed to ſuch ſpeculations can read the note with attention and entertain a doubt of its tendency. In this remote place at leaſt, I never heard but one opinion expreſſed of its tendency; that opinion I adopted as ſoon as I had read the note: and as I do not ſuppoſe the perſpicuity of the miniſters of Edinburgh to be inferior to mine, I take it for granted that my opinion was not more early formed than their's. The profeſſor is pleaſed indeed to treat them, and all who think with them on this important ſubject, as children; but I am not diſpoſed to be overawed either by a popular name or by confident aſſertions; and if I ſhall ever be induced to alter my preſent opinion, it will be by reaſonings very different from any thing that I have found in this arrogant pamphlet.

I will not ſay, Sir, that your Review of the *Short Statement of Facts*, &c. was tranſmitted to you from Edinburgh; but I have leave to think that you received it from a violent party-man; becauſe none but a party-man could have ſaid that the ſpirit of the miniſters was immediately ſubdued by the general voice of the Church and the nation." The wonderful union of *high Calvinism* with *modern philoſophy*, ſupported by the influence of the Earl of Lauderdale, and the eloquence of ſome other orators, did indeed procure the ſmall majority of *nine*, in the general aſſembly, to paſs a tacit cenſure on the opponents of Mr. Leſlie; but when you are informed that the preſident of our Supreme Court, with another judge, who is an ornament to the bench on which he ſits, were in the minority on that day, and that there were no other judges preſent on that day, you will probably be of opinion that Mr. Leſlie and his friend have no cauſe to triumph in a victory ſo gained. Had they enjoyed that victory, however, with moderation, I believe that there is not a man in Scotland, except thoſe immediately concerned in the conteſt, who would have regretted the iſſue of that conteſt; becauſe the explanation ſo often alluded to, is all the reparation that Mr. Leſlie could make for the offence that he had very generally given. But when the party exulting in its ſucceſs, contrives to puſh on to a *ſecond* and *third edition*, a pamphlet, which is diſtinguiſhed by nothing but violence, pride, and ſophiſtry; and when the ſame party has publiſhed, with what fairneſs I have no opportunity of judging, the debates on the queſtion in the general aſſembly; it is impoſſible to be without ſome dread, that this triumph of philoſophy over religion may be followed with conſequences, that none of the philoſophers are yet prepared to avow. I hope, Sir, that you will give us an account of thoſe important debates in ſome future Number of your uſeful Journal; that you will again review the *whole* controverſy; and that you will employ ſome of your own countrymen to write the review, as almoſt every Scotchman is enliſted under the banner of the one party or the other.

In the mean time, I beg leave to inform you, that a rumour—I know not of what authority—has reached us, that one of the miniſters of Edinburgh has in the preſs *an anſwer* to Mr. Stewart's Short Statement of Facts. This, I think, is extremely probable; and therefore, you will do well to defer your

your review of the debates till the appearance of that answer, that you may have the whole controversy at once, before you.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

Aberdeen, Nov. 20th 1805. A LOOKER-ON.

MR. RILAND AND THE QUERIST.

London, November 19, 1805.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

IT is foreign to my purpose to attempt a formal exculpation of Mr. Riland, from the indirect accusations of the Querist in your Number for September. If any refutation of these be judged requisite, it may, I presume, be safely left to the Warwickshire Clergyman and the Parishioner, (see the Anti-Jacobin Review for May, page 104 to 109), whose local advantages supply them with authentic means of information. The present writer's object refers solely to that portion of the Querist's communication which concerns the implied generosity of Mr. Riland's late brother.—It appears from a later edition of Dugdale's Warwickshire, that the living of Sutton Coldfield came into the present possessor's family in the year 1689; and I conclude, that the perpetual advowson and right of presentation thereto was afterwards purchased by them, as John Riland, the first incumbent of that name, left the same, by will dated July 14, 1720, to his son. The testator's son, by will dated Feb. 17, 1747, devised the same to his elder son Richard Bisse, R. the *late* rector, and in case he died without issue male living at the time of his decease, *then* to his younger son John, the *present* rector. Richard died without issue male.

The above I give on the authority of written documents, open in the proper offices, for the inspection of all who chuse to examine for themselves. Now what can the Querist possibly mean by Richard's supposed generosity in leaving to John the inheritance of his fathers,—his own actual birthright? I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

P. P. D.

REV. MR. MARSH'S VINDICATION OF HIMSELF.

Long Critchill, near Sarum, Nov. 23, 1805.

TO THE EDITORS.

SIRS,

SINCE you have (*inadvertently*, I hope, for charity dictates this hope to me) admitted into a late Review, a critique, on which one cannot but pronounce on the face of it, that *some enemy hath done this*, I trust that you will, at my suggestion, and as the best thing which can be done under the present existing circumstances, evince at least a *disposition* to counteract the ill effects of it, by inserting in your next number, this my letter, and that which accompanies it. The latter is from my diocesan, and constituted a part of my defence.

My Pamphlet was not sold, but given; and the distribution thereof was, you will recollect, professed to be confined to the Subscribers to the works of my late friend and predecessor, and to the Clergy of the county of Dor-

set.

ſet. Under this circumſcribed circulation, it therefore the more behoves you, who ſtand highly reſpectable as Reviewers, to comply with this, my reaſonable requeſt.

You may rely upon me when I declare that, the whole impediment to the late minor's ſucceſſion to the preferment which I ſtill hold for him, is ſolely with himſelf: that ſo far am I from having contributed to his failure, that I declare to God I have done every thing in my power, as the holder of preferment for a minor, under the Church of England, to accelerate his poſſeſſion: that he is welcome, as long as he ſhall be ſo unfortunate as to be kept back from the poſſeſſion, to a reaſonable ſhare of the profits; and this he knows experimentally, and has acknowledged gratefully:—and laſtly, I declare that, whenever, after he has ſatisfied the diocesan of his qualification for the ſucceſſion, and ſhall have obtained from his lordſhip letters of inſtitution (which I have put it totally out of my power ever to prevent, by having delivered in my reſignation in his favour ſo long ago as on the ſeventh of October, 1803) he will always find me ready, notwithſtanding the cenſures which have been paſſed on my conduct, to give him induction; and that with full as much cheerfulneſs as I ever came forward to be myſelf inducted.

I am, Sirs, your humble ſervant,

GEORGE MARSH.

A letter from the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol.

Dated Brighton, Dec. 19, 1804.

REVEREND SIR,

Your two letters of the 14th and 16th inſt. came to me here by yeſterday's poſt, which will explain to you the cauſe of my ſilence.

If you think I can in the leaſt heal your wounded feelings by the following declaration, you have my leave to make it public in any way you pleaſe:—that your conduct has been perfectly honourable in itſelf, and ſatisfactory to me, in the whole of the tranſaction to which you allude: that no repreſentation of yours has had the leaſt influence whatſoever in the line I purſued reſpecting Mr. Sturt; and that I am at any time ready, but, from feelings of delicacy towards Mr. Sturt and his family, unwilling, to declare the motives which alone guided me in the conduct I felt it my duty to adopt.

I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your's moſt faithfully,

G. BRISTOL.

P. S. I have not the ſlighteſt objection to Mr. Porter's* allowing his letter (which I have ſeen this morning) to be publiſhed.

To the Rev. G. Marsh, Long Critchill, Sarum.

* His Lordſhip's Secretary; who, in the letter alluded to, declared it as his opinion (and no one is more competent to judge on a buſineſs of this kind) that my conduct was (to uſe his own words) *moſt truly honourable.*

POETRY

POETRY.

EPIGRAMS.

Papal Allocution.

"Bleſſed Nap," ſaid the Pope, to his brethren around,
"In him the *true* Church a *true* Patron has found,"
This appears the grand upſhot of all his reſearches—
And the Patron, we'll own, is as TRUE as the Church is.

The Same.

Infallible Pius proteſts he was happy
A forced viſit to make to *invincible* Nappy,
But, it ſeems, this *infallible* Emperor-maker
Had contriv'd to forget our atchievement at Acre,
'Bout invincible Nap when he made ſuch a pother—
So theſe epithets prove—*one as juſt as the other.**

TOM T'WHIGEM.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AT length, thanks to that Almighty Power, who can abaſe the proud, and exalt the humble, at his pleaſure, who is the God of armies and the diſpenſer of victories, the tide of ſucceſs is turned, and we are allowed to entertain a rational hope that Europe will be reſcued from that degrading yoke, under which it has laboured for the laſt ſeven years. The Powers of the Continent *are* rouzed to a juſt ſenſe of their common danger, and ſome of them, at leaſt, *have* proportioned their efforts to its obvious extent. The low-born miſcreant, who, after having uſurped the throne of his ſovereign, and his benefactor, cemented it with the blood of his family, and of his moſt loyal ſubjects, had become the *bully* of Europe, tyranniſing, with impudence boundleſs as his ſway, over all lawful monarchs, erecting new kingdoms by his nod, and threatening every prince with deſtruction who did not kiſs the rod uplifted to chaſtiſe him, is checked in his career of infamy, and deſtined to chew the cud of foiled ambition, and diſappointed malice. The day of retribution, though tardy in its arrival, is come at laſt; and civilized ſociety, we truſt, is about to be ſignally and glorioufly revenged, for all the evils, which this vile uſurper, this living peſtilence, this ſcourge of mankind, abhorred by all the good and honourable of every ſtate

* In his Holineſs's *infallible* account to his Cardinals of his late diſgraceful journey to France, he ſpeaks of the *moſt puiſſant*, *moſt excellent*, and *moſt generous* of Emperors, as one "whom God has choſen to reſtore his *true* religion in France!" And on parting from him he ſays, "Having fulfilled our *duty* towards the *invincible* Emperor, we commenced our journey, &c." I earneſtly call upon all real Chriſtians to join me in prayers to the Almighty, that this man of pretended infallibility may become ſtill more and more a falſe prophet with reſpect to this his laſt ſycophantic expreſſion.

though

(though impiously consecrated by the Pope, with a servility that will render the name of his Holiness an object of execration to the latest posterity), has lavished upon it, with a profusion of which the annals of history present not one solitary example.

Scarcely had the unparalleled victory of our heroic Nelson been celebrated, when a rival hero, as if emulous of his name, in all the ardor of youth, in all the pride of honour, animated by the pure spirit of genuine patriotism, stands forth the noble champion, the generous avenger, of the violated rights of oppressed, insulted, degraded Europe. Words are poor, inadequate, indeed, to convey to our readers a full and complete notion of the profound respect, and enthusiastic admiration, which we feel for that illustrious, and magnanimous Prince, the Emperor ALEXANDER. It would require the transcendant genius, and the incomparable pen, of BURKE to do justice to the subject! Were it permitted to departed spirits to revisit earthly scenes, how would *the sage of Beaconsfield* exult in the contemplation of this glorious struggle; at beholding that happy combination of princes and of statesmen which all his brilliant eloquence was in vain exerted to produce against the regicidal tyrants of the world, at length, most happily, accomplished; at seeing that inglorious and pernicious system of *defensive warfare*, which his enlightened mind knew so well to appreciate, and all the dangers of which he so warmly depicted, and so feelingly deplored *, abandoned for a regular, well-digested plan of offensive hostility, conceived with wisdom, and executed with vigour! It is a sight not more novel, than inspiriting, to see a youthful monarch, cradled in the lap of peace, in power unlimited, in dominion boundless, in situation remote from the scene of danger, rich in resources to repel it whenever it should approach him, voluntarily foregoing ease and tranquillity to interfere in the concerns of contemporary sovereigns; not to dispute their titles; not to invade their privileges; not to encroach upon their territories, but for the disinterested, the noble, the magnanimous purpose, of assisting them in the defence of their just rights, in support of their independence, and in resistance of the most formidable, and the most malignant enemy by which they ever were assailed. Nor must it be forgotten, that, with a degree of wisdom superior to his years, the Russian Emperor has duly estimated the *consequences* of the domineering spirit, and gigantic schemes of that "Child and champion of Jacobinism," who seeks to attain the *end* of the Fourteenth Louis, though by different *means*, and to establish *universal empire*, by the subversion of every existing throne: Nor is this all; in council moderate, as intrepid in the field, *this* SAGE *and* HERO *of the* NORTH, after ingenuously and fully disclaiming, in the face of the world, all views of ambition, and all projects of aggrandizement, most generously devotes his own sacred person to the great cause which he brings his armies to promote. Exposing himself to all the dangers of the battle, and bent on victory or death, he flies from rank to rank, and, alike by exhortation and example, animates his men to the most heroic atchievements, to exertions of prowess and to efforts of courage, beyond which the finite powers of man cannot reach. Faint, and feeble, alas! is this outline of the picture which is strongly impressed on *our* mind, and, we doubt not, on the mind of every man in Europe, who views with attention

* In a letter addressed to the writer of this article, a short time previous to his death.

the

the mighty events now paſſing in the great theatre of the world. Proud, indeed, muſt the people of Ruſſia be to poſſeſs ſuch a ſovereign, and, bleſſed as we are with a ſovereign, who is the great exemplar of every virtue, could any thing induce us to quit our native land, it would be the wiſh to become the ſubject of ſuch a prince!

The deſperate actions fought, from the *first* to the *fifth* of December, in the country lying between Brunn and Olmutz, are important alike from their nature and reſult. They have taught the French ſoldiers, by dear-bought experience, that the Ruſſians are not that horde of bar arous and undiſciplined ſavages, nor their ſovereign that indolent and effeminate character, which their own unprincipled and ferocious tyrant, the prince of liars, had led them to believe. Europe has ſeen, the very flower of the French troops, the Corſican's body guard, the boaſted *Invincibles*, oppoſed hand to hand, even by a body of Ruſſian huſſars diſmounted (who, encumbered with boots and heavy accoutrements, muſt, of neceſſity, fight to great diſadvantage), by whom they were totally defeated, and nearly cut to pieces. It has ſeen alſo, the moſt ſucceſsful general of the age, who (forgetting, indeed, both *Acre* and *Marengo* *), preſumptuouſly boaſted of *having chained fortune to his car*, trained to arms from his infancy, and a veteran in the field, having paſſed nearly the whole of his manhood to the preſent hour in camps; foiled, beaten, and diſgraced by a youthful monarch, who commanded an army, for the firſt time, and who had never before been preſent at a battle. The conſequence of ſuch a victory muſt be moſt important; the eyes of Europe are opened; the French are no longer deemed invincible; and in proportion as their ſpirits muſt be depreſſed by unexpected defeat, muſt thoſe of their opponents be raiſed by ſucceſs. Aſſuming then the accounts of this hard-fought conflict as *ſubſtantially* true; we conſider the affairs of the allies as in a moſt proſperous ſtate. The third Ruſſian army, as far as we can judge from the vague reports received from the Continent, muſt have joined the Emperor very ſhortly after the fifth of December. Prince Ferdinand, too, with a body of 30,000 men, might effect a junction with the allied force in leſs than ſix days. Thus, admitting, the grand army to have conſiſted of 85,000 men, before the late actions, and to have loſt 25,000, in the courſe of them, and taking the third Ruſſian army, under Michelſon, at 45,000, there would be a concentrated force of 135,000 men, flushed with ſucceſs, and headed by their reſpective Emperors, to oppoſe Buonaparté in front, ſhould he perſiſt in retaining his preſent poſition, and in keeping poſſeſſion of Vienna. Suppoſing, on the other hand, the French army to have amounted to 100,000 men, on the 1ſt of December, and eſtimating their loſs in the ſubſequent actions at 30,000, it could not be reinforced before the *tenth*, by more than 40,000 (unleſs the accounts of the force of its different diviſions is groſsly incorrect), which would give them no more than an aggregate of 110,000 men. The allies, then, muſt have a decided ſuperiority of force, with which (we know, from experience) they would not fail to preſs forward, and ſhould the enemy ſtand the chance of another battle, ſooner than abandon the Auſtrian capital, we are allowed, from the recent exploits of the allies, to entertain the moſt ſanguine expectations, to form the moſt happy preſages of the reſult. Vanity and

* It ſhould never be forgotten that Buonaparté had loſt the battle of Marengo, and had actually ſounded the retreat, when Deſaix, by a ſkilful and judicious manœuvre, retrieved the fortune of the day.

prudence

prudence will, on this occaſion, be oppoſed to each other in the mind of the Corſican. Hitherto the former has exerciſed a boundleſs ſway in that dark and diſmal domain; and ſhould it ſtill retain its wonted influence, another battle will be fought, ere Vienna will be relinquiſhed. He will be farther ſtimulated to make this deſperate effort, by another powerful motive: in the plenitude of his inſolence, the vain and arrogant deſpot has pledged himſelf to his ſlaves, and to the world, to *dictate peace*, before Chriſtmas, in that very capital; and he knows how much his conſequence muſt be diminiſhed in the eyes both of France and of Europe, if he forfeit his pledge; nor is he ignorant that the diminution of his conſequence may eventually have a material effect on the ſtrength and durability of his power. He abſurdly imagines, too, that one ſignal defeat of the allies will be the certain means of producing an immediate termination to the war. For neither their conduct, after their partial defeat, and heavy loſs, in the firſt action of the ſecond of December, nor yet the repeated declarations of both the Emperors, will ſuffice to convince this headſtrong tyrant, that they will never conſent to a baſe, inglorious, or inſecure peace.

But ſhould Prudence for once prevail over Vanity, he will evacuate Vienna, and perhaps endeavour to effect a junction with Maſſena, who has probably left Italy, with a conſiderable part of his army; and by this movement, he may hope to place the Archduke Charles (who by a diſplay of the moſt conſummate ſkill united with the moſt determined bravery, has effected his retreat from Italy, and left Maſſena far behind him) between two fires. But in this he would certainly be miſtaken; that great General would either turn to his right from *Clagenfurth*, and enter Hungary, where a brave and loyal people would flock to his ſtandard, in almoſt countleſs numbers, or purſuing his route to Vienna, overthowing every weak diviſion of the enemy on his paſſage, preſent himſelf in front of Buonaparté, while the Ruſſian and Auſtrian Emperors preſſed hard upon his rear; ſo that the Corſican would be placed between two fires himſelf; and poſſibly cruſhed long before Maſſena could come to his aſſiſtance. Should he direct his retreat towards the Rhine, the Grand Army of the Allies would purſue him; while the whole country, through which he muſt paſs, irritated by his cruelties and extortions, would not fail to harraſs him on his march, and he would with great difficulty, and with greater loſs, reach the frontier of France.

In this view of the preſent ſtate of the Belligerent Powers on the Continent we ſee nothing but of the moſt conſolatory nature. But we have here only oppoſed Ruſſia and Auſtria to France. How much then muſt the proſpect be improved, when we take into our eſtimate, the Swediſh and Britiſh troops, which will ſoon be in a ſituation to take an active part againſt the Uſurper. And if, in addition to this acceſſion of ſtrength, the King of Pruſſia ſhould realize the hopes which he has raiſed, and enter the field, with his allies of Saxony, and Heſſe Caſſel, the wily Corſican will be taken in his own ſnares, his retreat will be cut off, and his whole army be as much annihilated as that of General Mack. If Pruſſia act at all, ſhe will no doubt act with promptneſs and deciſion; the ſituation of her army will enable her to place herſelf between the Rhine and Vienna, long before Buonaparté can have reached the former, ſhould he be as quick, as we are perſuaded he will be tardy, in the evacuation of Vienna. Preſſed by the Pruſſians in front, by the Ruſſians and Auſtrians in the rear, and flanked by the Archduke Charles, we ſee no poſſibility of his eſcape. If the ſame ſpirit

which

which animates the soul of Alexander, destined, we hope, to be the saviour of Europe, actuate his Imperial and Royal Allies, the tyrant's bloody career is nearly run. At all events, nothing is at at this moment, to be feared from his *arms*; but much, very much, from his *arts* and *intrigues*. We are convinced that the ministerial and diplomatic banditti that follow the the wily Corsican's camp, to assist him in the fabrication of his lying manifestoes, and his *poetical* bulletins, will exert every effort to betray the allies into a suspension of hostilities, and (should the King of Prussia declare himself) will, we doubt not, profess to consent to *his* terms in order to gain time, and to extricate himself from his perilous situation. To *him* terms are of little consequence, as he will treat them with contempt (as he always has done) the moment he is in a condition to violate them with impunity, unless the most ample and solid security be exacted for their fulfilment. The allies will have it now in their power to dictate the terms of peace, and to restore the balance of power: let them defeat Buonaparté, destroy his army, and cut off his retreat, they may replace Europe in something like its former state. If they cannot restore the Bourbons ("a consummation devoutly to be wished") nor yet the balance of power such as it was before the French revolution, they may nevertheless abridge the French limits, and, instead of leaving her, as at present, surrounded by petty and tributary states, the tools of her power, and the panders to her will, give her for immediate neighbours potent monarchs, able and willing to resist her encroachments, to resent her injuries, and to repel her aggressions. This and this only, will secure the peace of Europe on any thing like a solid and permanent basis. But if the allied powers suffer the present opportunity to escape them for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose, long, very long, it may be, ere it will return; and, possibly it may *never* return. The period, therefore, is critical, is awful, beyond all common calculation.

Another fear we confess, presses on our minds. The Corsican Ruffian has proved himself not only the *Prince of Liars*, but the *Prince of Assassins*; the old revolutionary Regiment of Regicides may again be established; and the bowls or the daggers of the murderers of the gallant, the virtuous *D'Enghien*, may be employed, with success, against those Royal Personages who are now leading their armies to the field, to check the ambition and to punish the perfidy of this detested Usurper. We trust, however, that warned by fatal experience, they will be on their guard.

To one of the old jacobinical resources Buonaparté has, consistently enough, already had recourse; he has laboured to produce a diversion on the Continent, by sending his trusty Commissaries to produce a revolution in Poland; a plan first devised by his worthy predecessor Maximilian Robespierre; but without relaxing in their operations against him, the Russian and Prussian Monarchs have troops enough at their command to crush any such attempt in its infancy, so that this resource will prove but of little avail.

Before we dismiss this brief view of the present political state of the European Continent, we must say a word or two on the disastrous events which marked the opening of the present campaign. The disgraceful capitulation of General Mack has been ascribed (in a new Paper,* conducted with considerable ability, and on excellent principles), to his obstinate

* Mr. Redhead Yorke's Weekly Political Review.

adherence

adherence to the old ſyſtem of tactics. That this reduced him to the ſituation in which he ſtood previous to the capitulation, we are not diſpoſed to deny; but that being ſo reduced, he ſhould conſider his capitulation as a matter of courſe, we can by no means admit. The firſt thing which any General, either of the old or the new ſchool, ſo ſituated, would do, would, certainly, be to examine whether there were any poſſible means of effecting his eſcape, and, if not, to calculate, with preciſion, the time for which he would be able to hold out againſt the enemy. The military hiſtory of all paſt times proves that ſuch was the courſe purſued by every General who was placed, either by ignorance or by accident, in ſuch unfortunate circumſtances. But Mack did nothing of the kind; on the contrary, he ſeems only to have ſtudied the means of accelerating the ſurrender of his army; even when preſſed, in the moſt urgent manner, by the Archduke Ferdinand, to cut his way through the enemy's ranks, a meaſure ſanctioned by the well-known opinion of one of the greateſt Generals of the laſt century, (who maintained that with 40,000 men—and Mack, at that time, had conſiderably more under his orders—an able commander might make his way through any force), he obſtinately refuſed to make the attempt, and perſiſted in his determination to ſurrender his whole force to the enemy. Here then did the criminal conduct of Mack begin; and his criminality was completed by his haſe compliance with the requeſt of the enemy, that he would lay down his arms two days before the time ſtipulated in the act of capitulation itſelf; though he could not but know, that the enemy muſt have ſome powerful motive for urging this requeſt, and that his compliance with it muſt forward their deſigns againſt his own Sovereign. Theſe two facts are, in our opinions, deciſive in reſpect of Mack's criminality. The Archduke Ferdinand's ſucceſsful retreat, with only one third of the force left behind with Mack, is the beſt comment on that General's conduct; which, we think, it is impoſſible to refer to any thing but the moſt inconceivable imbecility, or to the moſt abominable treachery. We believe the moſt ſkilful of military men could not foreſee either this extraordinary event, or the abandoned proſtigacy of the Elector of Bavaria; and therefore we take no ſhame to ourſelves for having entertained a ſanguine expectation that the French would be checked at the very commencement of the campaign.

Our domeſtic politics require little notice. Party, though circumſcribed both in its limits and effects, ſtill continues to rage; but an immenſe majority of the nation hail, with joy, the preſent proſpect of a happy change in the affairs of Europe, and do juſtice to thoſe Miniſters who have contributed their utmoſt exertions to produce it. Indeed, we defy their moſt inveterate opponents to ſhew, from the hiſtory of this country, any inſtance of greater efforts, in the ſame ſpace of time, having been made, than thoſe which have been made, during the preſent year, in the naval,* military, and diplomatic departments. That grand confederacy againſt France, which it was the great, the leading object of the two preceding

* Let the naval adminiſtration of Lord BARHAM be compared with that of Lord SAINT VINCENT, and, in every point of view, we ſcruple not to pronounce, that the reſult of the compariſon will be moſt honourable to the *former*. The latter retired, when the ſummer was far advanced, from the fatigue of proſecutions, to preſide o'er the *independent* Club at Malden,

preceding Adminiſtrations to produce, but which they laboured in vain to accompliſh, has been moſt happily atchieved by the preſent Adminiſtration. 'Tis true, indeed, a variety of fortunate circumſtances have occurred to favour their deſigns, but they have done all that men could do for the attainment of their object, and it would therefore be the height of injuſtice to withhold from them the praiſe which is really their due. We are the ſlaves of no party, nor ever will be. We ſcorn to *flatter* any man. We hold in equal abhorrence unjuſt cenſure, and unmerited commendation. What we think, we will honeſtly ſay, or be ſilent. We will not barter our independence for the beſt gifts which either Miniſters or *Patriots* can beſtow.

Among the domeſtic occurrences of the month, the proceedings on the *Thankſgiving-day* claim particular notice. We ſhall never be ſuſpected of harbouring a wiſh to check the national ſpirit, in the ſmalleſt degree, when directed to a laudable object; much leſs of being hoſtile to any endeavour to alleviate the ſufferings, or to ſupply the wants, of thoſe brave men who have fought and bled in their country's cauſe. But vain as we know will be the effort to ſtem the popular tide, we will diſcharge our duty, in cenſuring the proceedings of the Committee of the *Patriotic Fund*, on the occaſion to which we allude. Theſe Gentlemen took upon themſelves to direct their Secretary to ſend a letter to every clergyman in the kingdom, calling upon the public "to unite the duties of patriotiſm with thoſe of devotion," and on the clergyman himſelf to "*exert his beſt influence in recommending the mode pointed out*" by the Committee, for increaſing their fund, by collections at the doors of the different churches. We ſhould but ill characterize this extraordinary and unprecedented proceeding, by calling it *irregular*; for we conſider it as *preſumptuous*, in the higheſt degree, in a committee of merchants, ſitting at Lloyd's, or any where elſe, to dictate, as it were, a line of proceeding to the whole body of the clergy, and to indicate the mode in which they ſhould contribute to the ſucceſs of *their* plans, let thoſe plans be what they might. The application, if any were to be made, ſhould have been made to the Biſhops of the reſpective dioceſes, who alone (with the exception of the King, and of the Legiſlature) have the power or the right ſo to dictate to the clergy. The proceeding, then, whatever objection might, on other grounds, be urged againſt it, would have been put in a regular courſe. Indeed, without the expreſs ſanction of the Biſhop we are at a loſs to conceive how any clergyman could feel himſelf juſtified in complying with ſuch a requiſition.* But we have other reaſons, and, as it appears to us, *ſolid* objections to the meaſure itſelf. In the firſt place, its tendency was to convert a *Thankſgiving Sermon*, commanded by the King in Council, into a *Charity Sermon*, required by a committee of merchants at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe. According to our conception of things, and if we be wrong we beg to be

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Malden, and to hob-a-nob with that *enlightened* politician, Mr. *William Smith*, the Socinian grocer, the ſucceſsful opponent at Norwich of that elegant ſcholar and accompliſhed gentleman, the Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM.

* Some clergymen, we know, did *not* think themſelves juſtified in ſo doing; and therefore, moſt properly, refuſed to direct any collection to be made at the churches in which they officiated—a conduct, in our opinion, highly praiſeworthy.

for

ſet right, this could not, with propriety, be required or done by any leſs authority than that whence the Proclamation for the Thankſgiving itſelf proceeded. We are aware of what may be ſaid upon the practicability of mingling Thankſgivings for mercies received, with exhortations to charity to be practiſed. It no doubt is practicable to divide the attention of a congregation, though it was not our good fortune to have any proof of its practicability on the laſt Thankſgiving-day; but this is not the queſtion; nor does the admiſſion at all meet our objection. In the ſecond place, the public notice given, that a collection would take place after divine ſervice, was calculated to keep away numbers from church, who wiſhed to offer their thankſgivings to their God, though they had not the means of relieving their fellow-creatures. And this would be the caſe, not ſo much with the pooreſt members of ſociety, as with others who, with difficulty, preſerve a decent appearance, and, by good management, contrive to conceal their poverty from the world; and this, we fear, conſtitutes no very ſmall portion of the community.* Theſe are our *principal* objections to the meaſure in queſtion; and, as we felt the weight of them ourſelves, we conceived it neceſſary to lay them before our readers. Nor will we omit this opportunity of ſtating our apprehenſions of the *precedent* likely to be eſtabliſhed by this Fund; ariſing partly from the nature of the thing itſelf, and partly from the management of it. We certainly begin to fear, that our ſeamen may be led to look to other ſources of *honour and rewards* than the only legitimate ſource acknowledged by the principles and proviſions of the Britiſh Conſtitution; we fear, alſo, from the ſubſcriptions of *crews* and *regiments*, that other *deliberative bodies* may ariſe than thoſe which are recognized by the laws of the land, or ſanctioned by the rules of political prudence. As to the *appropriation* of the Fund, as far as it goes to make a proviſion for the diſabled ſailors, for widows, or orphans, it is certainly well employed; but the moſt eligible mode of appropriating any conſiderable ſum that might be collected, would unqueſtionably be the endowment of an hoſpital, ſomewhat on the plan of that at Greenwich; by which means not only a real but a *permanent* benefit would be conferred on our ſeamen.

We have no doubt that theſe obſervations will, in the preſent temper of the public mind, be conſidered as captious and taſtidious; but we remember that our remarks on part of one of the former *faſt prayers* was generally regarded in the ſame light; though the very paſſage to which we objected was omitted in the ſucceeding faſt-prayer; a ſure proof, at leaſt, that they who were moſt competent to judge, did not think our objections frivolous.

One more remark, incidental to the ſubject, and we have done with it. That methodiſtical fanatic, who occaſionally preaches in the *Round-Houſe*, in Blackfriar's-road, had, previous to the thanksgiving-day, declared that the collection at his Chapel ſhould be greater in amount than any other collection whatever. Accordingly, on the noon of that day his emiſſaries were diſpatched to thoſe Churches at which it was expected the greateſt collections would be made, in order to aſcertain their amount. This being done, he had a *ſecond* collection in the evening (though in the public advertiſements

* If it had been deemed expedient, by competent authority, that a collection ſhould be made, in ſupport of the Patriotic Fund, a day ſhould have been ſet apart for the purpoſe, and an appropriate ſermon preached, at every church, on the occaſion; but on no account ſhould it have been ſuffered to interfere with the ſpecific ſervice and duties of the *Thankſgiving-day*.

there

there *appears* to have been only *one*) at which was received a *widow's mite*, conſiſting of a Bank-note for One *Hundred Pounds*, coming, moſt opportunely, to verify the prediction of this Arch-Methodiſt, this wolf in ſheep's clothing. No man in his ſenſes can believe that the contribution came from any other than the preacher himſelf, or one of his confidential friends; that widow, who could call a hundred pounds a *mite* would deſerve more cenſure for her hypocriſy than praiſe for her charity. But it would be an inſult to the ſex to admit the ſuppoſition that any one of them could ſo act. The ſequel, we think will demonſtrate the juſtice of our concluſions. Not ſo humble was the Reverend fanatic, he had eſtabliſhed his popularity as he thought; and he reſolved to render it conducive to his own views. On the following Sunday, this *charitable* man, after imputing the whole merit of this great collection *to himself*, had the inſolence and preſumption to contraſt his own conduct with that of the *Biſhops*, who, he ſaid, had done nothing on this occaſion; not one of them had preached on the Thankſgiving-day; and indeed, he added, they were good for nothing, but to live in ſplendour, to loll in their carriages, and to wear great wigs to cover thoſe heads which have nothing in them. This, and much more to the ſame purpoſe, did he not heſitate to declare from the pulpit! Hence the *motive* for this liberal contribution is eaſily traced. And, indeed, there ſeems to be no other motive or object with theſe fanatics (who, we are ſorry to ſay, daily increaſe) than to vilify the heads and members of the church, and to deride the eſtabliſhment.

Much as we reſpect the memory of Lord Nelſon, highly as we think of his profeſſional talents, and we certainly think him the greateſt Admiral which the world ever produced, whether we conſider the wiſdom with which his plans were conceived, or the admirable ſkill, courage, and deciſion, with which they were executed, we could not liſten to the groſs adulation which was laviſhed on him *from the pulpit*, without a mingled ſenſation of pain and diſguſt. In ſhort, it ſometimes bordered on *impiety*. We heard too, with aſtoniſhment, the epithet *ſacred* applied, in the ſame place, to the Patriotic *Fund*. Feeling carried to enthuſiam, on ſuch a ſubject, may be tolerated, and even admired, in public or in private, but preachers never ſhould forget, that the Houſe of God is the Sanctuary of Truth, and not the Temple of Adulation.

Nov. 21, 1805.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Rev. E. W. Whitaker will pleaſe to be informed that we duly received his letter of the 10th June laſt, accompanied with his Commentary on the Apocalypſe, for which we thank him. The book diſplays great learning and ingenuity; but we muſt be permitted to add that it has not had the effect of making any alteration in our opinions. The ſubject is ſtill the *Crux clericorum*; and every thing which comes in our way relating to it proves it to be ſo. We thought that we did ample juſtice to Mr. Whitaker in our remarks on Mr. Galloway; and we think ſo ſtill. But whatever difference of ſentiment may exiſt between Mr. Whitaker and us on a point on which the greateſt divines have differed, we beg leave moſt ſolemnly to aſſure Mr. Whitaker that we entertain for him the higheſt reſpect.

All the Communications from our various Correſpondents, not yet inſerted, ſhall appear next month, either in the *Appendix* to the preſent Volume, which will then be publiſhed, or in the firſt Number of the ſucceeding Volume.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME XXII.

Memoires du Comte Joſeph de Puiſaye, Lieut. Général, &c. &c. Qui pourront ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du partie Royaliſte François durant la derniere Revolution. 8vo. 2 tom. à Londres, chez Harding, et Dulau. 1803.

Memoirs of Count Joſeph de Puiſaye, &c.

THE French revolution is a moſt ſtriking example of the ruinous conſequences produced by a want of unanimity and mutual co-operation. Had all thoſe who wiſhed not to overturn, but only to reform, the then exiſting government of France, acted vigorouſly and in uniſon, the revolutionary horrors would not have ſtained the page of hiſtory. Europe would not have experienced ſo many years of bloodſhed and devaſtation, and France would at this day have been free and happy. But the princes, and what was termed the *nobleſſe de la cour*, were obſtinate againſt all reformation, as were likewiſe many of the higher clergy; and ſcarcely any two of the provincial nobles had the ſame ideas on the ſubject. They thus became an unconnected and impotent maſs, waſting the time in futile diſcuſſions, and mutual reproach, which ſhould have been employed in vigorous and well-concerted meaſures againſt the anarchiſts. The natural conſequence followed, they became weaker every day, while their antagoniſts daily acquired new ſtrength and enterpriſe. They ruined themſelves, their king and their country, and entailed unſpeakable calamities on the whole of the weſtern world.

Among the many wrong meaſures which were adopted, the general emigration (would *flight* be too harſh a term?) of the princes and nobles was one of the moſt ruinous. It evidenced a fear of the enemy, and, of courſe, increaſed his confidence, and his power.

The writer of the Memoirs before us choſe not to follow that example.—Finding that nothing was to be done by a war of words at Paris, he retired to his eſtate, and endeavoured to excite an effective warlike oppoſition to the ſelf-created rulers of the day. His exploits, and thoſe of his aſſociates in the ſame cauſe, are well known: their reſiſtance for ſuch a length of time, with ſo little external aid, and unſupported by the co-operation of the other French provinces, is truly wonderful; and is an evident proof of what might have been

done, had the emigrants remained at home, and made ſimilar exertions. On this ſubject Mr. de Puiſaye obſerves very juſtly:

"If a few inſulated gentlemen in Poitou, Brittany, and Anjou, were able ſucceſſively to raiſe more than 500,000 men, what would not the whole of the French nobility have been able to do, diſperſed through all the provinces, and acting in conſort?" (Vol. II. p. 53.)

It is not ſurpriſing that a perſon who thus took a part ſo diametrically oppoſite to the meaſures of the emigrants, ſhould be expoſed to hoſtility from that quarter. He has been ſo: but we wait for the concluſion of his Memoirs (which he has promiſed) before we can give any decided opinion on the juſtice or injuſtice of their attacks. The preſent volumes come down only to 1794, when he arrived in London, to conſult with our miniſtry on the future meaſures to be adopted.

Of the nature of his work Mr. de P. thus informs his readers.

"I certainly do not pretend to write the hiſtory of the French revolution, not even a hiſtory of that party which I have followed; but I can leave uſeful materials: and as I advance in the narrative of my own concerns, ſhall notice in paſſing the coincident events; relate in what light I beheld things, together with the reflections which they ſuggeſted, and the reſults from thoſe reflections which influenced my conduct.

"The reader muſt not expect to find in theſe Memoirs either the order or methodical preciſion of hiſtory. A regular literary occupation neither ſuits my habits, nor perhaps my inclination, I have no time for it, nor would a regular work anſwer my purpoſe better. A life of long agitation, a health every day becoming worſe, give me ſome right to indulgence and repoſe. I ſhall write what I have ſeen, what I have thought, as I ſaw it, and as I judged of it; and I ſhall render an account of my opinions, my obſervations, and my ſentiments, as well as of my actions.

"The long and bloody war in which I was engaged, will, without doubt, be the principal object of my Memoirs: an object which it becomes the more intereſting to know, becauſe of it, excepting thoſe who have been at leaſt indirectly concerned, no one has other than imaginary ideas. If this entire ignorance of almoſt the whole world, with regard to the real ſtate of things in the inſurgent provinces, had given riſe only to the errors and fictions which have amuſed the idle, or ſerved as food to malevolence for ſuch a number of years, it would have been uſeleſs to ſpeak of them. But if this ignorance has produced important miſtakes in the direction of the conflict ſo intereſting to the world, a conflict which, without that ignorance, might perhaps have terminated in a manner more deſireable for the preſent, and more ſtable in future, it belongs to hiſtory to collect and tranſmit the events as an uſeful leſſon to poſterity." (Vol. I. Pp. 16, 17, 18.)

A little farther on he ſays ſomething in juſtification of himſelf for having quitted France, while other commanders of the Royaliſts ſtill carried on the war.

"As to myſelf, whatever may be the judgment of impartial men as to my opinions and my conduct, I am perfectly ſatisfied that they will do juſtice to my intentions. During the dreadful convulſions which deſolated my country,

country, I deſpaired not of its ſafety. I oppoſed myſelf to the burſt of the ſtorm, and my head was expoſed to its moſt violent exploſions. I did not ſink under them; but the voice of reaſon, and of humanity, tore me from a ſcene, where I could no longer diſcover any poſſible compenſation for the blood with which it was inundated. From that time I ſhould have been guilty of all the blood which was ſpilt. Of that blood I am guiltleſs: and amid thoſe too frequent alternations of peace and war, of conciliation and treachery, of fraternity and murder, I have not to reproach myſelf with having made any compoſition with inhuman butchers, nor with having ſubmitted to the tyrants of my country." (Vol. I. Pp. 18. 19.)

The firſt volume contains the remote and proximate cauſes of the revolution, which have already been repeatedly laid before the public; and which may be all ſummed up in a tendency to deſpotiſm in the form of the French monarchy, and in the inequality of rights poſſeſſed by the different orders; in the vaſt alteration which had taken place in the public mind by the introduction of commerce, and the general advances made in knowledge; in the miſerable adminiſtration of the finances, which brought on an enormous debt; and in the weakneſs and irreſolution of government, when the moſt prompt and deciſive meaſures ſhould have been employed. We ſhall not, therefore, go over a ground which we have already trod ſo often; we ſhall only obſerve, in general, that the author execrates the conduct of the anarchiſts, and condems that of the royaliſts for a want of union, plan, and deciſion. The following is a ſpirited, and no unfaithful, delineation of the dying ſtruggles of the French monarchy.

"I know not who has ſaid that the French revolution was a revolution of *fear*. The appellation, however whimſical, is certainly moſt ſingularly appropriate. In effect, the parliaments compelled the court through *fear* to have recourſe to a National Aſſembly.—It was a *dread* of the oppoſition of the nobility and clergy, and of the parliaments, which determined the court to give to the *tiers-etat* a double repreſentation in the States-general.—It was *fear* which inſpired the firſt enterpriſes of the *tiers-etat*, thus doubled, and which ſet on foot ſo many futile meaſures to rule, or to diſſolve them.—It was *fear* that demanded the retreat of the troops from Paris and Verſailles: and it was *fear* which gave the orders for that retreat.—It was *fear* which excited the populace of Paris, and drove them to Verſailles, the 5th Oct. 1789.—It was *fear* which ſacrificed the guards of the monarch to the fury of a vile rabble, by forbidding them to repel force by force.—It was *fear* which prompted the general emigration, the inconſiderate and blameable meaſure of inconſiderate and blameable adviſers: but its details, and its victims are intereſting, and demand our admiration. It was *fear* of the return and vengeance of the princes and emigrants which ſwelled the republican armies with millions of ſoldiers, who had not participated in the crimes of the revolution, and with an infinite number of officers, who abhorred the uſurpers and their exceſſes.—In ſhort, it is *fear*, which, raiſing a barrier that every day becomes more unſurmountable, between the heir of the throne of France and Frenchmen, has rendered every effort to remove it of no avail.

"Theſe truths, which demand a copious illuſtration, will be frequently reproduced in the courſe of theſe Memoirs.

"In a word I have ſeen nothing from the commencement of what is called *party*, but enterpriſes without foreſight, uncalculated projects, cabal without union, engagements without good faith, pride without power, effrontery without courage, boaſting and meanneſs, hypocriſy and egotiſm, bravado and cowardice, impudence and perfidy, intrigue and aſſaſſination, filth and blood.

"Such were the remains of the French monarchy, wreſtling with death in all the pangs of diſſolution." (Ib. Pp. 226—229.)

After laying before us what he conſiders to have been the cauſes of the French revolution, the author proceeds to give an account of the proceedings of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and of his conduct as a member. The former of theſe has already met the public eye ſo often, and Mr. de Puiſaye's account not differing eſſentially from ſeveral of the leſs violent and leſs partial ones which have already appeared, it is not neceſſary to lay particulars before our readers. As to the latter, it appears to be the conduct of a ſenſible and moderate man, convinced of the many evils which exiſted in the ſtate; and wiſhing for, and willing to contribute all in his power towards, a reform. This conduct, however, and his not emigrating with the French princes, have excited ſuſpicions in the mind of the emigrant party, which ſeems, with equal weakneſs and abſurdity, to make emigration the ſole teſt of loyalty. But on the controverſy between de Puiſaye and his accuſers we cannot pronounce definitively until the ſequel of the Memoirs appears, and we ſhall have peruſed the "*pieces juſtificatives*" which he has promiſed. One thing is certain, he has loſt his fortune, and riſked his life in the cauſe of royalty.

The author cloſes his account of the Conſtituent Aſſembly by ſaying that the conſtitution it formed was futile and abſurd: then adds,

"Yet this is the conſtitution which I, with 29-thirtieths of France, ſwore to ſupport. I blame not thoſe who refuſed to ſwear: but I conſidered this *ſhadow* as a laſt reſource, as the ſole, though frail buttreſs, which could for a while ſupport the State on the point of diſſolution; and I ſacrificed to it without heſitation my own ideas, and my perſonal intereſts. (Vol. I. p. 372.)

About this time Mr. de P. was ſeized with a malady both long and dangerous. On his recovery, he found that matters had come to a criſis, that to temporiſe farther was weakneſs, that now the atrocities of the anarchiſts could be repreſſed only by force.

"From the moment of the king's flight," he ſays, "and of his ſeizure at Varennes, it was notorious that he no longer enjoyed that exterior liberty, which had hitherto rendered his orders obligatory: the conſtitutional oath was *de facto*, annulled: and the promiſed reviſion of the conſtitution had not taken place. The period had arrived when force alone could preſerve France from ſinking in the gulph which had already half ſwallowed her—all heſitation was at an end. Two meaſures preſented themſelves, *emigration* and *inſurrection*. The latter was my choice." (Vol. II. Pp. 5, 6.)

The author's opinion of the French emigration may be gathered from the following extract.

"It

"It is with the moſt lively ſentiments of grief and reſpect that I reflect on the innumerable and intereſting victims who thus ſublimely devoted themſelves; whom the voice of honour ſeemed to tear, as if by inſpiration, from their homes, their repoſe, their property, their ſweeteſt habits, from every thing to which they were united by the deareſt ties. Events have had no influence on the opinion I firſt formed of the emigration: my own particular conduct, and my efforts to prevent my friends from taking that ſtep, leave no room for doubt on this point: and if I have admired the individuals, I have never ceaſed to conſider it altogether as a ſtep the moſt fatal and deplorable. Invitations and reproaches were not ſpared to withdraw from France, and from the offices which they held, thoſe who heſitated to quit the kingdom, or who appeared determined to remain. Every road was crouded with men and women, with age and infancy, haſtening from every quarter to the rallying point. This emigration met with no obſtacle. The Jacobins, whoſe cauſe it ſerved ſo well, not content with favouring it by affecting to ſhut their eyes, compelled the moſt irreſolute to fly by perſecution and outrage. It is however true that, if fright was the chief motive of ſome, as ambition was that of others, honour and duty prompted the greater number; who offered to the prince, (Count d'Artois) with eagerneſs, not only their ſwords and their blood, but likewiſe the wrecks of their fortunes which they had been able to ſave." (Vol. II. Pp. 6, 8, 9.)

As Mr. de P. repreſents emigration as a fatal ſtep, he is no leſs ſevere on a ſet of intriguers, who ſeem to have ruled in the court at Coblentz, and to have baniſhed all wiſdom from the councils of the French princes. Having told us that except M. de Calonne, and a very few others, there were none who had that ſtrength or comprehenſion of mind to diſcover, that to events ſo new, ſo various, and ſo extraordinary, it was the height of folly to oppoſe the ancient routine, but that they muſt be oppoſed by meaſures accommodated to the occaſions, he goes on to ſay,

"But if ſuch men (as Mr. Calonne, &c.) were rare, the number of thoſe whom an effeminate and idle life had rendered incapable of fixing their thoughts on ſerious ſubjects, was too conſiderable. Accuſtomed to hide their inſignificancy from others, and perhaps from themſelves, under an impoſing exterior, and cover their ignorance with the language of preſumption, many diſcovered that they had quitted Verſailles only by the difference of their furniture, or their houſes; and conſidered the awful event, which was ſoon to decide their fate, as no more than a hunting party, or a journey to Fontainebleau, or Compiegne.

"According to them the ſubmiſſion of France could not be more than the affair of one campaign. The regiments, of which moſt of them had been commanders, would not be able to ſtand their looks, and would either throw down their arms, or only keep them to fight under their ancient Colonels. The army of the enemy would then be compoſed of none but ſtupid and unwarlike peaſants, or of a maſs of tradeſmen from the towns, whoſe ſudden defeat offered to their imagination and regret nothing but a purſuit without fighting, too eaſy a victory. The emigrants already collected were a ſufficient force to accompliſh the end propoſed: the ſmaller the number, the advantages to be reaped would be the greater, as there would be fewer to divide the ſpoils: *tant pis* for thoſe who arrived too late. The conduct

of theſe gentlemen was of a piece with their reaſoning. Thoſe whom inſurmountable obſtacles had retarded for a few weeks, met with a cool reception, and were made to feel that their being received at all was a favour. Any chance expreſſion, a ſingle line written in favour of the reform of the moſt crying abuſes, were unpardonable crimes. They went ſo far as to keep a record of the dates of emigration. Eight days ſooner or later formed a ſhade of more or leſs merit, a title to preference, or a cauſe of hinderance as to the recompenſes, honours, and advancement, which every one diſtributed before hand, according to the opinion which he had of his own perſonal merit, and pretenſions. Hiſtory will be able to name men of great talents, and of ſound principles, who, repelled by this diſguſting manner, have been forced into the armies of the *Committee of Public Safety*, and compelled to give the aſſiſtance of their talents and their blood to a cauſe which they abhorred. Theſe examples, ſpread abroad, prevented thouſands of officers and ſoldiers from joining a party which held out to them nothing but a reception the moſt diſguſting and diſcouraging. As at Verſailles, the emigrant nobles occupied themſelves in ſupplanting each other, in courting favour, in dividing the ideal ſpoils of thoſe who had remained in France, in conſidering how they ſhould conduct themſelves when they had re-conquered the country; in ſhort, in every ſpecies of vengeance either public or private. This ſpirit ſpread through the neighbouring cantonments, and ſoon became almoſt univerſal In a word, the future alone was thought of, the preſent was totally forgotten. The means of ſucceſs was the eſſential object; on this not a thought was beſtowed." (Vol. II. Pp. 12—15.)

This is a melancholy and degrading picture of the French emigrant nobleſſe, but we are afraid that there is much truth in the delineation.

Mr. de P. having determined to ſerve the cauſe of royalty in the *interior*, rather than by *emigration*, he gives, among others, the following reaſons for that determination.

" The monarchy was, in fact, annihilated; all lawful authority was mute; every tie, ſocial and civil, was torn aſunder, and every Frenchman reduced to that ſituation where man, without other ſupport than himſelf, has only to conſult his own reaſon. As *Seigneur* of a conſiderable eſtate, I thought it unjuſt to abandon the care of my vaſſals, between whom and myſelf nothing had been able to deſtroy our reciprocal connection and duties.—As a *gentleman*, it was my duty to endeavour to preſerve that uſeful *influence*, which began inſenſibly to take the place of *privileges*. As a *Frenchman*, I was bound to conſecrate my fortune, my care, and my labour, to drag my country from the gulph of anarchy, and from the hands of its tyrants: and, as a *man*, to preſerve the province where I reſided from thoſe ſcenes of barbarity which were every day diſplayed in the other provinces of France. This taſk appeared to me not leſs meritorious, nor leſs dangerous than the ſterile advantage of giving one ſoldier more to the united powers. (Ib. Pp. 62, 63.)

Mr. de P. now enters on his military career. He did not at firſt diſcover publicly the final object he had in view: he contented himſelf with repreſenting to the gentlemen of Normandy that a provincial force was neceſſary to guard againſt thoſe diſorders and maſſacres which

which had taken place in many of the other provinces. In this application he was ſucceſsful. Troops were raiſed, and arrangements were made in conjunction with General Wimpffen, to organize an army of 18,000 infantry, about 6000 cavalry, with artillery and engineers in proportion. During theſe tranſactions, the conſtituted authorities, as they were called, took the alarm. Jacobin commiſſioners, and emiſſaries of every ſort were ſpread over the country, with aſſignats, with threats, and with promiſes. Jacobin troops followed. Theſe together made a conſiderable revolution in the minds of ſome, and in the conduct of many. The projected army of de Puiſaye was no longer to be hoped for: he was outlawed, and obliged, in ſelf-defence, to ſuſtain, with the very few who ſtood firm, an unequal war. From this time, till he came to Britain in 1794, to conſult with our government on the plan for continuing the war of the interior, his life appears to have been a ſucceſſion of toil, danger, deprivations of every kind, and hair-breadth eſcapes. But our limits will not permit us to enter into a detail of theſe events; for that we muſt refer our readers to the work. All that we can do is, by extracting his account of one or two of the ſituations in which he was placed, to give them a ſpecimen of what they are to expect from this part of the publication.

De Puiſaye, having collected a ſmall number of men, undiſciplined, and badly armed, determined to attack the republican army; as to retreat was in many reſpects a deſtructive meaſure, and as the enemy was receiving reinforcements every day. He determined not only to attack, but to ſurpriſe them. This latter meaſure was rendered abortive by the abſurdly indeciſive conduct of the commiſſioners; who, in imitation of the commiſſioners who attended the Conventional army, pretended to direct the warlike operations. Nothing therefore remaining but a bold and open attack, he proceeded to reconnoitre.

"The enemy," he ſays, "were drawn up in order of battle, in front of the foreſt, and as he had preſerved no intervals between the battalions, and as he had a ſecond line of equal numbers with the firſt, his front did not exceed ours. I obſerved that there was much buſtle and diſorder in the ranks. We were no ſooner perceived than we were ſaluted with a ſhower of balls. But the firing was ſcattered, and irregular. Theſe circumſtances made me hope that we ſhould have a cheap victory. They are a parcel of *sans culottes*, who know not how to handle their arms, ſaid I to my men, on my return to them, and I immediately gave orders to Colonel le Roy to charge. This order was not reliſhed by Bougon. He came to me with the other Commiſſioners, ſaying, 'that firſt of all it was indiſpenſible to ſend a trumpet to the army of the Convention with the proclamation.' Adding, 'Let them, at leaſt, know that we did not begin the firſt.' 'And what then have you been doing,' I anſwered, 'in your clubs and aſſemblies? You have choſen a ſingular time indeed for proclamations. Do you not ſee that they have already begun the attack.' Already the balls were rolling at our feet. In the meanwhile Jehame (another of the Commiſſioners) who was a brave man, and more deciſive, advances towards the enemy, holds up the proclamation, and his handkerchief, to indicate that he wiſhed to parley. He was received as we had been. At that inſtant I ordered the

drums to beat, and the artillery-men to fire. We had hardly reached the army of the Convention when it fled towards the foreſt in the utmoſt diſorder. Aſtoniſhed that my cavalry had not executed the orders which they had received, I haſtened towards them to charge at their head; I found them in the greateſt diſorder: neither men nor horſes had been accuſtomed to the firing of cannon. I at length ſucceeded in re-eſtabliſhing order. I advance, but am not followed. A ditch not of breadth ſufficient to ſtop even a bad horſe, again throws them into confuſion. The enemy had retired into the wood, I wiſhed to purſue them. I am again attacked by the Commiſſioners with freſh repreſentations, with all the follies of inexperience and fear, about ambuſcades, maſqued batteries, and I know not what. The night was coming on, and the time we had loſt rendered all purſuit impracticable. I formed the deſign of returning to Pacy, where I was ſure of being ſecured againſt all ſurpriſe, by re-eſtabliſhing the well-arranged poſt of the preceding evening. The extreme heat of the day had conſiderably fatigued the troops, and we were without proviſions of every kind. This deſign was oppoſed by the Commiſſioners. Proud of what they called a firſt victory, they determined to ſleep on the field of battle. Forced to yield, I ordered Colonel le Roy to place guards at the poſts I pointed out, and which were previouſly known to him. The battalions kept guard in their order of battle, and their muſkets ready to fire, were placed in their front. Having made this arrangement, I returned to the *château* to take a little reſt. I had left Caen the 6th or 7th of July (the battle was on the 14th.). From that day I had never gone to bed, and in the courſe of the preceding month I had not ſlept three nights together. Fatigue, joined to the exceſſive heat, had produced an eryſipelas, which gave me great pain, and my legs were ſo much ſwelled that they could no longer ſupport me. After having had my boots cut off, which was the only way I could get rid of them, I threw myſelf on a bed. I had not ſlept two hours, when I was awaked by cries, and the noiſe of cannon. I was told that the enemy was in our camp. Perceiving that he was not purſued, he had rallied, and traverſed our poſts, where not a man was awake. I made them throw me on my horſe, and gallopped to the place of attack. Colonel le Roy had juſt arrived, and ſupported the enemy's fire at the head of his battalion. The grape-ſhot, badly directed, flew about among the trees, and covered us with the branches. I ran to the cannon; the drivers had fled, having firſt cut the traces, and only one artillery man remained. He was a young man of Caen, named Lafaye: we owed our ſafety to his intrepidity. He pointed two guns towards the flaſh of two cannon which fired upon us from a very ſmall diſtance: he diſmounted one, and the fire of the enemy ceaſed. While this was going on, our national guards were ſtruck with a panic, and had fled: the battalion of Colonel le Roy, broken by our cavalry, which had fled with them, is borne along in its turn. Cries, menaces, intreaties, nothing was able to put a ſtop to the torrent—twenty Huſſars might have cut the whole to pieces. In the mean while the army of the enemy, on receiving the firſt fire of our cannon, retreated in confuſion, as they had done in the morning; their cavalry did not halt till it reached Verſailles, about fifteen or ſixteen leagues from the field of battle." (Vol. II. Pp. 152—157.)

Situated as Mr. de P. was, not to obtain a deciſive victory was equivalent to a defeat. He found it impoſſible to rally his ſcattered troops. Their panic ſtill remained, and their minds were poiſoned with mutual

tual ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. Theſe, with the intrigues of the emiſſaries of the convention, and the money which they diſtributed with an unſparing hand, rendered all attempts to ſupport the royal cauſe in Normandy ineffectual: Mr. de. P. was therefore obliged to abandon that province, and with one or two of his moſt faithful friends, to attempt to reach Brittany, where the people were more generally diſpoſed to ſecond his views. This was a matter of extreme difficulty, as he had been outlawed, and a high price offered for his head. After being expoſed to dangers of every kind, to every ſpecies of privation, and to the moſt harraſſing fatigue, he at laſt reached that province; and from that period till his quitting France, to arrange in London a plan of co-operation with our government, he appears to have been an active partiſan.

The nature of our work will not permit us to detail the various events of this deſultory and cruel war, but the following extract will give ſome idea of it to our readers. Mr. de P. with ſome other royaliſt leaders, had made choice of a retired hut near their camp, where they ſlept. The enemy had been made acquainted with this retreat, and ſurpriſed them on the morning of the 29th Nov. 1793.

"At day break my friends heard a confuſed ſound of voices: they fancied that it was the troop which I had ordered to march the night before, and did not think of waking me. *La Héchois*, and the elder *la Maſſue*, got up to meet them. In a moment they were attacked and ſeized. La Héchois with a cut of his ſabre diſengaged himſelf; la Maſſue had no arms. *Focard* jumped from his bed, and killed the man who had ſeized him. At that inſtant, as I ſtarted from ſleep, I heard a voice exclaim, 'What! do the gentlemen defend themſelves!' Immediately a ſhower of bullets is directed towards our hut: our frail roof tumbles on our heads: I had only time to take my gun, and to grope for ſome cartridges; about a minute paſſed before I could find them. The younger la Maſſue was in the middle of the hut; I perceived a man preſenting his piece at him; I called to la Maſſue, *fire!* he did, his adverſary fell, but he himſelf ſunk lifeleſs to the ground, as his brother entered to find his arms. All this time the intrepid Focard, whom I had given over for dead, alone ſupported the fire of the enemy without. He had given death to many. '*Charge them, charge them,*' he called out, 'they give way.' We ruſhed upon them. A panic terror, for which we could not account, had ſeized on them; they retired to the ſkeleton of the wood, which ſkirted the open country ſurrounding our hut. We traverſed this ſpace without other oppoſition than that of ſome diſtant vollies. La Héchois fell, pierced by numberleſs balls. Le Roy had ſeveral through his clothes. The elder la Maſſue's fuſee was ſhattered to pieces in his hands. I alone remained untouched. Focard had received three wounds, one in the head, another in the leg, and a third in the breaſt. We did not quit each other, and penetrated into the wood." (Vol. II. Pp. 309, 10.)

After ſome minute particulars, which are intereſting, but which we have not room to inſert, he goes on.

"Our precipitation had totally bewildered us: we knew not where we were. The ſun had not as yet riſen; Le Roy, who had ſome aſtronomical knowledge,

knowledge, directed us as well as he could, but imperfectly, as the ſky was cloudy. La Maſſue, whoſe courage did not forſake him, notwithſtanding the tears which this intereſting young man ſhed for the loſs of his brother, climbed the higheſt trees to diſcover ſome land-mark, by which we might find out where we were. This foreſt, which has a circumference of ſeveral leagues, is interſected by a multiplicity of paths, which croſs each other in every direction, many of which lead to places, that, in our preſent ſituation, it would have been highly imprudent to approach. We had obſerved a pond, from whence we knew the road to our camp. Our whole efforts were employed to diſcover this pond; which we effected, after wandering five hours through briars and thorns. None of us had time to put on our ſhoes and ſtockings: my friends, having but one bed, had lain down in their clothes. As to myſelf, I was reduced to my ſhirt, and my gun, ſo that my body, from the briars and thorns, was all over one wound. But, thinking of the more intereſting ſituation of Focard, my own paſſed unregarded. We had hardly diſcovered the ſo long deſired point, when we beheld our hut. The firſt objects which ſtruck us were the bodies of our young friends, dreadfully disfigured, and cut in pieces by the cannibals, who had come back after our retreat." (Vol. II. Pp. 311—313.)

It may be neceſſary to explain the exclamation of the anarchiſts, "What! do the gentlemen defend themſelves!" The traitor had betrayed the ſituation of the hut, but it would appear had not known by whom it was inhabited. The anarchiſts expected to meet with only a few proſcribed prieſts, and were confounded when they met with reſiſtance. They imagined that they had been betrayed; and maſſacred their ſpy in their retreat.

Having already exceeded our limits, we can only add that Mr. de P. after experiencing difficulties and dangers of every ſort, yet not deſpairing of ultimate ſucceſs, paſſed into Britain in 1794, to ſolicite the co-operation of our government. Here his narrative ſtops, and here too we ſhall ſtop, without deciding on his conduct, till the whole of it has been laid before the public.

With regard to the literary merits of the publication, they are much above mediocrity. We muſt, however, ſay that the narrative is too diffuſe, that the author turns aſide into abſtract reaſonings which are out of place; and is not free from that unintereſting and ſuperfluous declamation, which, even in this country, but more eſpecially in France, is, in ſpite of good taſte, conſidered by the many to be *fine* writing. The French revolution has not leſs debauched the intellect than the morals of the human race, and the ſimple and impreſſive language of taſte and of nature is no longer heard, or, if at any time they venture to ſpeak it, is received as the language of antiquated imbecility. To write *much*, or to ſpeak *for hours*, is now conſidered as writing, or ſpeaking *well*. The man who contrives to expand the legitimate contents of an 8vo. into a magnificent 4to. and he who declaims for four hours on what might have been diſcuſſed in half an hour, are both applauded: the *parvum in multo*, ſeems, according to the Gallican phraſeology, to be "the order of the day."

For our author, however, one obvious apology may be offered. He did

did not ſit down cooly to ſtate a caſe in which he had no concern. His paſſions were afloat, his honour, and his reputation were at ſtake, and in that effervescence of mind, a correct work is not to be expected. But in a work of this kind it is not the *manner* but the *matter* which is to be looked to, all that we require is *truth*. Hitherto we are rather diſpoſed to believe the writer; the promiſed ſequel will enable us to decide.

(To be continued.)

L'Art Militaire, &c.—*The Military Art, as it exiſted among the moſt famous Nations of Antiquity, analyzed and compared with that of Modern Times: or, an Inquiry into the true Theory of War, and the eſſential Principles of the Military Inſtitution.* By L. M. P. de Laverne, an old Officer of Dragoons. Pp. 510. 8vo. Paris, 1805. Imported by Deconchy, 8s.

NUMEROUS, indeed, are the projects for perpetual peace that have iſſued from the French preſs; and Frenchmen have eagerly adopted the idea, but always with the latent hope that they ſhould be the means of realiſing it, as maſters of the civilized world. That thoſe who have always been the moſt abject ſlaves of the lawleſs ambition of a ruthleſs tyrant, the military executioner of Europe, ſhould well know the inevitable miſeries of a cruel, ambitious, policy, and inceſſantly dream of perpetual peace, is perfectly natural. Injuſtice and inconſiſtency are ever allied; and it has been truly obſerved, that the moſt abandoned in iniquity are obliged to place their crimes in the ſhade of virtue ere they can coolly behold them. Such projects might therefore be expected; but whilſt their tongues falter with the milder accents of peace at this moment, the next, their hearts palpitate with that ambition which "only in deſtroying finds eaſe to its relentleſs thoughts." It is in vain, however, that Frenchmen longer attempt to deceive the world by their projects of perpetual and univerſal peace. Were ſuch a meaſure either deſirable or practicable, it is not from them that it ſhould emanate: they who never were the authors of any one permanently uſeful diſcovery, are not likely to produce what is to give a new character to the world to the lateſt poſterity. The work before us is, indeed, avowedly borrowed from that of the Pruſſian officer, M. de Bulow, on the modern ſyſtem of war, and as ſuch merits attention. The whole tenor of this verboſe volume, which conſiſts of tedious hiſtorical reflections, ſometimes interſperſed with feeble rays of good ſenſe, aims at fixing two points, the utility of augmenting and improving the military inſtitution, and the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the balance of power in Europe, whence general and permanent peace, according to our author, muſt neceſſarily reſult. We ſhall ſelect a few of the more judicious reflections that are ſcattered through the work, which is not very ſyſtematic, although the author contends for the importance of order and regularity, not only in the army, but in every department of life. In the preface, he obſerves,

ſerves, that "It cannot be too often repeated and proved, that men can neither be great, happy, ſtrong or triumphant, but with the ſpirit of order, method, and prudence; and that enthuſiaſm and the ardent virtues have never produced any thing durable, as they ſpring from the paſſions, and lead directly to vice. True virtue has its ſource but in reaſon." What a ſatire upon his volatile countrymen, who fly from paſſion to paſſion, always in the very vortex of enthuſiaſm and frenzy, and who never reaſon on any ſubject or in any capacity. It is an undeniable fact, that all the French writers, from Rabelais to Monteſquieu and Condillac, uniformly endeavour to arreſt the feelings of their readers at the expense of their reaſon, and their ſucceſs has conſequently been in proportion to the greater or leſs capacity for feeling or reaſoning in man. Take the arguments of their graveſt or moſt profound philoſophers, not excepting even Monteſquieu, and they will be found of a ſtructure and weight very ſimilar to thoſe in uſe by our poets; and very few of them attain the dignity of thoſe common to Milton and Young, whom we never think of conſidering as philoſophers like Locke and Hartley.

But to return to our military author, who defines the art of war to be "no other than a ſyſtem of attack and defence, a manner of acting all at once with *unity* againſt the enemy (faire avec enſemble & unité du mal á l'ennemi), and to produce diſorder among them ſyſtematically." We muſt paſs over his obſervations on the origin of nations, which, however conſonant to the Chriſtian faith, have little to recommend them. He obſerves, indeed, that "the firſt civilized nations were the firſt conquerors, and the firſt who have had the idea of organizing their troops after a reaſonable ſyſtem;" hence he infers, that the *enſemble* and *unité* of his ſyſtem are not only advantageous and neceſſary to the progreſs of civilization; but that they are congenial with the nature of the human mind. It is alſo obſerved, that the hierarchy of the Grecian armies, although under another name, was very nearly the ſame as that of the Medes, Aſſyrians, and Perſians, which was purely monarchial; and that the republican Greeks, on all great occaſions, were obliged to adopt the monarchial form, as tending more immediately to defenſive power and to unity. Laverne alſo expoſes the ignorance of thoſe who talked of patriotiſm and of their country, by ſhewing how new conqueſts or treaties may make millions, our countrymen, who before neither ſpoke the ſame language, nor lived under the ſame laws; and at the ſame time feelingly laments the partition of France into departments, as the certain deſtruction of that provincial ſpirit ſo uſeful to her armies. The virtues too of the Carthaginians, a mercantile people, are more juſtly appreciated than uſual with French writers; and their national fidelity repreſented as ſuch, that although their citizens were often entruſted with the moſt unlimited power, and with the moſt unbounded liberty, they never once abuſed it, or betrayed the true intereſts of their country. We cannot, indeed, ſo much approve of the following ſentiment: "Catharine II. this extraordinary woman, who leaves far behind

hind her the Semiramiſes, Margarites, and Elizabeths, marks the age in Ruſſia like Louis XIV. in France." With reſpect to the particular merit of Catharine, it is foreign to our preſent ſubject, but we would obſerve to all thoſe whoſe ignorance or malignity would diſparage the very uncommon powers of Elizabeth, that it is much eaſier to civilize a nation ſurrounded by other highly civilized powers, than to elevate one above the ignorance and barbarity of all the other kingdoms of the earth.

To thoſe who admire the military proweſs of the republican generals, we recommend the obſervations of the author, who clearly ſhews that the want of military ſcience in the French generals in 1796, by leaving unreduced ſeveral ſtrong places, near ſixty leagues in their rear, was the cauſe of that diſaſtrous campaign, and that till Luxemburgh, Maeſtricht, and Mentz ſurrendered, they could never drive the Auſtrians acroſs the Rhine.

"In general, I repeat it," ſays he, "that the more we ſtudy the Hiſtory of the Revolution war, the more we ſhall be convinced that the *number of men*, the *prodigious quantity* of *materials for war*, the ſtrength of the baſis on which it was ſupported, and the vaſt conception of the plans on which they acted (all things that in modern war are the primordial ſources of ſucceſs), have been the only cauſes of the great advantages gained by the French armies."

M. Laverne accounts for all theſe circumſtances by a reference to facts, that completely ſtrip the republican generals of all their boaſted laurels. Nothing, indeed, can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe that a poſtilion, barber, taylor, or village ſchool-maſter, can in a moment be converted into ſoldiers qualified to command armies, as well as thoſe regularly educated to the profeſſion. The numbers of the French armies (we have been aſſured by reſpectable authority, that they amounted to 950,000 men at one period), the author aſcribes to the *levy en maſſe* of an increaſed population, the quantity of materials, to twenty years continental peace maintained by Louis XVI. before the revolution; the baſis, to his favourite principle of unity; and the plans, he aſſerts with much plauſibility, were all ſelected from the immenſe variety found in the office of the miniſter at war, where project after project was heaped, often unopened, from the days of Louis XIV. to the fell exploſion of the Revolution. It is not then to Carnot, De la Croix, Berthier, &c. that the merit of the military plans is to be attributed; they only adopted them, and aſſumed the honour of their invention with the ſame regard to honeſty that we have recently ſeen exerciſed by Andreoſſy, in falſely claiming the merit of the projection of the Canal of Languedoc to his grandfather. Theſe, and many other concomitant facts, ſhould teach us the neceſſity of exerciſing the higheſt degree of ſcepticiſm reſpecting the qualities of modern Frenchmen. This is the more neceſſary, that it has long been a national maxim with them to repreſent themſelves as poſſeſſing, in an eminent degree, that which they are conſcious to be moſt deficient in, and thus by the empty reputation to produce even a more important

important political effect than the reality would. It must be confeſſed, indeed, that their ſucceſs has hitherto been very conſiderable; yet we doubt not, that in a few years more the deluſion will be extinguiſhed, and the world as perfectly convinced of the inferiority of their talents, as it is now of their moral turpitude. The followiug reflections offer a fair repreſentation of the author's mode of treating his ſubject, with regard to general and permanent peace.

"Frederic fought for ſelf-defence, and became a conqueror, but with a wiſdom and meaſure that characterized him. He took provinces uſeful to the ſecurity and proſperity of his ſtates, and was careful not to go farther, even when he would have been able without danger. Catharine II. more ambitious, ſpent money and men that would have been better employed in the interior, and failed in ſome of her projects. France, during the revolution war, fought for her defence, and conquered Europe. But, afterwards overſtepping her limits with the ſpirit and deſire of conqueſt, and having no more to do on the continent but with Auſtria alone, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of her forces, and in ſpite of the exaltation and ardor that the revolutionary ſtate excited in the minds of her ſoldiers, ſhe has been able to do her enemy no other injury than that of ſeizing ſome provinces which Auſtria long ſince could no longer hope to retain. As an indemnity for thoſe, France has ceded to her the republic of Venice, that is much more important to the actual ſituation of the Auſtrian monarchy. On the other hand, France has not been able to prevent the German Empire from growing ſtill rounder by a conſiderable part of Poland. Thus, the reſult of this terrible ſtruggle has been, that in relation to the extent of territory, France has comparatively but little augmented her power to what ſhe was before, and Auſtria has ſeen hers nothing diminiſhed; but both have loſt precious blood and diſſipated millions. So many memorable examples will at length prove to Europe, that every day knowledge and civilization conſolidate the balance between the principal powers, and will henceforth make them feel more than ever this truth already known; that there are no riches, proſperity, or real glory for a ſtate, but a perfected agriculture, a grand commerce, and a great population. In ſhort, if the intereſt of powers require ſome conceſſions, ſome changes of territory, theſe arrangements may take place much better by way of negotiation, without recurring to arms, which, during the two laſt centuries, have ſerved but to embroil the affairs of Europe, and which have always been finally terminated by negotiation. Civilization tends to mitigate the effects of war, and the invention of gunpowder was favourable to the introduction of *unity* in the military ſyſtem. I have examined the progreſs of civilization, and obſerved ſeveral great nations, alike informed, counterbalance themſelves by a political balance, of which the actual military ſyſtem is the firmeſt ſupport. On this view of the ſtate of things, I have hazarded the conjecture, that the ſpirit of calculation and combination now neceſſary to prepare, and to make war with ſucceſs, ſhould lead men every day to foreſee more and more its inutility, and by conſequence to no more engage in it.——The perfection of the military art therefore tends to produce a *ſtagnation* of arms, and to this art carried to *its laſt degree* of perfection, the nations of Europe will one day be indebted for a permanent ſtate of peace. Superficial obſervers will regard theſe ideas as illuſory, but they do not perceive their affinity with ſociety. In the founders of primitive ſocieties, guided by a divine hand, faith was more ſenſible

when,

when the heart was more innocent and ſimple, ſo that they proceeded by ways direct, fixed, conſtant and uniform. But the increaſe of numbers, and conſequent diſperſion of the people, diſtance from their birth-places, natural wants, and pride, altered their manners, ſo that ſome became, demi-barbarous, ſome totally ſo, and others ſavage; or, what is ſynonimous, brutalized: whence it follows that the ſavage ſtate has ſucceeded, and not preceded, the ſtate of poliſhed ſociety, from which it is but a deviation. Hence too, it is inferred, that men will grow more virtuous by the ſame gradations that they grew vicious."

It may be true, that exceſſive vice muſt cure itſelf either by ſhowing the indiſpenſible neceſſity of virtue, or by exterminating its guilty votaries; yet, it is certain, that it has gradually increaſed in France, from the reſtoration of learning to the preſent hour, and that, during this period, we ſhall in vain look for complete and accurate conception of moral rectitude, either in the writings or actions of Frenchmen. This is a truth which cannot be too much inculcated, and which deſerves the moſt ſerious attention from the ſtudents and patrons of French literature in this country. It is true, indeed, that they frequently pourtray ſome one virtue with a lively pencil, but it is invariably accompanied by ſome latent, deleterious, vice, that renders its adoption peſtiferous to the minds of youth. *Telemaque* is no exception to this obſervation, which is confirmed by the well-known fact, that all French writers deſcribe human actions to vicious motives, while the Engliſh as uniformly attribute them to virtuous ones. Were we aſked a cauſe for ſuch mental depravity, we ſhould reply, that no children whoſe infant minds have been ſtrongly impreſſed with the dogmas of the Church of Rome, are ever after capable of forming perfect conceptions of genuine moral rectitude. We fear, therefore, that our author is ſomewhat too ſanguine in his expectations of the progreſs of virtue among his countrymen. Before the true principles of moral rectitude be well underſtood in France, the Proteſtant religion muſt be there naturalized, all their preſent works of literature thrown into oblivion, to give place to Engliſh works of education, their violent paſſions, levity, and reſtleſs love of pleaſure and ambition, rendered ſubſervient to reaſon, a ſentiment of true honour and veracity eſtabliſhed, and even then centuries will elapſe ere the more exalted virtues become general in that country.

M. Laverne's reaſoning on the advantages of the French ſucceſſes, betrays his opinion that his country is juſtly entitled to all her newly acquired territory, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or the rights of nations. He, however, repeatedly deplores the introduction of "any principle of exaggeration whatever, as it is deſtructive of the true martial ſpirit." If now living, what will he ſay of recent accounts of military exploits? For the preſent we ſhall notice his ideas of the Balance of Power in Europe.

"The commencement of the 15th century gave birth to the notion of the balance of Europe, precious and ſalutary idea, that ſerves as a bridle to the great, and a guarantee to the ſmaller ſtates. The invention of gunpowder

juſt

juſt conſolidated and perfected this balance, by obliging even the armed force to limit itſelf to certain bounds, which the nature of things rendered it impoſſible to overleap. The force of circumſtances, diſpoſed without doubt by the hand of Providence itſelf, has created the European balance, the moſt ſublime inſtitution that has ever taken place for the perfection and happineſs of the human ſpecies. This baſis of policy being eſtabliſhed for the proſperity, ſecurity and repoſe of nations, all that now remains to be done by the great powers of Europe, is to ſhow themſelves ſufficiently informed and magnanimous to put a bridle on their ambition. The ſtates of Europe cannot deſtroy each other, and conſequently ſhould hearken to reaſon. Since that I have reflected on the political ſtate of Europe, I have never been able to comprehend how it has been pretended to demonſtrate by reaſoning, a neceſſity for the rivality of two chief (majeur) powers, eſpecially when they are neighbours. I can indeed conceive it, but by quite other motives than thoſe drawn from reaſon. I ſhould rather think that this rivalry ought to exiſt between diſtant powers, as they, experiencing more obſtacles to ſelf-examination, can dextrouſly elude the inſpection of each other. Hence this power of inſpection is the true guarantee of the equilibrium or balance, as the ſupport of the latter ought to be the mother idea and regulator of the combinations of politics."

As we have extracted ſome of the author's more diſtinct opinions on military and political inſtitutions, we ſhall now translate ſome of his commercial ideas.

"Where a ſtate has not ſufficient manufactures, even in conſuming foreign merchandizes, its commerce is enriched by the ſale at ſecond hand. Should this not produce to the merchants fortunes like thoſe of a great manufacturer, it matters not. Society, conſidered in a general point of view, has its wants, which are thus ſupplied: it has merchandize at a reaſonable rate, which is the eſſential. But, in this caſe, a ſtate will conſtantly give away its circulating medium never to regain it! This has been much talked of; but is not the folly of the exclamation felt. A ſtate muſt find its reſources in the fertility of the ſoil, and the abundance of its productions. I have laid it down as a principle, that, generally ſpeaking, the ſyſtem of protection in matters of commerce is bad. The richeſt ſtate is that which unites agriculture, manufactures and colonies in activity. A nation in this condition can loſe nothing by the ſtruggle of commerce with its neighbours, and might leave its commercial affairs at abſolute liberty, without any other reſult than advantage to its internal proſperity. The freedom of importation is a motive of emulation in manufactures."

Theſe ſentiments, as well as many others diſperſed through this volume, expoſe the narrow policy, the pernicious laws, and the groſs ignorance and incapacity of Buonaparté. His prohibitory mandates, ignorantly believed to be an imitation of Engliſh protecting duties, put a total ſtop to all the manufactures in France before ſix months of peace had expired. The effect of the annihilating ſyſtem of Chaptal, the *medecin mediocre* of Montpellier, is a proof how ill qualified doctors are for legiſlators, and of covetous ambition effecting its own ruin.

We cannot notice all the opinions of M. Laverne that are juſtly comprehenſive

prehenſive of almoſt all the meaſures of the actual tyranny of France, nor all his arguments for peace, and the neceſſity of a balance of power in Europe. Many of his military obſervations are more valuable, as they are, perhaps, the reſult of experience, and a knowledge of warfare. He approves of the German ſyſtem of having but a ſmall number of officers: four to every hundred men he conſiders fully adequate to effect every purpoſe of which martial genius and heroiſm is capable. Still, however, he recurs to his favourite project of final peace, and the balance of power; and it muſt be confeſſed, that his grand argument for effecting peace by the very means that have hitherto been uſed to deſtroy it, acquires ſome plauſibility from the recollection that it was war that firſt extended civilization over Europe.

"The enormous expences of war at preſent, he contends, will force governments to ſuſpend their projects of conqueſt, and thereby prevent the *neceſſity* of war. Every day tends more and more to augment the empire of things, and diminiſh that of men: as knowledge becomes more general, the individual poſſeſſor of it becomes leſs conſequential. There are now perſons who reject the pretended glory with which it is wiſhed to cover bloody trophies, and who affirm with confidence, that it is more agreeable to improve than to overturn, to ameliorate than change, to be protector than maſter."

The author concludes his work with a remonſtrative appeal to the nations of Europe, in behalf of injured virtue and humanity, in which theſe very appropriate reflections occur on the deplorable character of his countrymen.

"Your libraries expoſe to the dazzled ſight the ſhining garments of wiſdom and of civilization; your laws, manners and, cuſtoms, every where diſplay to the aſtoniſhed eye the foul ſhreds of barbariſm."—"The leaſt labour diſheartens you; you never find in yourſelves either patience, courage, money, or arms, for a long enterprize: confiding in Providence, that has treated you too well, nevertheleſs, ungrateful and outraging it unceaſingly, you abandon to time the care of civilizing yourſelves!"

The great improbability of the author's plan ever being reduced to practice, renders all inquiry reſpecting its practical utility of little importance. It ought to be remarked, however, that much as he has ſaid about peace and humanity, he is ſilent on the grand ſentiment that ennobles man, the principle of juſtice. The idea of juſtice, indeed, we muſt repeat it, is foreign to the minds of Frenchmen. Nor is it morally poſſible, that there ſhould be either juſtice or truth, where there is neither integrity nor ſincerity. It is no leſs impoſſible to find ſincerity where it has become an uniform principle of action to make propoſitions, from which very oppoſite concluſions may be drawn, without ſubjecting their author to the charge of inconſiſtency. Knowing, as we do, the general aſcendancy of the truly Gallic ſpirit of *double-dealing*, which in leſs verſatile characters would be deſignated *low cunning*, we ſhould not be ſurpriſed if M. Laverne ſhould publiſh an *eloge* on his Imperial maſter, in which he would demonſtrate

ſtrate that his conduct was the very perfection of his principles of unity and balance. It is not indeed very improbable, notwithſtanding all he has advanced reſpecting the importance of a political equilibrium, that he ſtill wiſhes for ſuch a balance only as might be ſuſpended on the arm of Imperial France. But we fear not the arch-enemy of mankind; his rapid exaltation, but indicates his perilous ſituation and eventually inevitable ruin, which promiſe that juſtice and the inſulted laws of nations ſhall be yet reſtored to the injured ſtates of the earth. The author's ſtyle is dry, prolix, and diſguſtingly full of repetition; but his work has the rare merit of being free from all vulgar obſcenity or groſs immorality.

It has been ſaid, on emigrant authority, that Buonaparté ordered the author of this volume to the Temple, there to be kept on bread and water till his ſword ſhould eſtabliſh the real balance of power in the Empire of Europe, but we cannot give implicit faith to ſuch reports.

Statiſque Elementaire.—Elements of the Statiſtics of France, containing the Principles of that Science, and their Application to the Analyſis of the Wealth, Strength, and Power of the French Empire. By J. Peuchet. Pp. 630. 8vo. 12s. Paris, 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

NO ſchemes are more impoſing, no allegations more pompous, no inferences more deluſive than many of thoſe founded in ſpeculations on commerce, finance, and population. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing that numbers ſhould publiſh, and ſtill more be duped by ſuch effuſions. The talents neceſſary to a good ſtatiſt are alſo thoſe that are eſſential to a good ſtateſman, whoſe quickneſs and depth of comprehenſion, impartiality and ſtrength of judgment, profound knowledge of human nature, and facility of language, are found in a very limited number of individuals throughout the civilized world. The arduouſneſs of the ſubject has not, however, prevented many ignorant but bold ſpeculators from proclaiming diſaſter and ruin on the one hand, and on the other, ſucceſs and power beyond all law human or divine. Some have malignantly announced the ruin of their country, and were ſpeedily diſappointed; others again with principles equally baſe, and opinions no leſs erroneous, have repreſented the wealth, the power, magnificence, and glory of their country as multiplying beyond all calculation, as ſurpaſſing all eſtimates hitherto known in the annals of civil ſociety. Of this latter claſs is our preſent author, J. Peuchet, and all the numberleſs French writers on what they have learned to call the ſcience of ſtatiſtics, which they reluctantly acknowledge that they have entirely borrowed from the Engliſh. When we remember the reception that ſuch ſpeculations met with from vulgar credulity in our own country, and on our domeſtic concerns, we are the better prepared to juſtly appreciate them, and to expoſe their fallacious pretenſions, not only to the minds of Engliſhmen, but to every rational being throughout the

the Christian world. That these extravagant and false exaggerations have contributed to create and augment not only the imaginary but the physical power of France cannot be doubted; and Frenchmen have literally *huzzaed* their country into a consequence that it otherwise never could have attained, and which even yet rests on no more permanent a basis than vulgar credulity. We shall proceed to examine the work before us, which is but an abridgment of a much larger one on the same subject, recently published by the same author, aided by Herbin and others, and if our analysis and observations should correct the wilful misstatements of these writers, our labours will not have been in vain. We think it necessary, however, to beg the attention of our readers to some facts which we shall adduce respecting the actual population of France, and assure them that they are not mere speculations, but the result of our personal statistical researches, during the late truce, throughout the departments of that country now called the French empire.

M. Peuchet, after a long preliminary dissertation, in which he affects the most profound knowledge, and most intimate acquaintance with his subject, by a review of the writings of all preceding authors, attempts to define what is meant by the word *statistic*, and to establish it as the name of a particular science, by divesting it of all extraneous matter referrable to other branches of legislation, commerce, or topography. "It is," says he, "the science of the real strength and resources of a political state." But he is unable to give the true etymon of this word, and knows not whether it be derived from *status*, *statera*, or *stadt*, although he has repeatedly attempted to define it by its etymology. The author proceeds to divide his work, at first in eight, and afterwards in ten chapters. On the extent of territory, its division into 108 departments and 11 regions, organization civil and religious, population of France, productions of the French territory, industry and its products, commerce, revenue and forces of the state. The first three chapters on the extent, division, and departments of the French territory, are purely topographical, and contain nothing particular, excepting the most extravagant exaggerations of fertility and wealth, and the most palpable diminutions of the amount of taxes and rates of taxation. Mr. Young's Tour, in the present as well as all preceding works, has furnished the basis of these calculations, which give the following estimate (p. 73.) of the actual quantity of agricultural territory.—Of strong rich soil about 28,218,908 arpents; of moors and heath about 23,355,004 arpents; of chalky soil 13,544,904; of gravelly soil 3,840,070; of stony land 19,016,136; of mountainous land 26,249,394; and of sandy soil 8,303,142; making in all 122,517,564 arpents, or nearly 153,146,955 English acres, four arpents being about five acres. It is evident that this estimate of the number of arpents or acres but ill accords with the superficial dimensions given of France, its greatest length being from the Meuse to the frontiers of Spain, 250 leagues, or 625 English miles, and its breadth from Strasbourg to Brest, 210 leagues, or 525 miles. In

a ſubſequent page (178), the author makes the preſent territory of the French empire to contain 32,026 ſquare French leagues (or about 26,688 Engliſh), which amounts to 128,103,000 arpents, not quite ſix millions more than the preceding!! It were vain to criticiſe ſuch eſtimates, as their deſigned deception muſt be ſufficiently apparent, and to expoſe all the miſrepreſentations in each article would require a volume equal to that before us. We ſhall only obſerve, that the true quantity of rich ſoil in France does not perhaps equal one-third of what is here ſtated; ſome parts of Languedoc, Guyenne, Poictiers, banks of the Seine, and certain diſtricts in Burgundy, are all that can be called rich ſoils; and there is almoſt no meadow-land or rich paſture; at leaſt nine-tenths of the whole country conſiſts of very light gravelly land, rocky moors, heaths, under-woods and barren mountains. It is, however, neceſſary to the views of the author to repreſent his country as extremely fertile, in order to give ſome plauſibility to the exiſtence of ſuch an immenſe population as he is pleaſed to ſcatter over it. We paſs over his topography of a 108 (perhaps they may be ſhortly 180) departments, as contemptibly ſuperficial and erroneous. M. Peuchet indeed gives to Flanders a population of 792 perſons per ſquare mile, which is only 384 more than Chaptal publiſhed two years preceding, and is a trifling augmentation in his eſtimation. The general reſult gives to France a population (after admitting ſome over eſtimates) of 34,449,351 individuals on a territory of 32,026 French ſquare leagues, or to each ſquare league 1,075 2-3ds; in another eſtimate, he ſays 1,093 1-3d perſons, who pay in *direct contributions*, on an average, 9 livres, 7 ſous (7s. 10d.) per head. In ſome departments theſe contributions exceed 30 francs to each individual.

It may be neceſſary here to remark that theſe individual *contributions directes* have been egregiouſly miſconceived by many people in this country: they are not a dividend of the whole taxes levied by the French government, as has been erroneouſly ſuppoſed, but are almoſt all of the nature of a pole-tax, which every ſoul in that country muſt pay for liberty to breathe the air, over and above all taxes and duties on the products of induſtry, and the conſumption of the neceſſary articles of life. In addition to this, however, we have another tax to mention, which has never been eſtimated, nor even its exiſtence admitted by the government, but which is very ſenſibly felt by the claſs on which it particularly falls, we mean the expence of paſſports and cards of reſidence, which are neceſſary to all who have not funded property, that is to all who are not houſeholders. Theſe *cards* of *ſurety* and of *reſidence*, as they are uſually denominated, which were deſigned to protect the individual from arreſt and domiciliary viſits of the *gens d'armes*, in republican days were given gratis at the office of the Commiſſary of police; but ſince the acceſſion of Buonaparté *centimes* began to be demanded, and the extortion has continued to increaſe every day, and it is now not uncommon to demand 10 or 12 francs and to receive 5 or 6, for the renewal of a

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card, which in time of war must be had every month. The injustice of such a discretionary tax, which is levied either according to the ability of the applicant to pay, or his courage to refuse, may be easier felt than described; but its annual amount, which must be very considerable, we have no adequate means of ascertaining. Its nature and actual existence, however, should teach those who murmur at English taxes, something of what they would have to pay under the dominion of Buonaparté.

The author entertains his readers with a chapter of 140 pages on the political, administrative, judicial and religious organization of the departments: but as these branches had not been *imperialized* when he wrote, and as we have no measure for the caprice of a successfully ambitious tyrant, we imagine that our readers would be very little amused with an examination of this part of the work, which certainly has no relation with statistics, according to M. Peuchet's own definition of the term. The section on public instruction acknowledges, indeed, the actually decaying state of education in France, and the rapid advances of worse than Gothic ignorance and barbarity. Buonaparté still levies money for public instruction, but he knows too well what will better suit his personal views than that of educating youth, in consequence of which there is not *one* school out of Paris that has its stated number of professors, and in many of the least commercial departments there is not a single public professor! The universal penury of the people, and their being forced to pay for learning which is never offered to them, joined to the covetous rapacity of petty schoolmasters, have put almost a total stagnation to the progress of knowledge in that degenerating country. These facts, with the excessive superstition that is the natural follower of infidelity, whilst they may draw a sigh from the bosom of the philanthropist, should teach the deluded perfectionists how vain were their blind speculations on the improvement of man. In utter defiance of all order and consistency, of which the author boasted in his preface, he has given a meagre outline of the history of the University of Paris, and of the revival of learning in the 14th century, with observations on the different plans of study and systems of education in fashion from that period till the total abolition of all methods at the revolution. For this deviation, however, there was an important cause; it afforded M. Peuchet the occasion of artfully assuming to his country the merit of a knowledge of the Greek language, superior to that of the Italians, in the 13th century. Our astonishment at the address with which Frenchmen can misrepresent facts, and arrogate to themselves merits to which they have no just claim, was suddenly changed to a smile at the following grave assertion, "that all Europe *ought* to be *grateful* to the legislators who re-established religion in France!!" This is doubtless a new debt of gratitude for the Europeans, but before it becomes payable it is incumbent on the author to prove that they have also established the principles of common honesty, and then and only then, may they claim the grateful suffrage of plundered and oppressed nations,

The chapter on Population, of all the compilations that have appeared on that fertile ſubject, appears to be the moſt ſuperficial, and the moſt deſtitute of all ſcientific reſearch, or originality of conception that has yet been publiſhed. From this huge maſs of extracts from other writers we ſhall briefly extract the general reſults.

"The actual number of inhabitants in France, according to our author, is 34,976,313, or in round numbers, 35 millions, diſtributed in the proportion of 1093 3-32ds individuals to each French ſquare league. The proportion of births are as 1 to 25 or 25½ of the entire population: one fifth of the children born are illegitimate: proportion of marriages to the population, as 1 to 132 2-3ds, and of births, 4 to each marriage. It appears that in the ſouthern provinces 10 marriages give annually 44 births in the towns, and only 42 in the country.* In the ſame region it is admitted that the births exceed the deaths in the country, 1-28th; but that in the towns the deaths ſurpaſs the births 1-12th: (a circumſtance that indicates a decaying population). The average number of deaths annually is eſtimated as 1 to 30 1-10th of the population, or that 30 1-10th individuals are born for every 28 3-10ths that die, (an eſtimate that we ſhall prove to be unſupported by facts). For every 20 female children born there are 21 males; but the deaths of the males exceed thoſe of the females 1-19th, not including the deaths in the army. From an exact enumeration (ſays our author) it reſults that the females conſtitute 9-17ths of the population, or 33 men to 34 women. The military conſcriptions amount annually to 60,000 men, or 1-127th part of the entire population fit to carry arms, that is to ſay, 1-127th part of the marriageable claſs is annually annihilated to ſociety by military conſcription. In another calculation founded on the more rational baſis of M. Pomelles, it is admitted that 1-17th of this claſs is every year converted into ſoldiers, without including the ſailors and marines."

The above is all that we have been able to collect correctly from our author's incoherent and very imperfect labours on the population of his country. It is neceſſary, however, to remember that all theſe eſtimates are merely coloured a little in favour of political views from thoſe of Necker and Pomelles made before the revolution, and during the moſt flouriſhing period of a long peace in France. This fact is, indeed, ſtudiouſly concealed by M. Peuchet, among the numerous eſtimates of the 7th, 9th, 10th, and 11th years, &c.; and in one inſtance, only is it acknowledged that according to Necker the number of marriages was as 1 to 113 3-4ths, when at preſent it is as 1 to 132 2-3ds only. Beginning, however, with our author at the actual po-

* This preſumed fact has perplexed all the French writers on population ſince the revolution. It is not, however, difficult to conceive that the hard labour to which the country-women are now reduced for want of men to cultivate the earth, muſt contribute conſiderably to obſtruct the operations of nature, and conſequently diminiſh the number of births. There is alſo another cauſe; the miſery and deſperation of country-women, who have ſeen all their male relations and friends torn from them to be made ſoldiers, have often impelled them to the horried reſolution of deſtroying all their male offspring! Dreadful to relate, they ſtill juſtify this monſtrous act as the effect of humanity, and the leſſer evil!

pulation of France, that he occaſionally eſtimates in round numbers at 34 millions, which are extended over a territory in the proportion, according to Peuchet, of 1093 1-3d individuals to each French ſquare league. Necker, whoſe aim was to raiſe the finances, exaggerated the population, and ſucceeded in 1784 in making the French believe that the numbers and reſources of their country were almoſt incalculable, and by this trick on their national vanity, ſoon filled the treaſury of France. He gave to each ſquare league a population of 916 ſouls. Pomelles, five years after Necker's eſtimate, calculated the population with a view to augment the military levies, and could only give 905 ſouls (we omit fractions where they do not materially effect the argument) to each ſquare league. At the ſame period (1789) he calculated upon a population above 25 millions, of whom 14 were females, and 11 males; of theſe males not quite 1¼ million were capable of bearing arms, and even of theſe 1-17th was infirm. Thus, after deducting the number of infirm, of nobles, eccleſiaſtics, regular troops and marines, the effective military population amounted to no more than 600,000 individuals: yet even this number is above what really exiſted, as the perſons fit to be drawn annually for the militia amounted only to 358,811. Since 1789, all the nobles, eccleſiaſtics and rich merchants have been totally cut off, notwithſtanding which, our author makes the number of ſouls in each ſquare league in France to have increaſed, during 13 years of war and the moſt horrid maſſacres, from 905 to 1093 1-3d, or above 1-5th of the entire population: a calculation at which even credulity herſelf would revolt. Yet ſuch is the baſis, ſuch the real ſtrength of the commonly ſuppoſed gigantic power of France! We have, however, other data to prove the artful deception of French ſtatiſts, and to eſtabliſh the true number of the actual population of the French empire, or of its 108 departments. In 1801 (the moſt tranquil year ſince the revolution) Chaptal, then miniſter of the interior, publiſhed tables of all the births throughout the republic, which amounted only to 955,977; this number, taken by their own rule as 1-25th of the entire inhabitants, gives a population of 22,799,425, which, with the eſtimate of our author of 3,145,293, for the inhabitants on the Rhine, Piedmont, Genoa, and other recent annexations, demonſtrate that, the real number of people in the country called the French empire, is no more than 25,944,718, or in round numbers 26 millions of ſouls. This number, we have both moral and phyſical evidence to aſſert, is conſiderably greater than the truth, however contrary it may be to what our readers have hitherto been taught to believe. It is even demonſtrable by another proceſs, the relative population of cities and towns to that of the country. The Conſtituent Aſſembly made the proportion between the city and country population as 1 to 3½; M. Bouvalles-Deſbroſſes as 1 to 2 6-7ths, and M. Lavoiſier, as 8 to 17. Although we are well aſſured that the population of towns is at leaſt one third of the whole nation, we ſhall take it even below any of theſe eſtimates, at one fourth. The tables publiſhed by Herbin in 1802, contains an enumeration of all the inhabi-

tants of the cities and towns which have more than 1000 perſons in the territory of France, including the Low Countries, left Bank of the Rhine, Porentruy, Geneva, Savoy, county of Nice, Province of Avignon, all except Piedmont and Genoa; in which, tables the total number of citizens riſes only to 5,405,119. This number multiplied by 4, the proportion of citizens to peaſants, gives a population of 21,620,476, and the inhabitants of Piedmont, Genoa, iſland of Elba, &c. to the number of 1,864,351, make the actual population of the French empire, only 28,484,827, or in whole numbers 24 millions of ſouls. We think that theſe, facts fairly deduced from the ſtatement of the authors themſelves, muſt convince every reaſoning being that the enormous force of France rather conſiſts in vain boaſtings, childiſh fears, and extravagant lies, than in real phyſical ſtrength.

In taking the population of all the chief towns of France that contain more than 1000 inhabitants, as one fourth of the entire population, according to various and diſcordant eſtimates, we would not be underſtood to believe that the tables publiſhed in 1802 under the direction of the miniſters Abrial and Chaptal are correct; on the contray, we know that many of the towns (Bourdeaux, Merſailles, &c.) are ſtated to contain at leaſt one third more than the truth. Yet theſe ſame tables have been tranſlated into Engliſh and commented on as ſacred truths. But it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the inhabitants of towns, not only of France but of this country, conſtitute rather more than one fourth of the population; this is more particularly the ſtate of France, where the people, perhaps in obedience to their natural diſpoſition, are all aſſembled either in large towns or villages; and, except in a very few diſtricts, eſpecially in Languedoc, and ſome other parts adjoining chief or maritime cities, there are no farm-houſes, nor gentlemen's country-ſeats to conſtitute a rural or agricultural population as in this country. The ſpacious and cheerleſs champaigns of France offer not either the ruſtic cot, the abode of virtue, induſtry, and contented health, or the plenteous farm-yard teeming with the fruits of the earth, but here and there the fatigued view perceives the ruinated village, the tottering receptacles of penury, filthineſs, ignorance, ferocity, and every vice!

M. Peuchet ſtates that in certain diſtricts the proportion of the population to the annual births is as 1 to 28$\frac{1}{3}$, but ſeems to depend more on the opinions of Necker and Pomelles already noticed. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births he is reluctant to aſcertain, and only offers ſome very vague general alluſions, intimating that it varies from 3 to 9; but we know that in many towns, eſpecially in the South, there has been from one half to one fourth of all the births illegitimate. The author here preſents us with a proof of his incapacity for a legiſlator, and his falſe principles as a moraliſt, by objecting to the epithet legitimate children, as "tending to throw on the others a perſonal demerit, as unjuſt as falſe in its principle." In this he confounds legal or political with perſonal demerit, the former of which is ſo eſſential to the preſervation of order in ſociety. There

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is, however, more juſtneſs in his obſervations on Buonaparté's marriage-law, which abſurdly prohibits perſons of 40, 50, or even 100 years of age to marry without the previous conſent of their parents or relations; and this too, according to our author, even were they all dead or in foreign countries! This is no doubt one of Buonaparté's left handed plans to foſter morality. When the illegitimate children, on an average, amounted to one fourth the entire births during the period that marriages and divorces were ſo eaſily effected, what may now be expected when both are much more reſtricted, and the former eſpecially to an extent never before known in any civilized age or country. It is, indeed, admirably adapted to his ambitious views* to have *intriguantes*, and the fearful mind of a cruel and jealous tyrant can find no SPIES equal to *femmes ſoutenues!* It appears, however, from the confeſſions of the author, that, notwithſtanding the facilities of marriage by the republican laws, or rather by the negation of all law, marriages have decreaſed nearly one fifth ſince the revolution; add to this that at ſome periods one half the marriages terminated in divorce. Theſe facts are ſatisfactory proof that the births either legitimate or illegitimate, could not have increaſed ſince the revolution, as all the republican and imperial writers attempt to aſſert; for although there are inſtances in France of women rearing families of 3 or even 4 children all by different men, yet it is phyſically certain that concubinage and indiſcriminate amour muſt ever diminiſh the total number of births in proportion to their extent. This diminution may be eſtimated, from the examination of numerous documents, in the ratio of from 1-ninth to $\frac{1}{4}$th the entire number of births in the ſtate.

With reſpect to the proportion of deaths to the actual population, our author's account is extremely confuſed, vague and inconſiſtent. He labours to prove that the births exceed the deaths, and quotes Chaptal's calculation of the 9th year (1801) in which he eſtimated that they exceeded about 1-ninth; but this exceſs of births is much leſs than that of London every year; and even were it true, which we know that it is not, it would not eſtabliſh the truth of the ſuppoſed increaſe of population. Not contented, however, with the ſuppoſitious eſtimate of Chaptal (or more properly the project of his *femme*) artfully contrived to ſerve his political views, the author endeavours to eſtabliſh the preſent on the paſt proportion of deaths, and takes the eſtimate of Pomelles, who wiſhed only to augment the military levies. From that eſtimate he infers that the births of males exceed the deaths 1-eleventh, and the females 1-twelfth; total 2-23ds. The falſity of

* This plan is alſo favorable to the augmentation of Conſcripts who now marry early to avoid being inſtantly dragged into the army. It will however, ſoon effect the depopulation of the country; and it is a circumſtance conſoling to humanity that the very inſtruments of blood-thirſty tyranny invariably become the means of its utter ruin.

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this inference will be evident from the following declaration. "In all the towns of France the balance between the births and deaths of males is abſolutely the ſame; but in the country there is one-ninth more. As to the females, the overplus of births is 1-77th in the towns, and 1-10th in the country." The preſumed overplus of males, according to Chaptal, even if admitted, is only one-ninth of three-fourths of one half 1-24th the entire births, and does not amount to half the number of ſoldiers taken annually and converted to a life of celibacy or debauchery, in other words totally loſt to the purpoſes of population. It ought alſo to be remembered that a deduction of 1-24th is the very leaſt poſſible for caſualties and emigrations* of males more than females. With this moſt neceſſary deduction, we ſhall find the people of France have decreaſed and are decreaſing much more rapidly than Engliſhmen, who have not explored the interior parts of the country, will believe.

M. Peuchet is ſtill more embarraſſed to conceal the very extraordinary number of females† in proportion to males. He is obliged to acknowledge that the number of deaths of males is much greater than that of females, independent of the loſs in the army, marine and emigration. On this head he has furniſhed but little, and what he has done is very contemptible. We ſhall mention ſome facts that may tend to illuſtrate this point. Mourgue, the only French writer who has attentively obſerved facts, and diſcovered a philoſophical mind in arranging them (the latter has been improved by his ſtudy of Engliſh authors on the ſame ſubject) has obſerved at Montpellier, the moſt ſalubrious part of France, that the births of males exceed that of females, but that one fourth of the entire births die the firſt, and one half before the 5th year. Of this half that die before completing the 5th year, 2-5ths are females, and 3-5ths males; a fact which renders the number of females greatly ſuperior to that of males. The ſame author calculates the mean term of men's lives at 24 years, 3 months, 15 days and 8 hours: that of women's at 28 years, 3 months, 18 days and 18 hours. If ſuch a difference exiſts at Montpellier, and we cannot doubt it, how much more conſiderable muſt it be in the leſs ſalubrious parts of France. To the above conſiderations

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* We might here mention the regular emigration into Spain. In 1804, it was aſcertained that about 110,000 men, and 8000 women were enrolled by means of their paſſports in that country; and that many more had ſettled there for life, renouncing their claims to the privileges of French citizens. In Portugal alſo are great numbers of French adventurers.

† In accounting for the decay of agriculture, he aſcribes it in part to "the *diminution* of the relative population of males and females in certain places;" and obſerves that the "ſuppreſſion of the convents of women" has rendered that ſex ſo much more numerous. Doubtleſs this is a very ſage reaſon for having almoſt two women to one man; but does the author ſuppoſe that Necker and others forgot to enumerate the *nuns!!*

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we shall add, that during the reigns of terror and atheism, above three years, at least one half of all the male children born were massacred. This perhaps will be deemed both incredible and too horrible to be believed; yet many French calculators have asserted that during that period not less than one half (our statement is only 1-4th) of all the children born were instantly murdered! It ought to be remembered that *infanticide* was inculcated as a virtue, and that those who are not perfectly acquainted with the real character of Frenchwomen, ought not to argue from what they know to be possible or probable in this country. Taking, therefore, one half of the male children for three years we have 1-8th of the whole male inhabitants exterminated: this deduction, made from the 11 millions of males in France before the revolution, leaves, in round numbers, 9½ millions, from which subtract three (many will have it 5) millions of men destroyed by the sword and guillotine, and there remains in the ancient territory of France only 6½ millions of males. To this we shall add 2 millions for the conquered countries, that gives the actual number of the male inhabitants of the country now called the French empire, 8½ or at most 9 millions. As to the female inhabitants, out of the 14 millions before the revolution (an estimate nearly equal to that of Pomelles) at least one million has been massacred, and nearly 3 have been added by the conquered countries, that carries the present population of France to 16 millions of females, and 9 of males. Of this 9, after deducting for children, old men and diseased, it will not be possible to suppose more than *one* capable of bearing arms. Hence, it is evident, that Buonaparté by a levy *en masse* in France could not at the present day, raise above a million of effective men in arms.

We could adduce a multiplicity of facts and observations to prove the correctness of this estimate, but that we have already extended this article to an unusual length. We must, however, mention with regard to the great disparity between the proportion of the sexes, that we are convinced that the actual number of females is rather more, and that of males rather less, than what we have here stated. In every department of France we found but very few men, and always abundance of women cultivating the earth and employed at the same trades and labour as the men are in this country. Of the very small number of children there, the females are at least two to one of the males every where. Families rarely exceed the number of three children; a boy and two girls, and between the ages of these there are generally from 3 to 5 or 6 years. Notwithstanding these facts, which are palpable to the commonest observer, M. Peuchet has the temerity to represent the number of male inhabitants at 16½ millions, and the females at 17½. But we have before indicated his motives; and we would only beg leave to observe, that artfully exaggerated power, and artificial credit are important agents in the commerce of the world, and that the former may lead to real physical strength, and the latter effect the accumulation of the most permanent wealth.

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We omit the author's endleſs repetitions of the internal wealth and commerce of his country, of its riches, mines, &c. &c. ſubjects which have long been of important ſervice to French book-makers, not one of whom has ſufficient ſtrength of mind and rectitude of judgment to diſcuſs ſuch complex affairs. All that he has ſaid worth reading on the agricultural products is taken from Mr. A. Young. To thoſe who admire every thing they cannot underſtand, we would recommend the peruſal of the eſtimate of the average conſumption of bread and meat in pounds weight in Paris, reduced to the annual quantity neceſſary for every individual as well in Paris as throughout all France. The ſubject is curious, but treated, notwithſtanding the work of Lavoiſier, in a manner the moſt ſuperficial and unintereſting. The author in the midſt of all the ſplendour of French manufactures, (ſplendid indeed, at the Louvre and on paper) is obliged to confeſs that the hat-manufacturies are almoſt totally annihilated in France. We are next preſented with ſomething that affects to be a hiſtory of watch-making, but of which the author evinces the moſt conſummate ignorance. He gravely obſerves that "France is generally conſidered as the cradle of watch-making," but in the next line informs us that, in 1718, when it was propoſed to eſtabliſh a manufactory at Verſailles, it was neceſſary to bribe Engliſh workmen to go to France and ſettle there. It is alſo aſſerted that French watches have now "attained a point of perfection almoſt equal to thoſe of the Engliſh in elegance and *exactitude*, and *ſuperior in ſolidity*." Poor Peuchet, *ſolidity* is the very laſt property that you ſhould have beſtowed either on your countrymen or their handiwork! With equal accuracy has he eſtimated the quantity of ſpecie in Europe, in which he ſuppoſes that the ſpecie of this country amounts only to 60 francs (6os.) to each perſon, while that of France comes to 69¼ francs! He admits, however, that the *contributions directes*, the pole taxes, amounted laſt year to 18½ francs, or 16s. 6d. each perſon, independent of all the enormous duties upon every article of neceſſaries, food and raiment, as well as luxuries. But we are ſick of the ignorance, the wilful miſrepreſentation, and direct falſehoods with which every page of this work abounds. The world certainly cannot long be deceived by ſuch weak but hitherto too ſucceſsful ſchemes to ſubjugate Europe, by boaſting of really poſſeſſing the power and influence which they hope by this artifice to obtain. Formerly Frenchmen called themſelves the moſt ingenious people, the inventors of Europe; they are now generally known to be the leaſt ſo: they alſo affected to be the moſt humane, they are now unequivocally the moſt ſavage: they at preſent proclaim their unlimited political power, but a nation ſunk in the groſſeſt vices muſt be found to be really deficient both in phyſical and mental force.

Annales de l'Empire Français, par une Société de Gens de Lettres; rédigées par R. De Beaunoir et A. H. Dampmartin. A Paris, et à Strasbourg. 1805. Tome I. Première Année. Pr. 548. 8vo.
Annals of the French Empire, &c. &c. Vol. I.

IN the grade below the historian stands the annalist. While it is the duty of the one to relate with propriety and dignity the occurrences of the epoch which he proposes to illustrate, to exhibit with fidelity and distinctness the state of society during the various periods of his history, and to display with sincerity and skill the motives, the causes, and the consequences of the events which he records, it is his privilege to adorn the sobriety of his narrative with striking and well-sketched portraits, and to embellish it with bold and vivid pictures: and it is his object to expand the mind by the grandeur and sublimity of his conceptions, to inform it by the correctness and soundness of his opinions, to edify it by the acuteness and energy of his reasonings, to enrich it by the ingenuity and the profoundness of his reflections, to enlighten it by the rectitude and the wisdom of his decisions, to exalt it by the purity of his principles, to please it by the simplicity of his taste, to charm it by the elegance of his language, and to captivate it by the eloquence of his style. To the annalist belongs the humbler task of providing materials for the labours of the historian. It is his province to record with the utmost exactness, with the strictest impartiality, and in a manner so plain, so clear, and so distinct, that they can never be misunderstood, all the facts which have taken place during the term assigned to his work: he must describe with minuteness the circumstances which attended their occurrence, because it is only by such explicit details that a complete knowledge of their character is to be obtained: he must preserve with care, all authentic and official documents, both public and private, which relate to matters of general concernment, because it is by declarations of that kind that the motives and objects of action are to be discovered: In all cases of doubt, uncertainty, or dispute, he must compare the contradictory testimony, examine the evidence, and decide upon the truth. As his purpose is to enable posterity to form a just and accurate estimate of his own times, he must transmit to them every thing essential to elucidate the state of man and of society; for this purpose he must mark all the changes in politics, religion, morals, and manners; he must note all the improvements in the sciences, and in the useful and agreeable arts; and he must particularly observe the gradations in the progress of language, because it is by those that future generations may discern the advancement or the debasement of the human mind. Opinions and judgments, except upon matters of fact, are not required of him: his office is confined to the collection, arrangement, and preservation of whatever may contribute to convey to after-ages the means of obtaining a complete knowledge of the events of the present time, and the materials for forming a faithful picture of the present

preſent ſtate of mankind. Though he requires leſs ſplendid talents than the hiſtorian, his intellectual attainments and his mental powers muſt be of a high and ſuperior order. To liberal and enlarged views he muſt add ſolid and extenſive information; to a ſound and vigorous underſtanding, unwearied vigilance, and unceaſing induſtry; and to an invincible love of truth, a juſt, diſcriminating, and almoſt unerring judgment.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that works of this claſs need only the mind of a common drudge, who can compile whole volumes of hiſtory, with the aid of a file of newſpapers and a pair of ſciſſars; and it muſt be confeſſed, that an examination of the merit of moſt compilations is calculated to ſtrengthen this miſtaken opinion. The public ſhould recollect, however, that the preſs is, to the utter degradation of letters, excluſively under the controul of bookſellers, who too frequently have no other object in view, by the publication of books, but the advancement of their own fortunes*. Books are printed, not to diſſeminate information among the community, but to bring guineas into the coffers of the venders; and the bulk of mankind, whom purſuits more congenial with their own ſelfiſh diſpoſitions have rendered indifferent to literature, purchaſe them, not for the knowledge which they contain, but to fill the ſhelves of thoſe great libraries which their vanity has prompted them to form. Books, therefore, as they are no longer publiſhed or purchaſed for the ſake of their literary excellence, begin to be eſtimated by the value of the paper, the printing, and the binding:—ſo many pages for ſo many ſhillings. The crafty bookſeller, eager only for gain, turns this folly of the public to his own advantage, and, by the very conduct which he purſues, renders it perpetual. It is no longer neceſſary for him to ſeek for men of genius and talents, whoſe diligent ſtudy and whoſe extraordinary merit it would be neceſſary for him to reward with rather more liberality than he does the labours of his printer or his binder: a crowd of low fellows, whom the incorrigible ſluggiſhneſs of their diſpoſitions has unfitted for every other trade to which they have applied, ſtand ready at his door, and, willing to adapt themſelves completely to his purpoſes, expreſs their readineſs to make books for him by the ſheet. By this juggle it is that the public is impoſed upon. Theſe book-makers, who, perhaps of all men, are the moſt ignorant and the moſt impudent, ſet down to their labours like taylors or ſhoemakers, and, equally provided with tools, cut up their materials, put them together,

* To this there are exceptions. Among the bookſellers of the preſent time, there are ſome, both in Great Britain and upon the Continent, who, to an incorruptible integrity and an honourable liberality, add a taſte for letters, and a zeal for the intereſts of learning; and were we not reſtrained by motives of delicacy to their feelings, we could mention the names of ſome whom Horace would have been proud to rank with the Socii and Quintilian with his favourite Trypho.

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and finish their job. With such convenient instruments as these, the press is rendered completely subservient to the interests of the trade. The bookseller, by a little foresight, may always be ready with his supply for the season; because, having settled the form and size of the work which he proposes to publish, he has only to divide the number of pages which it is to contain by the number which these book-makers can turn out in a day, and he has the exact number of days or months which it will require to prepare it for the press. Literary composition being thus made dependent, not on genius, or science, but upon the dexterity of the fingers, is rendered completely a mechanical art; the reward which is due to the exertions of men of real talents is bestowed upon the adroitness and industry of these manufacturers; and the public taste being corrupted by this never-ending succession of false models, the community at large becomes the willing dupe of the rapacity of these base and sordid knaves. It is time, however, that this odious and dishonourable trade, so disgraceful to learning, and so injurious to the public, were abolished. It is the porvince of a critic to watch over the administration of letters, and it is his duty to put a stop to such shameless iniquity; and though, from various causes, we have hitherto been prevented from attending, with proper vigilance and with necessary rigour, to this important part of our charge, we now warn this groveling tribe of impostors, that, henceforth, we will set our faces against their baneful practices; that we will strip them of the delusive garb which has so long hidden their stupidity from the world, and hold them up to that indignant contempt which mankind has always so liberally bestowed upon ignorant, unprincipled, and impudent pretenders to literature.

Let it not be supposed, however, that these observations, which the mention of the book-making fraternity has drawn from us, are applicable to the editors of the work now before us: on the contrary, we are willing to bear testimony to the respectability of their literary character. The principal director of the undertaking, M. de Beaunoir, is known as a man of some genius, of no little taste, and of considerable information; and his associate, M. Dampmartin, has acquired some reputation, as the author of several works of secondary importance, which he has published upon various occasions. We speak here only of their reputation as men of letters: of their political opinions we know but little, and that little we cannot honestly commend. They profess a strong attachment to monarchy, and to an energetic government; but, from the gross adulation which they lavish upon Buonaparté, to whom no man of an upright mind, whatever may be his opinions, can pay homage, we are compelled to believe that this eulogium upon a vigorous administration is intended only as a compliment to his tyranny, and that it arises from that meanness of character which, having no settled opinion of its own, eagerly embraces that which appears most likely to promote its interests, or from that servile pliancy of disposition which, with equal zeal and with equal sincerity, always praises the ruling power. We wish not

to judge with undue ſeverity; but we muſt candidly avow our opinion, and though it is not very honourable to their integrity, we think it ſuch as their conduct fairly and fully juſtifies.

This work, it ſeems, has been long projected; but the editors, aware of the difficulties which would attend its execution, poſtponed it until time had matured their judgement, and until the ſtorms of the revolution had ſubſided; and they now chooſe for its commencement "the epoch when France, ſhining with a new ſplendour, riſes from the midſt of heaps of ruins." Senſible of the magnitude of the taſk which they have undertaken, and diffident of their own powers, they enter upon it with a determination to ſpare no pains to accompliſh it, and with a modeſt hope of ſucceſs. In "the preliminary diſcourſe," and "Introduction," which are prefixed to the work, they have fully ſtated the object of their annals, the manner in which they will be compiled, and the means which they poſſeſs of rendering them worthy of the public patronage. We have extracted thoſe paſſages, in which theſe ſtatements are contained; and in which the reader, if he poſſeſs only a moderate ſhare of ſagacity, will diſcover a ſufficient indication of the principles, the ſentiments, the views, and the intentions of the editors, to enable him to foreſee the exact degree of merit which the work will poſſeſs. For our own parts, though we are not accuſtomed to judge haſtily, or without ſufficient evidence, we confeſs that the "Preliminary Diſcourſe" and this "Introduction" have ſo far decided our opinion upon the ſubject, that we ſhall be wholly diſappointed if the compilation of theſe volumes of Annals ſhould be conducted with a ſufficient regard to truth to anſwer any of the purpoſes for which we think that ſpecies of writing is intended.

"My purpoſe," ſays M. de Beaunoir (Prel. Diſ. p. xii.), "in writing my Annals is not to ſet myſelf up as a judge of men and events; but to paint the one ſuch as they are, and to relate the others as they have happened; and, in ſhort, to reſemble, in every thing, the portrait which La Harpe has drawn of the hiſtorian of the twelve Cæſars:—

'Suetonius is ſcrupulouſly exact, and rigorouſly methodical. He omits nothing which concerns the man whoſe life he writes. He relates every thing, but he paints nothing. He is properly an anecdotiſt, if I may uſe the expreſſion, but very curious to be read and to be conſulted. We laugh at that attention, upon which he piques himſelf, to the moſt trivial things; but frequently we are not ſorry to find it. If he mentions hear ſays he does not vouch for them. If he abounds in details, he is ſober in reflexions. His ſole province is that of narrator. From his indifference ariſes a well founded prejudice in favour of his impartiality: he neither loves nor hates perſonally any of the men of whom he ſpeaks; he leaves it to the reader to judge them.

"May I reſemble this portrait! For that I will, at leaſt, exert my endeavours, and that will bound all my ambition.

"I muſt, however, pay to my co-operators my tribute of acknowlegement. M. Dampmartin, author of the hiſtory of the Rivalry of Carthage and Rome, has undertaken the moſt ungrateful part of my work. Before I commenced the Annals of the Empire, it was neceſſary to give a knowledge

ledge of the French from their firſt eſtabliſhment among the Gauls to the preſent time; to elucidate the earlier ages, and to exhibit the long train of kings who have occupied the throne, and havegiven to France the firſt rank among the powers of Europe. His ſummary appears to me to have completely fulfilled this difficult taſk.

"It was not leſs eſſential to make known the poſitive ſtate of France at the moment when Napoleon exalted it above all other empires. It was therefore neceſſary to draw an exact picture of its ſtate, population, ſtrength, conſtitution, legiſlation, religion, manners, finances, commerce, ſcience, literature and arts. All theſe articles have been liberally furniſhed by men of letters and artiſts of reputation, whoſe modeſty will allow me only to diſtinguiſh their pieces by the initial letters of their names.

"It appears to me equally neceſſary to give the general political and phyſical ſtate of Europe, at the time when Napoleon came to regulate its deſtinies, and to offer an impartial parallel between our ſituation and that of the nation which is always the rival of France, which is always jealous of our glory, which hates us from envy, and which we are great enough to eſteem without loving.

"The acceſſion of Napoleon to the empire is the firſt picture which I ſhall preſent; but I cannot draw it without giving a knowledge of this extraordinary man, for whom, two thouſand years ago, Virgil appears to have made this diſtich:—

'Nocte pluit tota, redeunt ſpectacula mane:
'Diviſum imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet.'

"I will therefore follow, ſtep by ſtep, the career of this hero, from the moment of his birth to the day when he aſcended the throne which he had raiſed more firm and more brilliant from its ruins, and the foundation of which he ſecures for ever by the happy union of arms, law, and religion. I will make known the votes of the nation: I will deſcribe the ceremonies of his auguſt conſecration, of which hiſtory furniſhes no example. I will be particularly careful to accompany my recitals with all thoſe public acts and all thoſe authentic pieces which command the confidence of poſterity, and by which it pronounces its judgements.

"It was my purpoſe to include all theſe objects in the firſt volume. The extent of the ſummary of the hiſtory of the French not permitting it, we have determined to publiſh a ſecond volume in the courſe of the preſent year, after which a volume will appear every year, joining to the recital of political and literary events, the necrology of thoſe celebrated men of every claſs whom death may ſnatch from France, and private anecdotes ſufficiently intereſting to excite and ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers."

To explain the nature of the work, perhaps, nothing more is neceſſary than this extract; but to diſplay more fully the principles of its editors, and to enable our readers to judge more accurately of the ſpirit by which it will be diſtinguiſhed, we have thought it proper to lay before them ſome parts of the "introduction."

"Hiſtory" ſays M. Dampmartin [Introduction P. 1.] preſents to the attentive obſerver no political phenomenon ſo worthy of fixing his attention as the foundation of the French empire. After fifteen years of unfortunate experiments, fatal diſorders, and violent ſtorms, we reſtore the true baſis, of ſocial order, we return to the only ſources of the happineſs of a people,

religion, the unity of power, and its hereditary ſucceſſion. The empire p. 3] has for its chief a man who, hitherto, has never had a model, and upon whoſe merits poſterity alone can decide. Hatred, now, ſhoots her envenomed darts without ſucceſs; flattery exhauſts itſelf in ineffectual efforts; but impartiality does not pronounce his name without experiencing emotions of enthuſiaſm.

"Our regeneration forms the moſt commanding of ſpectacles; kings and people contemplate it with aſtoniſhment mixed with admiration: our implacable enemies tremble with anger and fear. As for ourſelves, too great, too generous to abuſe our coloſſal powers, our ſole ambition will be to give peace and happineſs to the earth. It is to the Emperor of the French that henceforth belongs the right which was formerly the lot of Rome the miſtreſs of the world, that of protecting the feeble, of ſparing the vanquiſhed, of and combating the proud.

"Happy will be the hiſtorian whom his knowledge and his genius ſhall call to the honour of raiſing a monument which ſhall tranſmit to future ages our commanding deſtinies; national glory and the intereſt of futnre generations forbid that this noble taſk ſhould be abandoned to the hands of vulgar artiſts: the execution of the picture ſhould correſpond with the richneſs of the ſubject.

"Though animated by the moſt ardent zeal, we meaſure with too much exactneſs the extent of our talents, not to be the exempt from all preſumtuous temerity: a juſt diſtruſt therefore forbids us from making the attempt, but our love for our country encourages us to make ſome efforts, which, perhaps, may not be uſeleſs. The architect frequently owes a portion of his ſucceſs to thoſe obſcure workmen who have carefully prepared the materials which he employs."

After announcing this intention of publiſhing every year a volume of "Annals of the French empire," M. Dampmartin proceeds to ſtate the manner in which the work will be conducted. This part of the introduction is neceſſarily, in ſome meaſure a recapitulation of the ſtatement previouſly made by his aſſociate in that part of the preliminary diſcourſe which we have already extracted; he has inſerted, however, ſome judicious obſervations in explanation and in vindication of the courſe which they have avowed their intention to purſue; and, to the mention of this hiſtorical ſummary, he has added ſome deſultory reflections upon the general conduct of the three dynaſties which have occupied the throne of France. This naturally brings him to the recent and preſent ſtate of that country, and conſequently to the idol of his adoration Buonaparté, whom he repreſents as the ſaviour of France, as a man who merits the everlaſting gratitude of all Frenchmen, and who has accompliſhed a work for which future ages will never produce a man equally competent. From the uſurper he paſſes to the family whom he has dethroned; and in a ſtrain of feigned ſympathy worthy the admirer and partizan of that falſe and implacable tyrant, affects to commiſerate the misfortunes of the exiled princes. Thank God, however, calamity has not yet humbled the illuſtrious houſe of Bourbon ſo low that they require the compaſſion of the eulogiſt of Buonaparté! But how mean, and how contemptible muſt be that mind which ſhews its triumph over fallen grandeur by

by the insolent mockery of pretended pity!—M. D. concludes the introduction by avowing the following principle which he says is drawn from the examples of all ages, and which ought to be deeply impressed upon the minds of all French princes:—"that *a king of France, however great may be the amiable qualities which make him beloved by his subjects, and however great may be the virtues which recommend him to universal veneration, breaks his sceptre at the very moment when he lays aside his sword.*"

From these two preliminary papers it is evident that the writers have a just notion of the duties of an annalist; but it is equally evident that they are destitute of the qualities most essential to the proper performance of those duties. We see nothing of that spirit of truth, nothing of that liberal impartiality which ought to characterize the writings of those by whose representations posterity is to appreciate the present age; but, on the contrary, the whole is marked with a blind prejudice in favour of France, and, as a consequence of that prejudice, by a mean and disgraceful hatred for Great Britain, and by a servile and extravagant attachment to the usurper who now fills the throne from which he has driven the lawful monarch, and which he occupies in opposition to the wishes of every honest and good man in the community, in defiance of every principle of justice, and in violation of every duty of humanity. Is it to be expected that, with such prejudices and such attachments as these, the editors of these Annals will produce a work to which the sage and philosophic historian can safely resort? No:—the stream which they will convey to posterity will have been poisoned at its source; and those who drink will imbibe the pernicious waters of deception, misrepresentation and falsehood. Having really no intentions but the promotion of their own selfish views, or the accomplishment of the narrow, base and temporary purposes of this party, it is easy to foresee that the avowed object of the work will be no more than a cloak to screen their insidious designs from the mass of mankind, and to impose upon future generations. Truth will be sacrificed without scruple when it does not comport with their wishes; and all the artifices and tricks which literary men too frequently practise to disguise fiction under the semblance of reality will be employed to distort and discolour what it would not be convenient to state justly, or what is too generally known to be stated falsely. The insolent, overbearing and oppressive conduct of France towards other countries will be commended as the measures of a judicious, benevolent and liberal policy; the patriotic, honourable and loyal exertions of those who have laboured for the preservation of the liberties of the country, and for the restoration of its true and rightful sovereign will be stigmatized as the efforts of a worthless horde of malcontents, traitors and rebels; and the unexampled baseness, perfidy and cruelty, the unparalleled atrocity of the monster who has raised his iron throne upon skulls and bones and mangled bodies, cemented with the blood of millions of innocent victims, will be extolled as the deeds of a hero more magnanimous, a statesman more wise, and

Chriſtian more pious than any whom the world has yet ſeen. By this means this work, inſtead of being an honeſt and faithful chronicle, will ſerve only to diſſeminate falſe information, to propagate dangerous opinions and toperpetuate deſtructive errors; we ſhall be belied and our children will be deceived; the diſtorted image which will be impreſſed upon the minds of poſterity will be the hideous repreſentation of the vitiated principles and vile paſſions of a baſe and profligate party; and, inſtead of guiding mankind to virtue, the editors will thus render themſelves deadly enemies to the happineſs of ſociety and officious panders to the moſt odious appeties of human nature.

We judge with a rigour which we think theſe men and their writing have merited; and we ſpeak with a warmth which we think becomes us as zealous advocates for truth. Let no one accuſe us of undue ſeverity. To that honourable prejudice which all loyal men entertain in favour of their country, if indeed the noble virtue of patriotiſm can be called a prejudice, it is well known that we are not nor ever were inimical; and to that laudable attachment which every patriot bears to the eſtabliſhed government of his country, it is well known that we are and ever have been friendly. Nay:—we appeal to the numerous volumes which we have given to the public, whether patriotiſm and loyalty ever found more zealous ſupporters than ourſelves. But to that patriotiſm which is made up of malignity and envy, which hates every country but its own, and which aims at the deſtruction of thoſe of whom it is jealous, which, in the blindneſs of its devotion and animoſity ſees nothing in its own faults but excellencies to praiſe, and nothing in the excellencies of others but faults to condemn, which believes that genius and courage, and honour, and virtue are to be found no where but at home, and that abroad there is none but fools, cowards, knaves and ſcoundrels, and to that loyalty which abbets the murder of its lawful, juſt and amiable king, which extols with every epithet of praiſe the perfidious and cruel uſurper of his throne, and which brands as traitors all who do not willingly ſubmit to his tyrannical and bloody ſway;—to that patriotiſm, and to that loyalty we declare that we always have been, that we now are, and that we truſt we ever ſhall be bold and implacable enemies. Such are the patriotiſm and loyalty of the editors of theſe Annals: they are apparent in their writings; and they will empoiſon every word which flows from their pen. We have, therefore, thought it a duty which we owe both to ourſelves and to poſterity to expoſe and to condemn them.

To palliate the miſrepreſentations of ſuch illiberal and narrow minded bigots; and to countenance the exertions of thoſe citizens of the world who wiſh to introduce among us their ſyſtem of univerſal philanthropy, it may be urged that ſtrict impartiality in relating the tranſactions between rival nations, is wholly unattainable by any man who is ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of either. This we deny. Genuine patriotiſm, that prejudice which we applaud, and which we love, dwells only in the boſoms of men of honour, and men of integrity; and

and ſuch men would ſcorn to diſcolour or to miſrepreſent with as much indignation as they would ſcorn to lie. Every patriot naturally wiſhes his own country to ſtand high in the opinion of the world: but will any good man ſacrifice truth to gain this eſtimation? If he aſſumed the office of an annaliſt or hiſtorian, his records will be faithful and his narratives exact; alike free from theſe ſpecious and ſimulous artifices which are calculated imperceptibly to delude and to miſlead, and from plain and direct falſehoods what rebounds to the honour of his country he will proclaim with energy and zeal, and what is unfavorable to its reputation he will lament; but his duty and his regard for truth, which with him is paramount to every other conſideration, will oblige him to ſtate, with equal fidelity, both the one and the other. This is the ſort of impartiality which we aſk. We want, in the impreſſive words of our law, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." We do not require that an annaliſt or hiſtorian ſhould be without feelings, without paſſions, or without attachments, we do not require a being indifferent, inſenſible, or callous; nor do we require that he ſhould conceal or diſguiſe his favour or his enmity. Such concealment and diſguiſe are incompatible with the ſincerity for which we contend; and ſuch apathy would diſqualify him from the performance of the duties which his office requires. We want the impartiality of truth and equal juſtice:—and who will dare to ſay that this impartiality is inconſiſtent with patriotiſm?—

(To be continued.)

Etudes ſur l'Homme.—Studies on Man in the World, and in retirement. By J.H. Meiſter. Pp. 531. 8vo. 8s. Paris, imported by Deconchy.

NO country has produced ſo many works called *ſtudies* as France, and perhaps there is none but what has given exiſtence to ſome one that is worthy to be *ſtudied* except France. In reflections, too, thoſe fixtures of a feeble mind, they abound; but theſe, like the character of their authors, ſeem all to be of a vicious tendency. That wretched country indeed, ſtill is, and perhaps long will be, without a Spectator, Guardian, Rambler, &c. or any ſuch works has have been familiar for ages to the minds of Engliſhmen. In tales of amour only do they ſucceed; and the commoneſt obſerver muſt be convinced how very inferior are thoſe talents that can only move the ſtrongeſt of our animal paſſions into ſoft dalliance. Our preſent author, who appears to be a native of Weſtphalia, is one of thoſe old ſenſualiſts, whoſe imagination can never emerge from that impurity which is connate in France, and which is there cheriſhed as the higheſt delight from the hour of birth till that of death; when the prieſt's holy oil ſmoothes the way through purgatory. The preface to this volume, that occupies only two pages, is all we think worthy of criticiſm; as almoſt all the work is but a paraphraſe (interlarded with ſome French obſceneties)

of Pope's Eſſay on Man, with hints from Goldſmith, Thomſon and Moore; but the rich mines of Young ſeem to have been too elevated for the ken of our author. This preface however, diſcovers a curious mixture of German pride, French gaſconade, and the natural timidity of a weak mind. Theſe ſtudies, ſays he, are genuine ſtudies, nothing more—"Ces Etudes ſont de veritables etudes, rien de plus." He accounts for their incoherence and inconſiſtency by alledging that man himſelf is "a marvellous aſſemblage of the moſt ſingular contradictions," and aſſures us that we ſhall find in his work "more ideas hinted at than fully developed." The contrary, as may be readily ſuppoſed is the fact; and he has not only developed but actually hunted down, and buried in his own unmeaning words, every idea that he could find in the writings of the Engliſh poets whoſe works have been publiſhed in ſtereotype editions at Paris. He adds, that notwithſtanding all its faults, he is far from concealing the importance of his work.

"It is the reſult of 30 years obſervations and recollections collected with a very uncommon attention, and with a liberality (franchiſe) ſtill more ſo. I am far from recommending the reading of it to all the world; but I ſhall be very much diſappointed, I acknowledge it, if theſe ſtudies, all imperfect as they are, ſhould not inſpire with ſome intereſt whoever believes like Pope, that the proper ſtudy of mankind is man."

The whole of his work conſiſts but of 60 ſhort papers, that perhaps do not convey quite ſo many diſtinct ideas, ſuch as thoſe entitled *Movement*, *Affinity*, *Viſion*, *Deſtiny of Man*, &c. in which the author himſelf perhaps does not know what particular truth he wiſhed to illuſtrate. Theſe vapid or inſignificant papers, however, are tolerably innocent, a merit we cannot aſcribe to many others, eſpecially thoſe on *idleneſs*, on *the advantages of bad education*, *point of honour*, *inquietude*, *ſenſuality*, *moral and phyſical ſingularities*, &c. which are replete with falſe maxims of morality with libertiniſm, and even avowed licentiouſneſs and groſs obſcenity! Such are a great number of M. Meiſter's ſtudies on Man, the labour of thirty years!! We believe few Engliſhmen would take as many hours to produce ſuch a volume. One of the beſt and moſt unexceptionably correct of theſe Eſſays, is the thirtieth, "on different kinds of moral contagion," which is yet nothing more than ſome very familiar judicious obſervations on the danger of contracting, and neceſſity of avoiding, bad habits, or any manners and cuſtoms not previouſly ſanctioned by the moſt rigid deciſions of reaſon, and the uſage of the moſt correct and moſt accompliſhed claſs of ſociety. Although the author has added nothing new, he has done well in ſoliciting attention to one of the moſt common and moſt important points in the education of youth. It cannot be doubted that the influence of habits on juvenile minds is of all others the moſt conſiderable, and will ſtamp a character of virtue or vice during life. The merit of this Eſſay is, however, loſt in the pernicious ſillineſs of another, on a ridiculous pun, "the art of believing," in which Mr. M. attacks, in the manner of Voltaire, all the principles of human belief, or even faith in Chriſtianity.

Christianity. This contemptible attack follows, very naturally indeed, an eulogy on popish worship and on the adoration of images! The chapter on "fixed ideas," we would recommend to those who frequently abuse the word 'consistency,' and to all the admirers (if there be any such not necessarily confined to a strait-waistcoat) of the French Republican General Buonaparté in 1797, and the Imperial Napoleon, General of the empire of Europe in 1805. To gamblers and certain politicians we would observe, what honourable mention is here made of an orator and his passion for "play." The observations on "the great enigma of human destiny" are ill translated from Pope. The reflections on "the dangers of a too habitual necessity of being beloved," pourtray with fidelity the baleful effects of excessive vanity so general in France, where the insatiable desire of being admired, and extreme self love, have totally extinguished every emotion or sentiment of friendship.

As many of our readers may not sufficiently know what gross *plagiarists* the French writers generally are, we shall quote an example, which the author delivers as an original truth.

"Les etres intelligens ont, ce semble, comme les globes qui roulent dans la vaste étendue des ieeux, deux movemens qui leur sont propres et qui puivent se combiner de la manière la plus heureuse, l'un autour de leur propre centre, l'autre autour d'un centre commun au systéme dont ils font partie. Le premier de ces centres est leur bien-être individuel l'autre le bien être-général."

Whoever knows any thing of the French language must be sensible how literally this is translated from Pope's 'two consistent motions act the soul, &c.' In justice to the author we must observe that he gives a very decided approbation of the English language, which he seems to understand better than Frenchmen. He is, indeed, an example of the influence of early education; and although his mind is debased, polluted, enervated and moulded down to the French school, he is still occasionally susceptible of the importance of truth and good sense through the medium of English and German works. From his observations "on the influence of the genius of certain languages," we shall translate some passages on the French, that will illustrate, and corroborate what we have formerly advanced respecting the debasing influence of that language.

"However poor, says he, the French language may be in some respects, it is words which seem often to give Frenchmen more sense than they would naturally have, at least more finesse, precision and perspicuity. A man who speaks French, and speaks it tolerably even by rote, will sooner pass for a man of talents in that language than in any other. *It appears that under the most customary forms of that tongue, folly and ignorance, vice and falsehood, find a thousand means of concealing themselves with a very singular facility.* Alas! perhaps this is one of the great reasons for the preference so generally given to the French language, not only in familiar conversation in society, but even in the most important negociations of the politics of Europe.

"I might aptly compare the French language to those mirrors that do

not reflect objects with the greateſt exactneſs and truth, but in a manner ſingularly neat and preciſe, by giving even to them all a light more or leſs favorable, a ſurface more or leſs poliſhed. What appears ſimple and clear eaſily paſſes for true. We readily take elegance for ingenuity (*finesse*), general and ſentitious ſet forms for profoundity, dextrouſly exagerated expreſſions for energy (*force*) and a certain tone of confidence and frankneſs for the natural accent of good-nature and fidelity."

We cannot too earneſtly entreat the attention of our readers to theſe obſervations, which are as juſt as they are important, and truly intereſting to our national happineſs. Of French treachery and cunning ſurely no Engliſhman can now be ignorant, but it is worthy the meditation of the moraliſt, philoſopher and ſtateſman, that theſe pernicious qualities are inherent not only in the people but alſo in the very genius of their language! How indelibly is this character written on all French treaties! Examine under this point of view Mably's *Droit d'Europe* and it will be found that theſe heinous ſins of France have always been ſucceſsful even when her arms were vanquiſhed, and her phyſical power almoſt annihilated. It is true, human virtue is not equal to human vice; but we know that the omnipotence of heaven has placed a limit beyond which even "the gates of hell ſhall not prevail!"

From this ſlight ſketch a tolerably juſt idea may be formed of theſe ſtudies, which the French critics, in their cuſtomary ſtyle have extolled as the production of a Locke an Addiſon, or their own plagiariſt Condillac! M. Meiſter is, however, rather a copyiſt than a plagiariſt of the Engliſh Poets, although he ſeldom, perhaps from fear, indicates the ſources whence he acquired his ideas. It has been alledged indeed, that he was once a profeſſor at Gottingen, but we cannot credit the opinion. He is now in ſpirit, principle, and ſtyle, virtually a Frenchman; and we muſt conſider his developement of the perfiduous genius of the French language the more important that it cannot be accuſed of national prejudice or political bias, but the impartial dictates of truth. It is a fact of which we are ſo well convinced, that induces us to wiſh, that all *future* negociations with France may be conduct edeither in the *Engliſh* or *Latin* languages.

Rhetoriqueet Poetique Françaiſe.—French Rhetoric and Poetics, adapted by the Commiſſion of Claſſic Books, for the Uſe of Lyceums and ſecondary Schools. By M. Domairon, late Profeſſor of Polite Literature at the Military School of Paris, Inſpector-General of Public Inſtruction. 2 vols. 12mo. 4s. each. 1805. Paris.

THE importance of education is generally acknowledged, but it is not always that the effect produced correſponds preciſely with the object propoſed; and Buonaparté's ſcheme of public education, that aims at the propagation of certain opinions congenial to military deſpotiſm, may perhaps, by one of thoſe rules of contraries of which certain ſpeculators have dreamed, become efficient in producing ſuch

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a paſſiveneſs as will conſtitute a peaceful and unwarlike people. The marked partiality to military profeſſors even without talents, and the unjuſt rejection of thoſe who have, if not ſoldiers, may doubtleſs lead to an end very different from the tyrant's wiſhes. The volume of rhetoric embraces a greater variety of objects than we are accuſtomed to meet with in ſuch treatiſes, but we cannot boaſt of the excellence of the materials; and when the author tells us, in the ſection on the origin and principle of the fine arts, "that architecture preceded the uſe of language and of eloquence, and that poetry ſprung from religious notions, and was afterwards directed to celebrate the feats of heroes," we can but little admire the originality or depth of his inſtructions. His judgment of the French writers, whoſe ſelf-complaiſance induces them to call themſelves hiſtorians, is equally indeciſive; although he has prudently abſtained from retailing the opinions of Mably on the Engliſh hiſtorians. Many of the poetical quotations contain plauſible but erroneous ſentiments, gilded by rhyme.

The volume of Poetics, or art of poetry, is leſs objectionable in point of moral ſentiment, but more deficient in poetic taſte and ſound judgment. The French verſifiers make their rhymes as mechanically as a fiſherman makes his net, and conſequently their literature is in part compoſed of countleſs volumes on the art of making poetry. A French rhymer ſeldom repeats the maxim, *Poeta naſcitur, non fit*: hence their diſſertations on poetry, on its rules and their application, and on the dramatic art. M. Domairon, in a kind of review of the ancient claſſic authors, prefers the art of Virgil to the ſimple nature of Homer, and at once gives a proof of his taſte and judgment in elevating Virgil to the pinnacle of the temple of the muſes. We queſtion much if he has not formed his judgment of theſe poets on tranſlations, and if he be not entirely ignorant of the language of the immortal author who ſung the fate of Troy. In his obſervations on the fable or plot of tragedy, and on the cataſtrophe, he remarks, that "where innocence is diſcovered on attempting the fatal blow, that is a *compound* fable: where blood is ſhed, that is *pathetic*; if neither, it is *moral*: thus, a fable may be at the ſame time *ſimple* and *pathetic*, *ſimple* and *moral*, *compound* and *pathetic*, or *compound* and *moral*." Such diſtinctions are either a groſs abuſe of terms, or a mere play of words. It is doubtful if the author has any diſtinct idea of what is truly moral. His opinions of Milton, and other Engliſh poets, prove that he is not acquainted with their language, no more than that of Ercilla and Camoens, neither of whom he underſtands. With the Italians he is ſomewhat better acquainted, but far from intimately. Invention is moſt aſſuredly not applicable to Fenelon's Telemachus. Its principal merit is its adherence to the ancient authorities. The judgment of the Henriade is perhaps our author's happieſt effort: he aſſigns it the middling ſtation of a defective poem, with many fine deſcriptive paſſages. In ſhort, theſe two volumes contain, in a ſmall compaſs, a great variety of obſervations that may be uſeful to thoſe who wiſh for

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an extenſive knowledge of the French language: but with the grammar of De Wailly, and the works of Batteux, they will be more philoſophically inſtructed.

La Menagerie du Muſeum.—The Menagerie of living Animals in the Muſeum of Natural Hiſtory of Paris. By La Cepede and Cuvier, with Figures drawn from Life by Marechal, Painter to the Muſeum. Vol. II. Pp. 12mo. 8s. Paris. 1805.

DID we eſtimate the value of works on natural hiſtory in proportion to their volume, we ſhould ſuppoſe the French writers to be the moſt learned and profound in that branch of ſcience; on which they have heaped volume upon volume in almoſt every ſhape or manner, and dreſſed up to all palates with the moſt laudable induſtry, though not always with the greateſt accuracy of reſearch. The preſent is one of thoſe numerous offerings, ſanctioned by the truly reſpectable names of La Cepede and Cuvier, and is not one of the leaſt intereſting. There are twenty-one figures that repreſent, with an accuracy we can authorize from perſonal obſervation, thoſe animals deſcribed as being living, or having lived in the Menagerie at the Garden of Plants. The work is adapted for common readers; but we find ſome uſeful obſervations on the ſexual and other diſtinctions among the different tribes of monkeys and apes, that are worthy the attention of naturaliſts, but which do not admit of any diſtinct analyſis. The deſcription of the female elephant's proboſcis which Cuvier diſſected, would have been highly intereſting, had it been accompanied by ſome plates; but we conſider the enumeration of the tranſverſe and longitudinal muſcles of that organ, that is calculated to contain from 30 to 40,000, rather deſigned to excite the aſtoniſhment of the ignorant than to develope any uſeful truth relative to the animal organization. The authors obſerve, with much freedom and apparent love of truth, the manner in which ſeveral reſpectable naturaliſts have been deceived, in regard to the native country of animals, and how difficult it is to acquire genuine information on that head. They alſo expoſe ſeveral miſtakes of Buffon and others, and of his miſrepreſentations in his plates to his work, where he was not unfrequently deceived by his engraver, &c. Some of theſe errors have been likewiſe adopted by Engliſh natural hiſtorians, on the authority of Buffon. In return, the authors have themſelves committed ſeveral blunders, and have been duped by ſome idle ſtories reſpecting the breeding of bears in London, and of the great uſe of their greaſe. Upon the whole, this little volume will, no doubt, find its way into the libraries of naturaliſts in this country, as an uſeful appendage to more ſcientific works.

Epitome

Epitome de l'Hiſtoire des Papes.—Epitome of the Hiſtory of the Popes from St. Peter to the preſent Day; with a Sketch of the Life of our Holy Father, Pope Pius VII. (Gregory Barnaby Chiaramonti,) from his elevation to the Pontifical Throne till his arrival in Paris. By A. Serieys, Cenſor of the Lyceum of Cahors. Pp. 223. 12mo. 4s. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

BRIEF as this Epitome is, it ſtill contains what will more or leſs amuſe or intereſt all ſorts of religioniſts. In ſo ſmall a compaſs we have the acceſſion and principal events in the pontificate of 251 Popes and 32 Anti-popes; and although they have been all "holy men," their licentiouſneſs, ambition, and cruelties could not be concealed even in this abridgment. No authorities are here cited; and the chronological ſucceſſion of Popes is given without intermiſſion from St. Peter to Pius VII. omitting all contradictory facts in the early hiſtory of the Church, to even ſo late as the beginning of the 15th century. Nor has the editor taken any notice of Pope *Jane*, whoſe exiſtence we have ſeen ſolemnly declared by the Spaniſh inquiſitors, in the latter end of the 16th, and as ſolemnly renounced in the latter end of the 17th century. Indeed there can be no doubt of the reality of this female Pope, and we have ſeen a ſketch of her life written by a prebendary (canonigo) of the Spaniſh church, and printed at Seville about the æra of the introduction of that art in Spain. The debaucheries of Sergius III. however are noticed, and the cruelties and ambition of Julius II. but it is not mentioned that the Popes frequently indulged in matrimony, and even polygamy, till the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th centuries. The life of the late Pope has been much more ably ſketched by Dr. Meyer, of Hamburg; and from the few particulars of the preſent, we can perceive a temporiſing, ambitious, intriguing, and ſubtle character, well qualified to aggrandize power, and to make all around him feel its laſh. The Catholics boaſt of their knowledge of hiſtory; but we are well convinced that an impartial, compendious, yet complete hiſtory of the public and private lives of the Popes, would more effectually ſerve the intereſts of Chriſtianity, and more rapidly overthrow ſuperſtition and corruption than any efforts of reaſon by way of controverſy, or remonſtrance.

Le Petit Magaſin des Dames.—The Lady's Magazine. Third Year. Pp. 212. 18mo. 2s. 6d. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

OF all the bagatelles for the ladies with which the Paris preſs daily teems, this is perhaps the moſt unexceptionally moral that we have ſeen, and we can ſafely recommend it to the attention of thoſe entruſted with the education of young ladies in the French language. The few pieces of poetry, although ſome of them bear the name of de Stael, and are ſuperior to moſt ſimilar productions, are not very

very animated, but in general innocent; a rare merit in French rhymes. The proſe is judiciouſly ſelected, and diſplays good ſenſe, taſte and elegance without that extavagance of ſentimentability that is ſo dangerous to female minds. "The mother of a family" by *Villeterque*; and the "conduct that a wife ought to have towards her huſband," by Madame R. contain ſentiments not unworthy the attention of ſome of our Engliſh matrons.

"The woman who deſtroys her huſband's reſpectability in his own houſe, deſtroys the reſources of her family. If her ſons continue unmarried from fear of meeting with a wife that reſembles her; or if when they marry, that they will carefully abſent their wives from her left they ſhould imitate her example; ſhe will become odious to all that ſhould be moſt dear to her, to her beſt friends, to the only ſupport that would remain in her old age."

MISCELLANEOUS.

BIOGRAPHY.

ARTHUR BROWNE, L. L. D.

LATE PRIME SERJEANT OF IRELAND, AND SENIOR FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN.

Urit enim fulgere ſuo, qui prægravat artes
Infra ſe poſitas; extinctus amibitur iden,——HOR.

TO record leading circumſtances in the lives and opinions of eminent men, eſpecially ſtateſmen and ſcholars, from authentic documents; to repreſent their attainments and appreciate their merits, candidly and diſpaſſionately; to vindicate their fame from the calumnies of party prejudice, or the malignity of private malice, without overlooking or extenuating their failings and imperfections, by an over-fond partiality; in ſhort, to hand down their characters to poſterity in true and genuine colours, as bright examples of public virtue and perſonal worth; is a tribute of applauſe due to departed excellence, a laudable gratification to the feelings of friendſhip, and an inſtructive leſſon to the riſing generation and the world at large, to imitate their virtues and avoid their defects.

——— *Breve et irreperabile tempus*
Omnibus eſt vitæ, ſed FAMAM EXTENDERE FACTIS,
HOC, VIRTUTIS OPUS.——VIRGIL.

ARTHUR BROWN, the ſubject of theſe Memoirs, was born in Briſtol, April 1. 1756. His family was reſpectable, and originally ſettled in the north of Ireland; from which his grandfather, who was a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church, emigrated to North America, and ſettled at Portſmouth in New Hampſhire. Of ſeveral children, his eldeſt ſon, MARMADUKE BROWNE, was ſent to Ireland, and educated in Trinity College, Dublin; where he married while he was a ſtudent, and ſoon after

after the birth of his ſon ARTHUR, returned to North America with his family, and was appointed miniſter of Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Iſland; a delightful ſpot, once honored with the reſidence of the truly pious and patriotic biſhop BERKELEY, during the unſucceſsful proſecution of his noble plan for founding a univerſity in America: for the Provoſtſhip of which, with a moderate ſalary of £. 500 a year, (if I recollect right) he offered to reſign his Epiſcopal dignity and patronage as Biſhop of Cloyne, and an income of at least treble the value; and to baniſh himſelf to that country! a rare example of diſintereſtedneſs and public ſpirit:—Had his ſalutary ſcheme been adopted, the American Colonies, would probably at this day, have maintained, and even ſtrengthened their connexion with the parent country, through the foſtering influence of a ſufficiently numerous eſtabliſhed clergy of the church of England. But the adminiſtration of that day were too ſhort ſighted to ſpeculate on remote advantages; and after four or five years of delay and diſappointment, chagrined by miniſterial chicanery, the biſhop was forced to relinquiſh his ſcheme, which was then ridiculed as *Utopian*, and returned to England. During his reſidence at Newport, he wrote his *Minute Philoſopher*, and the charming and picturesque deſcriptions of rural ſcenery, which adorn this elegant and ingenious production, were drawn from that neighbourhood.

Mr. Browne, from whom I learnt this particular, was himſelf the biſhop's godſon; and had been encouraged by his lordſhip to enter the college of Dublin, and take holy orders, on a promiſe of patronage and preferment; which probably would have been realized had the biſhop ſurvived long enough.

After his wife's deceaſe, which happened a few years after their ſettlement at Newport, Mr. Browne, applied himſelf, with redoubled aſſiduity, to the care and inſtruction of his darling ſon and only child; and impreſſed with a lively idea of the great ſuperiority of the ſyſtem of education and diſcipline purſued in the college of Dublin, over that of the American ſeminaries, he anxiouſly revived by letter, February 10, 1767, * a long ſuſpended

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* Mr. Browne poſſeſſed amiable and engaging manners, and great eaſe and pleaſantry of converſation. The following extract from his firſt letter, furniſhes a lively ſketch of the man.

"DEAR SIR,

"When you open this letter, it will no doubt ſurpriſe you to find it from your old friend and college acquaintance; and the rather, as ſo much time has elapſed ſince we have taken the leaſt notice of each other: but this you will think the leſs of, when you are told that I had long ſince deplored your untimely death, ſuddenly in a fit; deceived by a report premature and ill-founded.

"Many a time, my dear friend, has the tear of affection bedewed my cheek upon recollecting and muſing on your memory and repeated acts of friendſhip to me; ſurpaſſing any I received from thoſe who were connected with me by the ties of blood. Your kindly offering to put money in my hand, when I parted from you on board the ſhip on the quay of Cork, from a ſuſpicion of my being but indifferently provided therewith, is a circumſtance which never will be forgotten. *Dum ſpiritus hos regit artus.*

"As I make no doubt you will be pleaſed to hear how it is with me; I will in a few lines make you acquainted with my ſituation and circumſtances:

correſpondence with his "old friend and college acquaintance," the reverend Dr. Forsayeth, then a Fellow of Trinity College; and having received an anſwer, in a ſubſequent letter to him, dated September 29, 1767, obſerves:—"I have a ſon, whom you muſt take charge of; a boy I "will venture to ſay, of notable parts, and who will never diſgrace his "inſtructor." Some time after, in order to brighten the chain of friendſhip, which had been tarniſhed by abſence, and to ſettle ſome property near Cork, which devolved to him in right of his wife; Mr. Browne came over to Ireland in 1770, and viſited Doctor Forſayeth that ſummer, in the College; but unfortunately died ſhortly after his return to Rhode Iſland, March 16, 1771.

Soon after his deceaſe, his ſon, renewed, in his own name, the application which had been begun by his father, and wrote the following letter to doctor Forſayeth:

"Rev. Sir,

"Senſible of the ſtrict intimacy that ſubſiſted between my deceaſed father and yourſelf, I have thought it my duty to acquaint you with the greateſt misfortune that could have happened to me in this world. No doubt, Sir, you were much ſurpriſed at not hearing from him ſince his return; but he had not one well hour after that he came on ſhore. He took paſſage on board a little pent-up veſſel, where the want of exerciſe conduced, with ſcarcity of proviſions, to throw him into the hypochondria. The principal complaints were, an entire loſs of appetite, attended with great drowſineſs, which at laſt terminated in a ſour ſtomach. He was grown extremely thin, and puked up the very little he ate. Notwithſtanding, we were not much alarmed, owing to the encouragement of the

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ſtances:——I have been ſettled theſe ſeven years in the ſecond town, and in the pleaſanteſt part of New England. Rhode Iſland is looked upon by all ſtrangers as the garden of North America: few parts of England are better improved. Of Trinity Church, in Newport, I am miniſter, with a ſalary of one hundred ſterling per annum, beſides perquiſites, which uſually amount to ten pounds more; a very pretty glebe-houſe, with a good garden, ſtable, &c. &c. I reckon my income, what I receive from Ireland included, and one hundred and thirty pounds ſterling; which is juſt ſufficient to place me above want, but not in affluence; as I ſpend every farthing, and this, though but four in family, myſelf and ſon (having lately loſt my poor wife) a boy and maid. The country is very expenſive, and my diſpoſition, perhaps rather too ſocial; but if ſo, I have not yet diſcovered it, ſo, fear I ſhall perſevere. I think I have but a competency, and cannot think of diſtreſſing myſelf, by ſcraping, to ſave what I may never live to enjoy. Thus you ſee, I have a competency, but ſtill I am not happy: I am diſſatisfied with the country and climate, and not over fond of the people. I pine after Ireland, without any proſpect of ever ſpending my days in it, unleſs you ſhould at length get a college living, and would receive me for your curate. This I am firmly of opinion, would be agreeable to me, and would induce me to quit the country; and what is more, *put me upon ſaving money* to enable me to do ſo. This, perhaps, you will laugh at; but I declare, I am more ſerious in it than you can imagine. I have much more to ſay to you, but will defer it till I hear from you, which I beg you will let me, &c."

doctor

doctors, who aſſured us, that the ſpring, and a journey to Portſmouth would remove every complaint. In ſhort, he died moſt unexpectedly, the 16th of March. Never did I receive ſuch a blow: not only the little *philoſophy* I had learnt, was of no uſe to me upon this occaſion, but even *religion* could not avail, till the paſſions had ſpent their force. However I have endeavoured to turn it to the beſt advantage, by ſubmitting to the will of Heaven, and hoping for future protection from it.

" My poor father has frequently declared to me and all his friends, his intention of ſending me to the Univerſity of Dublin this ſummer; but had the misfortune of not ſeeing my grandfather before his death.—Think, then Sir, what an addition it muſt be to my grief, to find, that my grandfather (an old man, and who has lately been ſhocked with two fits of the palſy) determined in one night, without any conſideration, to ſend me to Cambridge in this country, a place which my father deteſted, and which is no better than a ſink of ignorance and vice. I have not ſeen him this ſome time, but expect it ſoon; and believe I can uſe argument, which will induce him to change his opinion. At all events, Sir, I ſhall inſiſt upon ſtaying, till we hear from you. Could ſuch a thing be brought about, induſtry ſhould not be wanting in me, whatever ability might. If it cannot, I muſt think of ſome other ſcheme of life; as I can never think of going to Cambridge, upon my dear Father's account.

" I am aſſured your good-nature will excuſe this boldneſs in me; for you muſt give me leave to ſay, Sir, though I have never ſeen you, that I *know* you. after having heard my father ſo often mention, with reſpect, the name of DOCTOR FORSAYETH. Oh, from your feelings as a friend, judge what muſt be the grief of an orphan;

I am, Sir,
With the trueſt eſteem,
June 15. Your humble Servant,
ARTHUR BROWNE."

Such a letter, written in ſuch circumſtances, proved irreſiſtable. That a boy of only fourteen years old ſhould be capable of expreſſing ſuch generous and manly ſentiments in ſuch ſimplicity of language, and elegance of ſtyle; that he ſhould, upon motives of filial duty and a noble abhorence of " ignorance and vice," counteract the wiſhes of his neareſt relatives, wanting to educate him at home; that he ſhould voluntarily offer to quit all his connections in America, and undauntedly croſs the Atlantic, alone, " *the world before him, and* PROVIDENCE *his guide*," in order to commit himſelf and his fortunes to the patronage and protection of a perſonal ſtranger indeed, but his father's deareſt friend; all theſe circumſtances evinced a degree of ſagacity and foreſight, a firmneſs of deciſion, a ſpirit of enterpriſe, and a generoſity and elevation of mind, altogether uncommon, at any age. Dr. Forſayeth, the vigour of whoſe underſtanding was only exceeded by the warmth of his heart, read or rather devoured his letter, with delight; he inſtantly invited the orphan child of his friend, to come over without delay; who arrived accordingly early in the next year, 1772; he received with rapture, the charming boy, (for ſuch he really was, both in appearance and addreſs) he undertook his guardianſhip, he adopted him as his child, and entered him March 24, 1774, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Hales, Fellow of the College, who having entered Nov. 1, 1764, had been elected May 22, 1769, and was then an eminent tutor, after having been originally, the moſt highly favoured pupil of Dr. Forſayeth; and who then lived

lived with him in the ſame building, No. XXIV. in the library Square, in the ſtricteſt and moſt indiſſoluble intimacy of reciprocal friendſhip and affection, until the Doctor's much lamented death, in the year 1786, at the age of 49 years; (exactly the ſame as Doctor Browne's, at his deceaſe) having died in a noble cauſe, the cauſe of the widow and the orphan; in conſequence of an inflammation on his lungs, contracted by repeated colds during a ſevere winter in Dublin, whilſt he was employed in ſoliciting and endeavouring to procure the paſſing of a bill through parliament, that he had formed for the relief of the Widows and Children of the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church, in Ireland; which paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, indeed, but unfortunately miſcarried in the Lords, from ignorance of its utility, and the ill-founded prejudices of thoſe who ought to have been its warmeſt ſupporters—the late Primate Robinſon, and ſeveral of the Clergy, ſwayed perhaps, too much, by his authority. This excellent bill, was formed by Doctor Forſayeth upon the model of the *Annuity Scheme* for the benefit of the *Scotch* Clergy; which was originally founded in the year 1747, on the calculations of the great MACLAURIN, and ſucceſſively improved by the corrections of Mr. WEBSTER and Dr. PRICE, afterwards; until brought to its preſent ſtate of unrivalled ſtability and perfection. In this noble and permanent annuity ſcheme, all the Scottiſh Clergy and profeſſors, married and unmarried are compelled by law, to ſubſcribe to ſome one of the four following claſſes of annuities for widows, viz. 10*l.* 15*l.* 20*l.* or 25*l.* the choice of whichever claſs, is optional; the ſubſcribers paying at the rate of 1*l.* 5*s.* ſubſcription, for every 5*l.* annuity; and the ſcheme admirably extends a proviſion of ten years income of the choſen annuity, in one ſum, to the children, if there be no widow left, *at* the huſband's death. Suppreſſing the firſt claſs of 10*l.* Doctor Forſayeth ſubmitted a fourth of 30*l.* as better fitted to the meridian of Ireland; and by the proviſions of his bill, while the beneficed Clergy were compellable to ſubſcribe to ſome one of the foregoing claſſes; the Curates were left at liberty to ſubſcribe or not, to any, at their own diſcretion. The time I truſt, is not far diſtant, when the friends of the church and the members of a more enlightened Legiſlature will revive and enact this truly philoſophical philoclerical bill; the neceſſity for which, from the diſproportionate riſe of times to the incomes of the Clergy, is every day growing more urgent and imperious.

When he became a ſtudent of Trinity College Dublin, young BROWNE, by unremitting aſſiduity and attention to his ſtudies, diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his rapid progreſs in all the branches of learning taught in that noble ſeminary; and was not leſs fortunate, in conciliating general favour, by the uncommon attractions of his addreſs and converſation. Uniting a wonderful verſatility of mind, capable of ſhifting with the greateſt eaſe, from the lighter avocations of poetry and the belles letters, to the ſeverer ſtudies of Philoſophy and Mathematics; with the moſt inſinuating manners, he readily accommodated himſelf to all humours and diſpoſitions; "he became, (in the language of a print, by no means partial to his merits,*) "the *idol* of the ſtudents; who loved him with the affection of fond children; for he ſtrove to *retain* their affections, by a ſuavity of temper—by mild and engaging manners——peculiarly his own;" and

* *The Dublin Evening Poſt.*

never

never did any one more undesignedly, and thereby perhaps, more successfully practice Cicero's grand political maxim :—*Primum hoc status virtutis, animos, conciliare hominum, atque ad usus suos adjungere.*

In the year 1774, in consequence of his proficiency in classical learning, he was elected *a scholar of the house*, or one of the seventy students on the foundation, when a junior-sophister. And so well did he profit by the joint instructions of Dr. *Forsayeth*, and Mr. *Hales*, that only two years after, at the early standing of a junior Bachelor, he was sufficiently qualified to offer himself for the first time a candidate for a vacant fellowship in 1776, from a competent knowledge of the various branches of literature and rudiments, of science, required in that strictest and fairest public examination, perhaps in the world. The next year 1777, he succeeded, and was elected a *Fellow of the College*, with distinguished reputation, being then in his twentieth year. Having made choice of the law, as the profession most congenial to his enterprizing temper, and best adapted to the display of his splendid talents, he went to London, and pursued his studies at the temple during the regular period of time necessary for his admission to the bar. And through the munificence of his most excellent and indulgent guardian, Dr. *Forsayeth*, he was enabled to gratify his passion for finishing his education in the most liberal style, both at home and abroad; to get admission into the first circles for worth and talents in London, and to make an excursion to the Continent, where he visited France and the Netherlands. And his letters to his college friends, written during that period, displayed no ordinary reach of observation and insight into the various characters and circumstances of men and things, and places which occured to him in that early stage of his journey through life.

The next important epoch in his public life, was his election to serve as one of the representatives of the University in Parliament: previous to the account of which, it will be necessary to review the situation of our *alma mater*, at that time.

The College of Dublin, the *mater universitatis*, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, and chiefly designed to be a seminary for the education of the established *Clergy* of Ireland. To promote this design, and to secure a proper head, by the statutes of King James I. its most munificent patron, the Provost was required, 1st. to be in *holy orders*, and 2dly, of the standing at least of a *bachelor of divinity:* and from that time, until the decease of the Rev. Doctor *Richard Baldwin*, about the year 1758, the provosts, in succession, were uniformly clergymen. He was succeeded by a senior fellow of the college, but a Layman, and a lawyer, Dr. *Francis Andrews*, during the administration of the duke of Bedford, when lord lieutenant of Ireland; by virtue of two dispensations of the crown, (a power reserved to it in the college charter) from his statutable disabilities—a most disastrous innovation, which, during his provostship, gave the first wound to the discipline of the College, and the morals of the students, by infusing the subtle poisons of electioneering craft and political intrigue into their youthful minds; the provost being himself a politician and in parliament, and interfering more than once in the election of members for the university, as the writer of these memoirs can testify.

Upon his decease in 1774, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Senior Fellows, who compose with the provost the government of the college, and the opposition of the resp. stable primate Robinson, deprecating a similar successor, and praying that the appointment might revert into

the old, clerical channel Dr. *John Hely Hutchinson*, his Majesty's prime-serjeant, and afterward secretary of state, was appointed Provost, with no less than three dispensations from the statutes, (the third, from celibacy) during the earl of Harcourt's administration. A measure, which it is said, contributed more than any other, to work that nobleman's disgrace with the King, on his return to England.

In the year 1773, while Mr. Browne was prosecuting his studies at the temple, the provost's eldest son, *Mr. Richard Hely Hutchinson*, (now earl of Donoghmore) was elected a member of parliament for the university: but a petition having been brought against his election on the ground of undue influence, his seat was vacated by a vote of the house of commons; and Mr. Fitzgibbon, who had successfully managed the petition, offered himself as a candidate. On this occasion, the Provost attempting to substitute his nephew, councellor Duquerrey, in the room of his son; Mr. Browne, as being a permament member of the society, and universally esteemed for his virtue and talents, was fixed on by a considerable body of the independent electors, as the fittest person to defend and promote the rights and interests of the university, and to prevent it from being degraded with a *family borough*. At that time, Mr. Fitzgibbon, (since, attorney-general, Lord Chancellor, and Earl of Clare) succeeded in his election: but afterwards in 1783, having been deserted by a powerful party of the Fellows, who notwithstanding his services, and rather impolitically, prefered the interest of Sir Lawrence Parsons, the latter was elected member along with Mr. Browne, who came in without opposition. This early competition of Political interests, unfortunately produced an animosity which long subsisted in the breast of Lord Clare; and led him, perhaps, during the exercise of his visitatorial authority, in 1798, to reprimand Dr. Browne, rather too severely, for a single deviation from the formalities of academic discipline; without the concurrence or approbation of the other visiter, Doctor Duigenan: a trivial circumstance, which has been magnified, most ungenerously and malignantly, by their foes, to calumninate these exalted and excellent characters, since their decease. But when Dr. Browne, in the second session of 1800, gave his zealous, decided, and disinterested support to the great and important measure of parliamentary Union; which he had opposed in the foregoing session, "thro' false complaisance," as he confessed, "to an ungrateful portion of his constituents," against his better judgment, which, from the time of the rebellion, 1798, had been inclined to the measure; —a measure, which he now supported, as he declared, "from full conviction of its urgent and imperious necessity as "*a refuge from ruin*,"—as the only alternative left, to remove and prevent the complicated evils, present and future, resulting from "the madness of democracy, the horrors of rebellion, and the inefficiency, irritations, and corruptions of a subordinate, provincial parliament;"—the only feasible method, to secure "the stability and permanency of the Constitution in Church and State;—and to counteract and defeat the incessant machination of France to sever Ireland from Great Britain;—from "respect for the sentiments of no inconsiderable part of the nation," and especially, of the soberer and most respectable part of his own constituents,—and in fine, from attention to his Majesty's repeated declarations, that He thought the Union essential to the interest of the empire."—Dr. Browne openly and repeatedly asserting, both at that time and afterwards, that in voting for the measure, he was influenced by no mercenary motives, that he had made no stipula-

tions

ſions with government for his ſervices:—Such manly, public-ſpirited and diſintereſted conduct, ſuch voluntary ſacrifice of popularity, which no man valued higher, extorted the approbation and eſteem of that high minded nobleman, Lord Clare, and converted him into a cordial and ſteady friend to this "kindred ſoul," until the laſt hour of his life.*

At the general election in 1790. Dr. Browne, was a ſecond time, unanimouſly elected member for the Univerſity, with Mr. *Francis Hely Hutchinſon*, the Provoſt's third ſon; and a third time, in 1797, when, on the excluſion of the latter, Mr. *George Knox*, was elected in his room, gentleman, whoſe ſole pretenſions to repreſent the Univerſity, ſeems to have originated from oppoſition to the Hutchinſon-intereſt; and in whoſe favor, by the partiality of his ſupporters, an unaccountable deviation took place, from that honorable, and heretofore, indiſpenſable

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*The following extract of letters from lord CLARE, to Doctor BROWNE, will ſhew the terms of intimacy ſubſiſting between them.

No. I.

"My dear Browne,

"On Wedneſday laſt, I have received a very ſevere hurt from the pummel of my ſaddle, which would have ended very ſeriouſly, if I had not, almoſt immediately, undergone a difficult and painful operation; which, however, has completely relieved me, but confines me to my bed, from whence I write this letter.—I preſume, you will not heſitate to accept the ſituation, which, *for the preſent*, is within your reach [the prime ſerjeantſhip.]

"I ſhall not envy Mr. P—— his happineſs, if his friend Mr. M—— ſhall ſucceed him: but it is melancholy to ſee, that *intrigue ſhould flouriſh as vigorouſly as ever, in Trinity College.*

Always very truly your's.

My dear Browne,

LONDON, *May*, 25, 1801. CLARE."

No. II.

"My dear Browne,

"If government ſhall conſult with me on the ſubject [of a vacancy on the judicial bench,] I can only ſay, that I will *honeſtly* and *conſcientiouſly* ſtate my opinion of the qualifications of every candidate; conſidering only, which of them is, *according to my judgment and information, beſt calculated to contribute to the due adminiſtration of Juſtice.*

Your's always very truly,

My dear Browne.

MOUNT-SHANON, *Sep.* 21, 1801. CLARE."

N. B. This is a moſt honourable teſtimony to lord Clare's uprightneſs; whoſe death, not long after, was a great *national* calamity.

 qualifications

qualifications for candidates, of having received their education in the College of Dublin.——But Mr. Knox, had powerful connexions.

With this colleague, Dr. Browne continued to discharge his duty in parliament, until the abolition of one of the seats of the University borough, in December 1800; when, in compliance with the wishes of administration (signified to him by the noble lord who conducted its measures) preferring Mr. Knox to him (although that gentleman had uniformly opposed the union throughout) Dr. Browne was induced voluntarily to resigni his seat; whereby Mr. Knox continued the sitting member, without incurring the risque of a ballot.

Such was the close of the political career of a man, who in his own candid avowal of his principles, declared himself,—"a sincere Protestant, not like many, a mere *political*, but a *religious* Protestant,* with opinions founded on reason, study and reflection:" and who, with a noble liberality of mind, free from bigotry or intolerance,—"wished that every privilege should be grantedd to the Catholics, *consistent with the safety of the establishment:* for to the establishment also," added he, "on much reflexion, I am a steady friend."——Speech in the House of Commons, February 18, 1800.

Even his enemies must confess, that Dr. Browne on all occasions, shewed in the strongest manner, the most active attachment to the king, the church, and the constitution; though he blamed certain ministerial measures; of this, he received the strongest acknowledgment from lord *Camden*, though in opposition.† And of his disinterestedness, the many opportunities he

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* That Dr. Browne was indeed a truly "*religious* Protestant"—— his courageous reprobation of the absurd, immoral and anti-christian mode of *dueling*, furnishes a striking specimen in his succeding speech, May 21, 1800.

"Gentlemen," said he, "were much in the habit of wishing to make personal attacks upon him:—he was not ashamed to say, that "*he feared* GOD;" if *not*, the Scriptures had told him, that *at the last day Heaven would be ashamed of him.* He was not afraid to observe, that from his peculiar situation, as senior fellow of a College, decorum made it peculiarly incumbent on him not to seek for quarrels; nor was he forgetful, that the knowledge, that a duel might deprive him of seven hundred pounds a year, made adventuring adversaries particularly courageous in seeking for so unequal a combat; he spoke boldly, because he felt he was no coward, and he believed every man felt it; but while at the same time he was conscious that there were situations arising accidentally and involuntarily between gentlemen which are much to be lamented, and to real spirit, difficult to be resisted; he was free to own, that if any man vented his cold blooded interested and premeditated malice upon him, and much more, if he was the poor instrument of the malice of others, he would meet his impotent assault with silent contempt."

† The following extract of a letter from Lord CAMDEN to Doctor BROWNE, in 1798, as being equally honourable to both, may here be inserted, without any breach of the delicacy due to private correspondence.

voluntarily

voluntarily passed over of advancing himself considerably in the world' the great and tempting offers he rejected in the time of the *Regency* furnish considerable evidence.

The following sketch of Dr. Browne's general character, has been already so ably and faithfully drawn by the ingenious and judicious Editor of that constitutional paper, THE DUBLIN JOURNAL, of June 11, 1805; that I shall take the liberty of republishing it with some additional remarks.

"We should ill convey the public sentiment of regret, for the loss of the late prime serjeant were we to withhold that tribute of respect and admiration of his conduct as a *truly honest* and *independent gentleman*, which the whole train of a long political life has acquired to his memory. Elevated by his learning to the truly honourable and enviable situation of a fellow of Dublin college, and adopting the profession of the bar, Mr. Browne very soon distinguished himself so highly as to be chosen representative for the University. He entered into parliament in 1783, and was characterised in the House of Commons by elegant correctness, logical precision, and sterling good sense. In those stormy and unhappy times which followed, he adopted the very *arduous* and *unprofitable* task of acting with strict independence of any party; though enthusiastically attached to sound and rational liberty, no man saw more clearly the dangers of licentiousness: and accordingly, our parliamentary history will prove that no *demagogue* could ever count upon Dr. Browne as his follower; no *faction* could enroll him as a partizan: steady to the strictest principles of truth and patriotism; he alike opposed those measures which he thought mischievous, and supported those which he thought useful to the country; even though the first should enjoy the sanction of popularity, and the latter should expose him to inevitable injury.

"The clergy of Ireland cannot forget, that when in 1787, the first attack was made upon the church establishment, by abetting the popular dislike to the payment of tythes, Dr. Browne stood forth one of their ablest champions; and by his learning, his research, his proofs and his arguments, effectually overturned the mass of sophistry, mistatement, calumny, and clamour, which had been raised against the church of Ireland, for *purposes, which succeding years have too plainly developed.*"

SIR,

"I am sorry that you have thought it necessary to make any apology in addressing me upon the subject on which I have been favored with a lettter from you; as I am always ready and desirous of doing justice to those persons with whose characters I became acquainted during my residence in Ireland. I certainly should not do that justice to your's which it deserves from me, did I not declare, that *I am convinced his Majesty has not a more loyal subject*; and I beg to assure you, that you may depend upon such a report being made by me in this kingdom.——

I have the honor to remain,
With perfect truth,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
Humble servant,

CAMDEN.

Indeed

Indeed, almost the last act of his political life was a fruitless attempt to resist the spoliation of the revenue of the church; when he stood forth, almost singly, to oppose a bill introduced into the House of Commons, shortly before its expiration in 1800, for depriving the parochial clergy in Ireland, of their legal and indubitable right to the tythe of *agistment*, or of barren cattle; under a voluntary suspension of the exercise of which, they had laboured for sixty years; submitting without murmuring to a former inhibitory vote of the House of Commons about the year 1740. On this occasion, Dr. Browne in vain remonstrated against the fatal precedent of depriving under colour of law, a numerous and unoffending description of subjects of their property without their consent: an unconstitutional measure, he said, unknown since the days of *Alfred* the Great; a measure, of spoliation, which even the haughty and imperious Henry VIII durst not attempt, at the time of the dissolution of the religious houses in England, and the alineation of their revenues until he had either persuaded or intimidated the owners into a formal surrendry of their titles: a measure as impolitic as it was unjust and unconstitutional, since it had operated heretofore, as a bounty upon grazing and a tax upon tillage; and would also in future, preclude any augmentation of the number of the parochial clergy, by raising their tythes, which had been alineated, lost, or reduced far below their value, to their proper level, as in England; thereby to enable the hierarchy to remove the evil of pluralities, and also by dividing benefices, to encrease the number of the clergy, so deplorably poor in Ireland. But argument was of no avail against the prevailing prejudice; and the bill, with the most indecent precipitation, and without giving time for petitioning against it, was hurried through both houses, and passed into a law, in less than three weeks from its introduction by Sir *John Macartney!* Such was the reward of the parochial clergy of Ireland, for their uniform loyalty to the crown and attachment to the constitution, and support of the connexion with Great Britain, at all times; such their reward for the patient endurance of systematic course of a pillage and persecution, from friends and enemies, for many years; such their reward for their patriotic and hazardous exertions to restore tranquility and bring offenders to justice, during the woeful period of the rebellion of 1798, during which, several were assassinated, Doctor *Hamilton*, *Mr. Butler*, Mr. *Knipe*, &c. &c. others, forced to emigrate to England and Wales; and all materialy injured in their property. While by a most invidious and mortifying contrast, they still behold themselves left in the shade—and the dissenting and the popish clergy, either already enjoying, or looking forward, with no unfounded hope, to an augmentation of their incomes, from the bounty and liberality of government!

But to return, from this digression, extorted by the sufferings and privations of the Irish clergy of the established church, in this their "day of trouble, and of rebuke and of blasphemy," to the remaining particulars of Dr. Browne's character:—"when the dangers of the country in 1796, called for the service of every man who loved the king, and the constitution, the honest impulse which raised the armed yeomanry, was at first conceived to be inconsistent with the peaceful habits of academic life, and the ardor of the students of the University was (not without difficulty) for a time restrained; but the appearance of the French off Bantry, removed that restraint, and Dr. Browne, was, by an unanimous requisition, called upon to put himself at the head of a corps, which for

discipline

diſcipline and appearance, ſoon became, under his care, the boaſt of the yeomanry? [when, ſuch was his zeal for their improvement, and his verſatile genius, that from the moſt approved treatiſes on military tactics, he compiled a ſhort treatiſe for their uſe.]

"Upon the great queſtion of UNION, he thought (*as he always thought for himſelf,*) that it was the only meaſure which promiſed ſecurity to the conſtitution, in church and ſtate, and tranquillity to the country. On theſe grounds he acted; and though aſſailed with the moſt inceſſant and virulent calumny by an active and malignant party, he gave to the meaſure of union, the full ſupport of his vote and his talents.

"This voluntary ſacrifice of popularity, and his ſubſequent reſignation of his ſeat in parliament, were claims which called too ſtrongly upon the gratitude of government to be overlooked; and Dr. Browne, was appointed to the office of his Majeſty's prime ſerjeant, (in 1802) with every proſpect, from his talents and his ſervices, of being in time advanced to the judicial rank.*

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* In addition to the foregoing teſtimony of lord CLARE, (ſee note, p. 414) unequivocally intimating doctor Browne's proſpect of advancement to the judicial bench; the following extracts of letters from lord CASTLEREAGH, during lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration, and from lord CORNWALLIS himſelf ſince, indicate the high ſenſe they entertained of Dr. Browne's ſervices and claims.

No. I.

"My dear Sir, Park, Friday morn.

——"You may be aſſured, that I ſhall always have great pleaſure in bearing teſtimony to *the zealous and decided ſupport* you have given the King's government, and whenever an application from you is brought under the lord lieutenant's conſideration, I ſhall have much ſatisfaction in repreſenting *the value of theſe ſervices* which you have rendered to his excellency's adminiſtration, *during the important conteſt in which we have been engaged.*

"I am, dear Sir,

"With great regard,

"Your faithful and obedient ſervant,

"Doctor Browne," "CASTLEREAGH."

No. II.

Burlington ſtreet, June 9, 1802.

"Dear Sir.

"I have received your letters, dated the 22d of May and 4th of June; and if on any occaſion your name ſhold be mentioned to me by the men in power on this ſide of the water, you may be aſſured, that I ſhall ſpeak of you in ſuch terms as *the high eſteen I have for your talents and character* would dictate. This however is not likely to be the caſe, &c.

"I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

"Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

"Doctor Browne." "CORNWALLIS."

No. III.

"Sir,

"I am truly ſenſible of, and ſhall always be ready to acknowledge *the important*

" In his progreſs to that advancement, he was arreſted by a ſhort and ſudden illneſs, [occaſioned by over fatigue in the aſſizes, on the Munſter Circuit, where he acted as judge; as he had done with diſtinguiſhed reputation, on three preceding occaſions; in addition to which, during ſome tedious trials at bar, which laſted the whole day, he incautiouſly ate hard biſcuit and cheeſe;—indigeſtible food, which brought on an obſtruction in his bowels, not to be removed by medicine, and terminated in his death, June 8, 1805, ſhortly after his return from circuit.] " His death deprived the Univerſity and the bar of one, who, by his learning, his talents, and his integrity, was one of their brighteſt and pureſt ornaments; it deprived the circle of ſociety in which he lived of a man as ſincere and ſteady in his friendſhips, as he was kind and gentle in his manners; and deprived an amiable and beloved family, [conſiſting of a widow and five children, four of them very young] of the moſt affectionate of huſbands and the kindeſt of fathers; and, to aggravate their loſs, and prolong their ſorrows, the writer of this, is warranted to declare, left in rather indigent circumſtances; which has reluctantly induced an application to government for the relief of the family of a good and faithful ſervant, who, while involved in profeſſional and literary purſuits, and abſorbed in public affairs, unavoidably neglected his domeſtic concerns and private intereſts; and in the ſhort period which intervened, between his promotion to the prime-ſerjeantſhip and his death, could not avail himſelf, as he intended,* of the increaſe of his income to ſecure a competent proviſion for his family.

" *Excuſſus propriis, aliena negotior cure?*"——HOR.

" His pen, was one of *the few*, which have of late years, been exerted in Ireland, to amuſe and inſtruct, without inflicting pain on others. In

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important ſervices you rendered my adminiſtration during the ſecond ſeſſion in which the queſtion of *Union* was agitated: and ſhall retain a *real eſteem and regard for your character and conduct*: but although it was my intention to have taken the firſt favourable opportunity of promoting your wiſhes, (after I had ſatisfied ſome previous engagements which I was reluctantly compelled to contract) if I had remained ſome time longer in Ireland; I am concerned to ſay, that at preſent, it is entirely out of my power to take a farther part than by my ſincere good wiſhes.

" I have the honor, &c.

" Doctor Browne," " CORNWALLIS."

* In ſearching his papers, an account-book was found, at the head of which was the following memorandum: " This account begins the firſt of January, 1805——*May the bleſſing of* GOD *attend it!*——And may HE *that ſeeth in ſecret reward openly*, this effuſion of private devotion, and raiſe up friends to his family! May *his prayers and his alms*, be had in remembrance before the throne of Grace!

Surely, a ſmall portion of the public money cannot be better employed than in making ſome proviſion for the family of a man who was in the beſt ſenſe of the word, *the benefactor of the public*.—EDITOR.

that

that ſickly ſtate of public appetite, which is only to be gratified by public calumny and party rancour, his productions have not forced themſelves upon public notice: but they have been in this reſpect like their author, ——with the ſame gentle, unaſſuming character, they bear the ſame features of taſte, learning, and benevolence."

Notwithſtanding his various and embarraſſing duties and avocations, Dr. Browne, though of a delicate frame, and in the courſe of a life of only forty-nine years, ſtill found, or created, time for attaining a conſiderable degree of information in the *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *German*, and *Perſian* languages, and for compoſing a variety of publications;

1. *Lectures on Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law*, &c. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *A Compendium of Eccleſiaſtical Law in Ireland*, 8vo, of which a ſecond edition, with great additions, was publiſhed in 1803.—N. B. Theſe two works rank high in public eſtimation.

3 *A Treatiſe on the Greek Tenſes*, which evinces uncommon acuteneſs, and critical ſkill in that language, of which he was for ſeveral years univerſity profeſſor, and which, being communicated to that eminent claſſical ſcholar, as well as ſtateſman, Mr. CHARLES FOX, produced in anſwer, a *Diſſertation* on the ſubject; which, (with his permiſſion) may perhaps be given, on ſome future occaſion, to the public, as a valuable communication.

4. *Sketches*, or *Hints for Eſſays*, 2 vol. 8vo. exhibiting the natural and unpremeditated effuſions of an elegant and cultivated mind, ſoftened by domeſtic ſorrows, and its aſperities ſmothered by extenſive commerce with the world, and refined and exalted by religion.

5. *Tranſlations of Poems from the Perſian and Spaniſh languages*, which have met the approbations of the beſt Orientaliſts and *Sir William Ouſely*, lord *Moira*, &c. have commended in their letters to him.

6. Sundry communications of conſiderable merit in the *Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy*, from its commencement.

7. In 1800, were printed, "not for general publication, but for diſtribution among a few friends," ſome *documents vindicating his parliamentary conduct from the charge of inconſiſtency*; in which, he has ſatisfactorily refuted the calumny.

8. In the ſame year, and in the like maner.—*Remarks on the Terms of the Union.*— in which he thus ſtates his reaſon for writing them.

"The *principle* of Union is decided. The public approbation or diſapprobation of the *terms* is of infinite conſequence to the peace and proſperity of the country. On the former, *ſince the rebellion*, I never had but one opinion, though I at firſt improperly conceded it to the opinions of others. On the latter, I had many doubts, which if not entirely diſpelled, have certainly been in a great meaſure removed. Having never had a proper opportunity of explaining my ſentiments thereon, and having been prevented by indiſpoſition and particular circumſtances of fatigue, from attending the houſe in that ſtage of the bill, in which I meant to have delivered them; it gives me ſatisfaction to have an opportunity of doing ſo, by briefly conſidering the various articles to which they relate, and the principal objections to them offered; and of proving, that my aſſent given to theſe terms, is not *blindly implicit*, or *ſervilely univerſal*:" and he then diſcuſſes briefly, but in a maſterly way, theſe objections, as they relate to, 1. *The paucity of Repreſentatives.* 2. *Church.* 3. *The Catholics.* 4. *The City of Dublin.* 5. *Law.* 6. *Trade.* 7. *Taxation.* 8. *Controverted elections.* 9. *Abſentees.* 10. *Tranquility.* 11. *Jury.* 12. *Local Legiſlature.* 13. *The Settlement of 1802.*

"Such

"Such, concludes he, are ſome of the obvious remarks upon the *terms* of union, which naturally ſuggeſt themſelves to a plain mind; and which, I think, ſerve to convince us, that if theſe theſe terms be not altogether *as perfect* as hope might conceive, they are at leaſt, *much more ſatisfactory*, than in the uſual intercourſe of human affairs, reason could expect."

"In the courſe of an extenſive and various correſpondence," adds he, "two letters from ſenſible men—one in Scotland, the other in America—in the progreſs of laſt year, (1799) much amuſed me:——*I am an enemy* ſaid my noble allied Scottiſh friend, *to the Union: We*, ſays he, *undoubtedly, gained in happineſs and wealth; but we ſacrificed our pride!" We*, ſrid my commercial American friend, *are aſtoniſhed at your rejecting the bleſſings of union: You have ſacrificed riches and comfort to pride!"*

Though already too prolix, I fear, in thus fondly dwelling on the minuter traits of character in a long-loved friend, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of inſerting the following highly honorable and appropriate teſtimony to his uncommon worth, given by an aſſociate, who knew him well, and had oppoſed him at elections; but was reconciled to him before he reſigned his fellowſhip, for a college-benefice.*

"His qualities were perhaps of *too mild* a character, for the agitated ſcene in which it was his lot to act: but the man, whoſe domeſtic life might have afforded an example of piety, to men who could not plead his avocations; the man, who in his judicial character, was careful to maintain, by his attendance on public worſhip, that reſpect for religion ſo neceſſary to produce and enforce obedience to the laws; and who, not confining himſelf to a cold, formal diſcharge of his duty on the bench, became the humane and willing advocate of the friendleſs priſoner; the man, in fine, whoſe memory is hallowed by the bleſſings of the poor, by the ſorrows of his friends, and by the regret of his enemies,—whoſe overtures of reciprocal forgiveneſs and mutual amneſty—he was foremoſt to meet and accept with cheerfulneſs—may well be preſented to you (the ſtudents) as a model of *moral* imitation."

"*Qui deſideris, ſit pudor, tam cari capitis, aut modus* !"

HOR.

J. H.

Reflections on Papal Excommunications, ſuggeſted by the recent Caſe of Donovan v. *Father O'Brien.*

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

IN page 94 of your 87th Number for September laſt, you mentioned that the following very ſingular caſe was tried at the aſſizes of Cork before the Hon. Judge Day, and a ſpecial jury:—

That "a baker of the name of Donovan, brought an action againſt the Rev. Mr. O'Brien, Vicar-General to Dr. Coppinger, Titular Biſhop of Cork, and Roman Catholic pariſh prieſt of Clonakilty. The damages were laid at 500l. It appeared on the trial, that a ſubſcription had been ſet on foot by the prieſt for the purpoſe of building a Roman Catholic chapel. Donovan

* The Rev. Dr. *Miller*, in a diſcourſe delivered ſhortly after Dr. Browne's deceaſe, in the college chapel, Sunday, June 23, 1805.

novan was ordered to pay as his affixed quota, 16s. 3d. which he accordingly did; he was afterwards called on to pay 9s.; this sum he likewise paid, but observed at the time that he was very poor, and that he could not afford it. A third demand on him of 16s. was made by the priest, which Donovan refused to comply with. On Donovan's going to mass the following Sunday, he was asked by the priest whether he would pay the 16s. or not; he answered, that he was not able. The priest rejoined, "I will settle you." Terrified at this observation, Donovan sent by his wife 16s. to the house of the priest, who refused then to take less than two guineas. On the following Sunday the priest cursed from the altar all those who had not paid his demands towards building the chapel. Donovan went on the next holiday to mass, and was formally excommunicated; and the people denounced as cursed and contaminated if they should deal or hold any communication with him. This threat was so effectual, that not one of the country people would sell a sod of turf to Donovan to heat his oven, and Donovan could not even sell in his own name such flour or stock which lay on his hands. Reduced almost to despair from his forlorn situation, the baker went in a white sheet to the chapel as a voluntary penance, and asked pardon of God and the priest for his disobedience; and was there desired by the priest to attend him to his house, where he again demanded from him the two guineas, which Donovan assured him he could not possibly make up. The excommunication was therefore continued in full force against him, and he was consequently obliged to shut up his house. The above facts were incontrovertibly proved by two *unwilling* witnesses. The jury composed equally of Protestants and Roman Catholics, after a very able charge from the Learned Judge, found a verdict for the Plaintif.—50*l. Damages*, and 6*d. Costs*.

On the 15th of October, Father O'Brien the defendant published a defence of himself in some of the Irish newspapers, which I find has been reprinted in some of the English public prints. In his defence he denies some of the facts stated by you, and he says, "that I formerly excommunicated him, or prevented any one from dealing with him; is an absolute misconception, or falsehood. I declared him, however, under an ecclesiastical censure; I treated him as such; but while I state this fact, I beg leave to claim some indulgence from the consideration that I had been all this time under the pressure of existing difficulties, from which I had no other means of extricating myself, or doing justice to the creditors of the church." It is here evident, that Father O'Brien undertook to build a chapel, and that he laid under ecclesiastical censures such of his parishioners as would not contribute to its erection. It does not signify how he may denominate this ecclesiastical censure, as it had the direful effect of ruining the poor baker, by making him a wretched outcast and depriving him of all social comfort, even from his nearest friends and relations.* The main object of Father O'Brien's defence, is to prove that this ecclesiastical censure was not

* Father O'Brien's attempt to extricate his very culpable conduct towards the baker, reminds us of the well known anecdote of a Quaker, who being enraged with a dog, said to him, I will not injure thee, but I will give thee a bad name, and he cried out a mad dog, in consequence of which he was stoned to death. EDITOR.

issued

iſſued by the deſire or direction of his biſhop, Doctor Coppinger; but it is well known, and daily inſtances prove, that the meaneſt of the Iriſh popiſh prieſts fulminate excommunications againſt their flock, mero motu, and without the ſanction or interference of their ſuperiors, as a matter of ordinary diſcipline; and it is well known alſo, that the ſyſtem of terror which they can at any time exerciſe over their flock, through the means of excommunication, has been the engine which they have employed, for above two centuries, to ſtimulate them into rebellion. In anſwer to Father O'Brien's attempt, in his defence, to palliate his culpable nay criminal conduct, I think it right to declare, that I was preſent at the trial of the action, brought againſt him by the baker: that with the aſſiſtance of one of the jurors, who took notes of the evidence, I drew up a brief ſtatement of the trial, which I inſerted in the Dublin Journal, the only Iriſh paper in which it appeared, and from which it was copied in the Engliſh papers; and you reprinted it with accuracy, except the following trifling error, that Doctor Coppinger is biſhop of Cloyne, and not of Cork, as erroneouſly ſtated by you. But what ſignifies Father O'Brien's endeavouring to palliate his conduct, when it is well known that the Iriſh prieſts make a conſtant practice of excommunicating ſuch of their flocks as may happen not to conform to their wiſhes. A few years ſince, a farmer who was my tenant would have ſtarved, but that I received him into my houſe, for he was deſerted by all his friends and relations in conſequence of being excommunicated; and his only crime was this; he was to be married to his couſin, in the fourth degree which is inadmiſſible in the Romiſh church, without paying a certain ſum of money to the pariſh prieſt for a diſpenſation. This man being too poor to pay it, had recourſe to a neighbouring prieſt, who married him for the uſual and ordinary fee; and for this he was reduced to the loweſt ſtate of human miſery. One M'Carthy, a farmer, was excommunicated in a moſt wanton manner, about three years ago, near Middleton in the County of Cork, by his pariſh prieſt, who in this caſe was actuated by motives of perſonal hatred. He brought an action againſt the prieſt, and recovered 300l. and full coſts. I could give you twenty inſtances of the bad effects of excommunication, which occurred in the province of Munſter alone, within twelve years; and yet the people are in ſuch a ſtate of timid ſubſerviency to their clergy, that I never remember but two actions brought to obtain redreſs for the dreadful conſequences of excommunication. It was to be hoped, that the reprobation which the culpable conduct of Father O'Brien received from the verdict of a jury, would have checked his ſacerdotal pride and intolerance, and would have awakened in him a ſenſe of juſtice, and a reſpect for the laws of the land; but the following fact proves, that he is reſolved to indulge his arrogant ambition, and to maintain his illegal power without any regard to either. A few days after the action was tried before Judge Day, Donovan, the plaintiff, went to maſs, when, on entering the chapel, Father O'Brien flew into a violent rage, and exclaimed againſt him in the moſt ſevere language of reprobation, ſaying that he was a heretic, and accurſed in the eyes of God and man. He ſaid alſo, that he would diveſt himſelf, that is, take his veſtment off, which he did accordingly; and that he would not ſay maſs if Donovan remained in the chapel. At laſt having worked up his congregation to a high pitch of fanatical fury, he hallooed them at Donovan, whom they aſſaulted, and forcibly dragged out of the chapel. Father O'Brien was indicted for, and convicted of, this groſs

breach

breach of the peace, at the last Quarter Sessions for the County of Cork, when it was at the same time proved, that this insolent Priest denounced from his altar the sister-in-law of Donovan, and said, that she swore to less than three false oaths on the trial of the actions.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

A FREEHOLDER OF THE COUNTY OF CORK.

We will now appeal to the British Public, whether the Irish Papists are capable of appreciating or enjoying the blessings of our glorious constitution, which they regard with blind veneration, and are in a state of bondage to, their priests, an ignorant set of men, whose education tends to debase the understanding, to inspire them with envenomed hostility to our institutions, both civil and ecclesiastical, and with implicit obedience to the Roman Pontiff, who has never failed, for nearly three centuries, to aid the enemies of the Protestant Empire of England, and who, at this time, is the firm friend and ally of the Corsican Tyrant.

Though the Irish Roman Catholics are in a much better condition than their English fellow religionists, as to civil liberty and political power, they insist upon what is called by the vulgar and ignorant *emancipation*, as if they were slaves; but any attempt of the legislature to give them a full and perfect enjoyment of freedom, will be vain, until they emancipate themselves from an odious system of tyranny, which imposes an illiberal restraint on their thoughts and their actions. The Popish priests, in order to gain a complete ascendancy over their votaries, and to make them feel the terrific effects of excommunication, begin, when they are but seven years old, to infuse into their minds, such a degree of blind and superstitious credulity, as weakens and degrades their intellectual powers, deprives the Deity of the reverence due to him, and the King of his allegiance, which is transferred to a foreign Prince. We shall now endeavour, briefly, to shew the reader the early practice and the dangerous effects of this system of terror, devised by the Popish ecclesiastics, in an age of midnight darkness, to gain a complete ascendancy over the laity; and which, in its operation on the human mind, is as much superior to every other spring of action, as the power of the lever is to the arm. We shall find it occasionally employed in rivetting the chains of slavery on the subjects of despotic princes, who were implicitly subservient to the Pope, and in exciting and promoting rebellion against such sovereigns as had fortitude enough to resist the inordinate ambition of the Roman Pontiffs.

Pope Innocent III. excommunicated King John, because he opposed his insolent claims; in consequence of which he was deserted and resisted by his subjects, who renounced their allegiance to him. He was at length obliged to submit, to resign his crown into the hands of that haughty prelate, and to become his feudatory. When the barons laid the foundation of our glorious constitution, by obtaining Magna-Charta, that odious tyrant, John, appealed to the same Pope, who, to second his despotic views, issued a bill, in which, "*from the plenitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him to build and destroy Kingdoms, to plant and to overthrow,*" he vocated and annulled the whole charter, and absolved the king, and all his subjects, from any oaths which they might have taken to observe it, and he denounced a general sentence of excommunication against any one *who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable and iniquitious pretensions.*

In

Gregory V, in the year 996, excommunicated Richard I, King of France for marrying his Couſin Bertha, without a diſpenſation; tho' ſhe was related to him, but in the 4th degree. He affected to diſregard the excommunication; but he was deſerted by his people, and his Courtiers regarded him with ſuch horror, that they refuſed to any thing which he had contaminated by his touch, "till it was purified by paſſing it thro' the fire."*

In the 11th Century, Pope Gregory VII, by denouncing a ſentence of excommunication againſt the Emperor Henry IV, invoked his ſubjects to riſe in rebellion againſt him, and to join the party of the Pope who meant to deprive him of his crown; and it ſo far extinguiſhed all natural affection in his neareſt relations, that the Empreſs Agnes his mother, the Dutcheſs Beatrix his Aunt, and the Counteſs Matilda his Couſin german, joined the pope's faction to dethrone him, and even levied money, and raiſed troops for that purpoſe. From the 11th to the 15th century, papal excommunication were a fruitful ſource of treaſonable conſpiracies and rebellions in Europe, againſt Sovereign princes; and in conſequence of them, ſome loſt their lives their crowns, and both, in ſome inſtances. In the year 1533, Paul III. excommunicated Henry VIII. and abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, becauſe he declared himſelf, and not the Pope, to be the head of the Engliſh Church. Queen Mary promoted the burning of her Proteſtant ſubjects, becauſe they were excommunicated heriticks, and becauſe it was enjoyned as a religious duty by various general councils, particularly the 4th Lateran A. D. 1215, in which, as well as in the council of Toledo, it is laid down, "that if the temporal Prince neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice† muſt be given to the Pope that he may thenceforth pronounce his ſubjects abſolved from their allegiance, and give his dominion to Catholics.‡

Charles IX. of France, ordered his Proteſtant ſubjects to be butchered in feaſt of Bartholomew, for theſe reaſons, and becauſe they were excommunicated heretics. Thuamus who was eye witneſs of it tells us in his excellent hiſtory, that the Roman pontiff expreſſed great joy in hearing of that religious butchering, and decreed, "that he andt he cardinal ſhould return thanks to the Almighty, for ſo ſignal an advantage obtained for the holy ſees and that a Jubilee ould be publiſhed all over Chriſtendom." Lib. 63. Sec. 4.

Becauſe his ſucceſſors Henry III and Henry IV of France, gave peace and protection to their Proteſtant ſubjects, they were excommunicated by the Pope, who ordered their subjects to riſe in arms againſt them; in conſequence of which they were aſſaſſinated. Pope Pius V, in the year 1570, levelled his ſpiritual vengeance againſt Queen Elizabeth, having by a bull abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and denounced the terrors of excommunication againſt ſuch of them as ſhould obey her; which produced many treaſonable conſpiracies againſt her life and her government.

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* Henaults Hiſtory of France.

† This notice was required to be given by the Biſhops, who as the Popes ſentinals were bound by oath to do ſo.

‡ It is to be preſumed that Pius VII. granted the Britiſh iſles to *his beloved Son in Chriſt Buonaparte*, a moſt pious papiſt, as he headed a cruſade in order to extirpate herely in them.

The

The Iriſh Papiſts having long premeditated the Iriſh rebellion of 1641 the better to promote its ſucceſs, endeavoured to gain a majority in the Parliament, which was elected in 1639; and Lord Strafford tells us in his State Letters,* that the Popiſh prieſts denounced from the altar, the terrors of excommunication, againſt ſuch perſons of their flock, as ſhould vote for a Proteſtant. During the dreadful rebellion, which brake out in 1641, and continued many years to lay waſte and depopulate Ireland, the Marquis of Ormond diſplayed great wiſdom and valour, as Viceroy, in defending the King's crown and dignity; but in the year 1650, the Popiſh prelates and prieſts expelled him, by excommunicating ſuch perſons as ſhould adhere to him, or afford him any ſupport or aſſiſtance;† in conſequence of which, even his own relations, who were Papiſts, renounced all connection or intercourſe with him, and he was obliged to fly to England. A friar, of the name of Ponce, boaſted of the omnipotent power of his holy church, in affecting this great atchievement.§

We have now ſhewn the dreadful effects of this dangerous engine of Popiſh ſuperſtition, "*excommunication*;" and we are ſorry to learn, that its influence is as great at this period in Ireland, as it was in any part of Europe, during the dark middle ages. We are well informed, that it has been employed for ſome years paſt, for the purpoſe of extorting money from the multitude, to build large and ſplendid chapels, which have been recently erected in moſt parts of Ireland. But it ſhould be recollected, that it was alſo exerted, ſo early as the year 1792, to levy money in order to promote that rebellion which exploded in 1798: It is ſtated in the report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, framed and publiſhed upon oath, in the beginning of the year 1793, that ſums of money to a conſiderable amount have been levied, upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by ſubſcriptions and collections, *at their chapels*, and elſewhere, ſome of which levies have been made, and ſtill continue to be made, under the authority of a printed circular letter, which has been ſent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think our duty to inſert herein." It appears by the ſame report that, "ſtands of arms and ammunition to a conſiderable amount, and much above the common conſumption," were bought and ſent to different parts of the country at ſo early a period as the year 1792. It is univerſally well known, that, during the progreſs of that conſpiracy, which terminated ſo fatally in 1798, the French were frequently ſolicited to invade Ireland; and government are poſſeſſed of undoubted proofs, that they have been invited to do ſo ſince the commencement of the preſent war.

We have now ſhewn the reader the terrific effects of excommunication in the Romiſh church, at different periods; and the unbounded influence which it gave the clergy, at all times, is enjoyed in the higheſt degree by the Iriſh Popiſh prieſts *at this time*. If a Catholic prieſt adheres ſtrictly to the canonical oath, which he takes at his ordination, he muſt bear eternal and

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* Vol. I. P. 270, 274. † Borlce.

§ Vindiciæ Everſæ P. 173.

deep

deep-rooted hatred to a Protestant state; for he swears "to receive and profess the sacred canons and general councils, particularly that of Trent" which recognizes and sanctions all the impious and blasphemous doctrines of the 4th Lateran Council. That they do faithfully adhere to this oath, we have the most unquestionable proofs, by their having acted as instigators and incendiaries, in all the rebellions, which have agitated Ireland for above two centuries. While the mass of the Irish Roman Catholics yield implicit obedience to their spiritual pastors, who profess such principles, we appeal to the British Public, whether it will be safe to trust them with political power, or to give them an opportunity of making laws for a Protestant establishment, which they are bound to subvert by the fundamental principles of their religion.

Dr. Croft on Mr. Overton and Co.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

I beg leave to trespass upon your kindness in requesting the insertion of additional remarks on the conduct of Mr. Overton and Co. as well as all his advocates. Without either inclination or leisure to enter into the whole controversy, but abhorring the most distant idea of an arbitrary, irrespective, unconditional predestination. I feel it my duty to exhort my hearers not to involve themselves in the dispute at all, to act upon Christian principles, and according to the admonition of the very 17th articles," to receive the promises of God as they are set forth in holy writ."

Residing in a place full of sectaries, and where we labour under the additional misfortune of what is called an Evangelical Chapel. I feel myself called upon to warn my hearers against that variety of deception which is industriously disseminated. If it be true, that all the Clergy of the Church enforce regularly, and in due season, all the duties and motives of Christianity, it must of course follow, that for any individuals to appropriate to themselves the appellation of Evangelical Ministers, is a gross, scandalous, and malicious libel against every conscientious Divine who is not of their persuasion. Yet, assert what we will, the accusation is continued from year to year by all the Writers on *their* side of the question. Expectes eadem a summonum imoque, from the Senators down to the meanest petty Scribbler. Opinions may differ, but facts admit of no refutation.

It has been insinuated, that I have heretofore treated the description of men in question with harshness. If the statement of truth be unchastable, I must submit to the charge.

Mr. Milner is now before an awful tribunal. But can it be disproved that he embittered the life of the amiable Vicar in whose Church he preached? Can it be denied that the specimen given was only one among the innumerable instances of the meanness of his diction, the vulgarity of his language, and though that passage was never printed, yet will not the authority of a credible hearer be sufficient? I called not in question his moral or his religious conduct. I had a pleasure in hearing that time had abated the violence of his zeal, and that towards the conclusion of his life he was approximating towards, what we deem, sobriety of intellect. That his life is not well written, and that his sermons are not good compositions, I have the concurring judgment of various individuals, whom it is my duty to respect. I have, moreover, authority to say, that a trifling anecdote of a transaction

transaction in Mr. Sykes's family is not correctly related; and even had it been so, it was too insignificant for insertion. But modern biography is infected with an inundation of similar trash. Being informed that Mr. M. was converted by Hooker's Sermon on Justification, I have carefully perused it, and cannot help wondering how it could possibly have the described effect. Mr. Headlam, in an excellent sermon on the same subject, preached at Richmond, in Yorkshire, has quoted from it, to prove the very reverse. But Dr. Lawrence, in his Bampton Lectures, has proved, that Luther and Melancthon had the principal share in furnishing the substance of the articles in debate; and I frankly confess, that if his sermons, and the notes appended to them, have not satisfactorily terminated the controversy, it will be in vain to produce authentic documents and proofs.

If I think the incumbency of Dr. Coulthurst a calamity to the parish of Halifax; if he and his curate had exceeded the bounds of modesty, which is also a charge brought against Mr. Foster, at Clerkenwell; if the chapels in the parish have been filled as vacancies happened, in the way which I foretold, of what injustice have I been guilty? I can look back with heartfelt satisfaction, and say, that no one has disproved, or can disprove, one tittle of what I have written, either against fanaticks, or other dissenters. And how have *I* been treated by them? Mr. Overton is only the bell-wether of the former, as Dr. Priestly was for many years of the latter. To my answers no reply can be made; but let those who have heard the accusations brought against me, as subscribing articles I do not believe, as perjured, as an advocate of lying and licentiousness, prove, if they can, that I have ever answered *the fools according to their folly*. If I say that they have done, and continue to do incredible mischief, I am supported by facts, and the testimony of all thinking men. If I speak of the transactions of Edmund Hall, in the year 1768, with abhorrence; if I wish to brand the name of Dr. Dixon with indelible infamy; if I suspect that he was under the guidance of a weak woman, for a conversion seldom happens so very late in life, have I more than ventured to speak what others dare to think? Let your Readers suppose themselves present, as I was, in the morning of that curious examination—let them suppose themselves to hear two or three miscreants trying in vain to construe the first sentence of the University Statutes, while a waggish bye-stander observed, "It was old Busby said, a thousand pound for a nominative case"—let them learn, that these said miscreants got by rote *the first verses only* of several chapters of Saint John and the 1st Epistle to Timothy, in which they foresaw it was possible to be examined for orders—let them not forget the subsequent conduct of Mr. Kay, who, being the only classical scholar of the six, obtained a recommendation to the then Bishop of Lincoln by a palpable falsehood—let them also enquire how Mr. Jones, after putting himself under the care of a clergyman, was admitted on the supposition of having recanted—let them farther enquire into the conduct of Mr. Erasmus Middleton, Rector of Turvey, who suffered his name to be prefixed to an illiterate edition of Archbishop Leighton's Works, and is now supposed to be dead—let them find, as I believe they will find, Mr. Grove acting as Dissenting Calvinistic Teacher at Walsal, and the grossness of the imposition upon the University will appear in its proper colours. I wish I could learn the history of the other two; but Mr. Grove is *now* consistent and irreproachable in his behaviour.

To the present Principal of Edmund Hall, I may recommend the example of the Master of Magdalen College, in Cambridge. He has most effectu-

ally cleanſed his Augean Stable. It is ſaid that the amotion of a Vice Principal is a difficult undertaking, but the admiſſion of Members is certainly diſcretionary: and ſo alſo is the retention of them when admitted. That queſtion has been ſet at reſt, both in the Court of Chancery and in the King's Bench. The Principal may alſo appoint another Tutor or Lecturer, and if any diſpute ariſe, the Vice Chancellor, as Acting Viſitor, can decide. Let certain purchaſers of advowſons provide for Mr. Crouch.

As the old Preſbyter's pamphlet may not be in the hands of many of your Readers, it may not be amiſs to give a ſpecimen of his candour, meekneſs, and charity, p. 9, of Plain Truths.

"If men are bred to the miniſtry as a genteel profeſſion, if their object be to obtain worldly advantages or diſtinctions—if the value of the ſouls of the people and their Redeemer's glory form no part in the conſideration of thoſe who confer or receive their preferment, if the *one conſiders* mere political intereſt or family connexions, and *the other eyes* the ſum of advantage or honour as the principal object of his purſuit, if in the bare traffic the ſmallneſs of the duty or labour and the improveableneſs of the revenue are ſtated as the eligible circumſtances, it is evident ſo far as men entering the Miniſtry, are acting under ſuch motives, it cannot be from the *inward motion of the Holy Ghoſt*, but from the influence *of the God of this world*. Is it then any wonder, nay, is it poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, that all theſe ſeek their own, not the *things* that are of Jeſus Chriſt: The worldly minded will mind earthly things; the indolent ſlumber over books or in their ſtall, the literary devote their talents to mathematics, metaphyſics, the claſſics inſtead of the Bible, unleſs in the way of criticiſm, and the gay and volatile amuſe themſelves juſt like other men. I mean nothing perſonal, nothing invidious, I merely ſtate facts glaringly obvious." Indeed, Sir! If you do not mean to be a railer, you are, to uſe Dr. Johnſon's expreſſion on another occaſion, the beſt counterfeit I ever ſaw. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with more of this abuſe, but ſhall only repeat that ſome of my moſt valuable friends are reſiding upon purchaſed livings without the charge of ſimoney in them or in their friends, and as conſcientiouſly attentive to the clerical duties as any of the pretended ſons of purity and perfection. Nor is it to be preſumed, that a great number of the clergy ſquander their time in rural ſports merely becauſe a vender chuſes to adverti'e that his living is in a fine ſporting country. It is only exceſs in thoſe diverſions which renders them criminal. The Preſbyters nugatory enquiry how far wealth and ſplendor meliorate the progreſs of religion deſerves not a ſerious anſwer? The examples of many Prelates, both living and dead, might convince him, if any thing would, that learning and piety united with dignity, become more extenſively beneficial. After giving proof of the old Preſbyter's candour, I ſhall perhaps gratify your Readers with a ſpecimen of his oratory, which may have drawn tears from dunces, and of which its brevity is its greateſt beauty.—"Pride is the native inmate of every boſom; even martyrs may feel its workings. It is well for them as well as for us that there is one *who bears the iniquity of our holy things*. The blood of atonement muſt be ſprinkled on the expiring corpſe of the martyr in flames, and *but for that*, he would periſh, and they would be eternal," that is from earthly would be turned into helliſh flames. Such is the drawcanſir who holds out terror and defiance to the Hoſt of Anti-Calviniſts. His motto is,

Ruerem, agerem, zaperem, ſunderem, proſternerem.

And

And while we are on the ſubject of mottos, I have one at hand for a *brother champion* in the ſame cauſe.

Nullum memorabile nomen
Fœminea in pœna eſt, nec habet victoria laudem.

I have always found a habit in theſe enthuſiaſts of diſparaging human learning, and for the beſt of reaſons, becauſe they have few literary men amongſt them. If Archbiſhop Leighton be a favourite author, why do they not follow his example? But it will interfere with their religious ſtudies. Have they never ſeen diſcourſes where the alliance of all ſtudies in the ſupport of revelation is fully ſtated? The Oxford Act and the Cambridge Commencement, bring the intereſting ſubject into diſcuſſion every year. Yet, whatever may be ſaid, they are ready in perverting the Apoſtle's language, and in ſaying that they are become fools for Chriſt's ſake.

If all mankind were judges of compoſition, nothing could be a more effectual cure againſt fanaticiſm than to hear the tautology, ſlang, and goſſip of *their* preachers. Indeed, how can ſound ſenſe be expected from the extemporaneous effuſions of men, ſome of whom cannot write well, and others can neither write nor ſpeak good Engliſh? But were they to uſe notes, it would be *going upon crutches, it would be quenching the ſpirit.*—Of courſe, they have a gift which implies that they are inſpired. How ſhocking is it, that the name of the bleſſed ſpirit ſhould be thus blaſphemed? What deſperate examples does every year produce, ſufficient to make an intelligent hearer cry out, Unde mihi lapidem? I need not go out of this place to point out abſurdities and nonſenſe. But one man's meat is another man's poiſon, and what ſome call perfumes others call ſtinks.

But we are to pray them down, preach them down, labour them down, and live them down. Suppoſe this was ſaid to regular practitioners in medicine in reference to ſucceſsful that is rich empiricks. Would they not pronounce the individual a proper candidate for Bedlam? In defiance of Mr. Overton's ſneers, and the old Preſbyter's boaſted fulneſs of Schiſm ſhops and *Quaci Schism Shops*, I truſt that the Engliſh clergy, while they omit no part of the Chriſtian ſyſtem, while the ſeveral ſeaſons bring every ſubject in ſucceſſion, will diſdain to be what Biſhop Warburton calls mob-preachers, and that they will endeavour to imitate the ſimplicity as well as the ſublimity of thoſe writings, which are the ſtandard of elegance as well as of truth, which abound with illuſtrations taken from the ſcenes and tranſactions of common life without ever producing a ſingle idea or expreſſion which is vulgar, coarſe, or conceited. What *degree* of aid will be given to the well meant endeavours of man cannot be known, but we may ſafely affirm that the huſbandman may ſooner expect a plentiful harveſt without cultivation and without ſeed, than an illiterate and weak man can become a good compoſer. Enthuſiaſm either finds men fooliſh or makes them ſo; it paralyſes every manly power of the mind, annihilates good ſenſe in matters of religion, rendering it odious, diſguſting, or contemptible, when it is avowedly not only the ſource of happineſs, but the grand object of veneration and love.

I am, Sir, your obedient ſervant,

Birmingham, Jan. 10, 1806. G. CROFT.

P. S. In common with them, moſt of the clergy reſpect the names of Biſhop Horne, and his biographer, Mr. Jones. Have they ever read the

Sermon on Juſtification, by the former? Poor Biſhop Tomline, in common with the reſt of us, is condemned as no true churchman. But let them all know that we have nothing to do with the latitudinarian notions, unhappily chargeable on ſome otherwiſe reſpectable perſons. I endeavoured twenty years ago to vindicate even the damnatory clauſes in the Athanaſian Creed, and to diveſt them of all their terror. In this reſpect, and in not admitting Elohim to imply a Trinity, I differ from many good men, and hope for their indulgence. As to Elohim, I always doubted; and Limborch made me a perfect convert. I feel a ſatisfaction, at this diſtance of time, that at no period of my life ſince I began to ſtudy the Scriptures at all, have I put any other conſtruction upon the articles than the compilers intended, and I may be excuſed for expreſſing a ſincere wiſh that Dr. Lawrence would condenſe his matter into a ſmaller compaſs, for the uſe of the people at large.

The old Preſbyter's ſcraps of Latin remind me of Partridge's quotations from Lilly's Grammar, and his non perſuadebis etiamſi perſuaderis of a divine, who ordered (as he thought, under the authority of the Spectator) the following inſcription upon his monument:

Qualis erat ſupremus ille dies *ostendebit.*

Defence of the Eſſay on the English Elements, Accents, and Prosody, &c. reviewed in our 21st Volume, P. 416.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

RESIDING in a remote part of His Majeſty's dominions, it was not till within the laſt week that I received the Anti-Jacobin Review for the month of Auguſt, in which you have noticed *an Eſſay on the Engliſh Elements, Accents, and Proſody.* The author of this Eſſay, conſcious of its numerous imperfections, has declared his motive to the publication to have been "the hope of inducing ſome perſon of more leiſure and ability to give every part of the ſubject a thorough inveſtigation." But this hope, he has reaſon to fear, may in part at leaſt, be already defeated; for, in the opinion of the Anti-Jacobin reviewers, which has long been highly and deſervedly reſpected, that part of his work, in which he has attempted to treat of *tone, accent* and *emphaſis*, is delivered in language *myſterious* and *unintelligible*; and whoever takes this to be its true character, muſt be expected to paſs it by, as unworthy of either diſcuſſion or enquiry. Of this formidable objection, he confeſſes that he had no anticipation. On the contrary, he had flattered himſelf that, however defective his work muſt, in other reſpects, appear, his meaning was every where expreſſed with preciſion and perſpicuity. He therefore hopes you will not think him unreaſonable in requeſting a place in your Review for the following ſhort extracts, from which your Readers may have an opportunity of judging for themſelves, how far the book may, in this reſpect, be intitled to a favorable reception.

Having deſcribed the ancient accents, as *inflexions* of the voice, *acute* or *grave*, or *both combined*, he gives the following explanation, derived from ancient authorities—"that an acute accent was an elevation, and a "grave accent a depreſſion of the voice, but that, in this elevation and "depreſſion, the *tone* of the voice was varied, not, as in ſinging, by diſtinct "intervals, but by a *continued* motion, gliding up and down, in a kind

of

"of undulation, from a graver to a ſharper, or from a ſharper to a graver "tone." On this he obſerves that, "in ſuch a movement, whatever be "the interval from tone to tone, through which the voice may glide, it "can never *dwell* for an inſtant on any tone whatever;"—and here he points out that ambiguity of term, by which he ſuppoſes Commentators and others have been led to deny the exiſtence of any thing like the ancient accents in modern languages. "The words ὀξυτης and βαρυτης, acute-"neſs and gravity, when applied to the accents of ſpeech, denote indeed a "change of tone, but a change of a peculiar kind. An acute accent, for "inſtance, began in a certain tone (to be taken, ad libitum, any where "within the compaſs of the voice) and ended in a higher; the voice "paſſing, always rapidly though not always with the ſame velocity, from "the one tone to the other, not *per ſaltum*, but in one *continued ſound*, which "might be compared to a waving line, commenſurate with the length of "the ſyllable and generated by the flowing of a point. This motion of "the voice was accordingly deſignated by a very expreſſive term, ῥυσις, "as diſtinguiſhed from διαστημα, the *interval*, by which ſharper and "graver ſounds, in muſic, are always *ſeparated*. For, in ſinging, the voice "does not glide, but *leaps* from tone to tone." To this he ſubjoins Euclid's definition—"κινησεις δυο, ἡ μεν συνεχης και λογικη ἡ δε διαστηματικη τε και μελωδικη—two kinds of motion, one continued and peculiar to ſpeech, the other deſultory and appropriate to ſong.

The object here in view, and which is afterwards purſued in diſcuſſing ſeveral authorities and opinions, ancient and modern, was to give an accurate idea of that difference between the *tones of ſpeech* and *muſical tones*, which has always been univerſally *felt*, but ſeems not yet to be well *underſtood*. Among other explanatory remarks, it is ſtated that "in the diaſtematic "muſic, the intervals are paſſed by a ſilent flight: that is, the ſound of "the voice or inſtrument is heard only at thoſe diſtinct *points* of tone, which "are the boundaries of theſe intervals. But in the muſic of ſpeech, the "ſound of the voice is heard only in its paſſage from one tone to another:—"that the tone of every *muſical* ſound is immutable; for whenever it "becomes in the ſmalleſt degree ſharper or flatter, that is to ſay, of a "different tone, the ſound, as a muſical element, is no longer the ſame. "But the eſſence of a Greek accent conſiſted in a *continual rapid variation of* "*tone*. This variation took place on every ſyllable; for otherwiſe the "two *genera* of ſong and ſpeech muſt have been every inſtant running the "one into the other, and producing a diſcordant mixture, univerſally "diſguſting. Every ſyllable, therefore, muſt have been uttered either "with an acute, a grave, or a circumflex accent."

This explanation is alſo put to the teſt of an experiment, firſt made by Mr. Steele, and acknowledged by Lord Monboddo to be concluſive, not only as making the ancient deſcriptions of accent perfectly intelligible, but as a proof that we have now, in our own and other modern languages, a *melody of ſpeech*, conſiſting of accents in all reſpects of a ſimilar kind.

"With a finger on the 4th ſtring of a violoncello, and a correſpond-"ing motion of the bow, he (Mr. Steele) was able, by ſliding the fingers "rapidly up and down on the ſtring, to imitate the *tones of* ſpeech, in ſuch "manner as not only to prove the fact, that we have accents, grave, acute "and circumflex, but alſo to aſcertain their perfect agreement in every

" particular, with the Greek definitions and deſcriptions above referred to. " This experiment may with eaſe be repeated, in ſuch manner as to re- " move all doubt of the fact, that the tone of the voice, in ſpeaking, is " varied by the rapid undulations here deſcribed: though to do this with " all the nice preciſion neceſſary for rendering the imitation perfect, would " require not only a quick and accurate ear, but the hand of a ſkilful per- " former."

This being then no longer a doubtful ſpeculation, but a queſtion of fact, confirmed by actual experiment, it will not be denied that the ſubject is worthy of minute attention, and if this can be ſo far excited as to give the melody of our ſpeech a chance not only of being underſtood, but of receiving thoſe practical improvements of which it may be ſuſceptible, the author's ambition will be fully gratified, in having contributed to bring the ſubject into public notice and diſcuſſion.

He will now, Mr. Editor, preſume to treſpaſs no further on your indulgence, than to inform you, that his book having been printed in his abſence, ſome corrections which had been tranſmitted in a letter to the Publiſher, appear to have eſcaped his notice. In particular, the remarks which you have juſtly cenſured—that " every ſyllable in ſuch poſition is ſhort and emphatic," was noted among the *delenda*. It may perhaps be thought that the compariſon of *vocal ſound* with a *waving line* ought alſo to have been ſo noted: and yet the uſual phraſes of *vocal inflexion* and *flexibility of voice* do in fact imply ſuch a compariſon.

EXTEMPORE PREACHING.

Mr. Editor!

EITHER the love of change, or the love of ſubverſion has recently made lamentable havock in the moral, political and religious eſtabliſhments of ſociety. Men aſſuming to themſelves the flattering title of philoſopers; and, hungring and thirſting after the applauſe of the ignorant, and the ſpoils of the rich, have endeavoured to perſuade us that our old and inſtinctive habits of thinking concerning the duties of life are erroneous; that forms and eſtabliſhments either of government or religion, are founded in prejudice and error, and ought therefore to be aboliſhed. The experiment of reducing theſe mad theories to practice has been tried in our vicinage; and the reſult is before us: a nation without morals—without religion; alike contemners of the laws of man and of God! theſe calamities preſent to the diſciples of innovation an awful and impreſſive leſſon of the neceſſity of making a ſolemn pauſe, when they are projecting the moſt trifling change even in the forms of *government* or *religion*. I have been led, Sir, to theſe reflections, by obſerving with much regret a moſt daring innovation which has recently taken place in the practice of *ſeverrl Clergymen* of the Church of England. The innovation to which I allude is that of *extempore preaching*. It is a palpable defiance of authority; and which I ſeriouſly conceive is meant to be the precurſor of other changes of the moſt awful nature.

It may not be unneceſſary in this place ſuccinctly to ſtate the reaſon by which the Church has been directed, in enjoiniug its ſervants to preach from written diſcourſes: it was rightly preſumed to be the moſt effectual means of placing a bridle and curb on the unpremeditated effuſions of ignorant

rant fanaticism; and of diffusing the words of the gospel in the language of temperance—in the spirit of *soberness* and *truth*. The event, justifies the wisdom on which the practice is founded. Compare the mild tenour of our blessed Lord's preaching, with the disgusting, inflated, and sometimes blasphemous jargon of the conventicles: to imitate (and at best we can do no more) the simplicity and force which characterize our Saviour's discourses, was the wise, and pious aim of the Church in enjoining its ministers to preach from written sermons. The contemplation of the closet, when the mind is abstracted from the hurry and confusion of external distracting objects, was properly conceived as preferable to the disorder and confusion of a discourse struck out at a heat, and partaking of all the deformity of a premature production.

But the lovers of ranting will, perhaps, dispute the position of its having, from the first promulgation of Christianity, been the practice of its ministry to preach from written discourses. But the objection is beside the question—at the first establishment of Christianity, times and circumstances did not perhaps concur to the adoption of that œconomy which a more quiet period, and a happier state of society, rendered expedient for the conservation of the Church.

"All things cannot be of ancient continuance which are expedient and needful for the ordering of spiritual affairs: but the Church being a body which dieth not, hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before. To prescribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which *wisdom* hath as queen or sovereign commander over other virtues. This in every several man's actions of common life appertaineth unto *moral*; in public and politic secular affairs unto *civil* wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain form for the outward administration of public duties in the service of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the most convenient for that use, is a point of wisdom ecclesiastical." To this reasoning of the venerable Hooker, I am certain that every lover of the Church establishment will most heartily give his concurrence.

Perhaps the ministers to whom I allude, and whom I reprobate may be desirous of an intercommunity with the Methodists. Surely the flattering distinction of "Gospel ministers" has not seduced them? Have they deliberately considered the nature of the new fellowship? let them remember, and I speak in a warning voice, that the members of that sect, independent of doctrinal points, have a rooted and marked aversion to lawn sleeves—to all the becoming provisions,—decencies and decorations of the establishment; to the whole system, letter and spirit of Ecclesiastical polity established amongst us. "Deacons, priests, bishops and revenues, savour of the mammon of unrighteousness, and ought therefore to be abolished." That they reason so, is a fact.

That ministers of the order which they despise, and would willingly destroy, should give a sanction to these reasonings by their practice, is at once a violation of decency and prudence, which no excuse, no palliation can remove or justify. The Church of England has long been an eye-sore to the rabble of fanaticism: who, vainly arrogating to themselves a peculiar sanctity of manner, and affecting to despise the ample bounty of Providence, would willingly persuade us that their only aim is an approximation to the virtue and a desire to undergo the many privations of the first

Chriſtians. But, Sir, in England moſt of us conceive that it is envy and malignity towards thoſe who are often the beginners of their own fortune; and not a love of the ſelf-denial and mortification of the ancient church, that ſome look aſkance at the diſtinctions and honours, and revenues, which, taken from no perſon, are ſet apart for virtue. The ears of the people of England are diſtinguiſhing. They hear theſe men ſpeak broad. Their tongue betrays them. Their language is the *patois* of fraud; in the cant and gibberiſh of hypocriſy.

The people of England muſt think ſo when theſe praters affect to carry back the clergy to that primitive evangelic poverty, which, in ſpirit, ought always to exiſt in them, (and in us too, however we may like it) but in the thing muſt be varied, when the relation of that body to the ſtate is altered; when manners, when modes of life, when indeed the whole order of human affairs has undergone a total revolution. We ſhall believe thoſe reformers to be then honeſt enthuſiaſts, not as now we think them, *cheats* and *deceivers*, when we ſee them throwing their own goods into common, and ſubmitting their own perſons to the auſtere diſcipline of the early Church! let the innovators reflect on this.

The extempore preachers of the Church of England, no doubt will tell us, that it is a matter in itſelf indifferent, whether they inculcate the doctrines of the ſcriptures from the chaſtiſed meditation of the cloſet; or, truſting to the immediate interpoſition of the Holy Spirit, deliver themſelves agreeably to the *happy* ſuggeſtions of the moment. It is not the thing itſelf ſo much which I condemn, but the defiance of authority and violation of canonical rule in which the danger lies. Rules and diſcipline have hitherto been a means, under the direction of Providence, of conſerving the eſtabliſhment itſelf. And ſurely for thoſe to weaken the authority of the Church by a diſregard of its practice whoſe real intereſt it is to uphold it, is not only not indifferent, but reprehenſible in the higheſt degree. The thirty-fourth article of the Church of England tells us, that "whoever, through his private judgment willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of GOD, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth againſt the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magiſtrate, &c." The Extempore preachers, therefore, cannot plead ignorance in order to excuſe themſelves.

The ſafeſt way to overturn an eſtabliſhment, is firſt to deny thoſe ſubordinate branches of it, which are perhaps of no great importance—The ground being broken up, a ſecond advance is made toward the deſtruction of ſomething more important, ſo on to the conſummation of the grand miſchief—the demolition of the fabric itſelf. The "goſpel preachers" having firſt brought into diſrepute the wiſdom and policy of preaching from written diſcourſes, aſſuming courage from ſucceſs, will denominate the ſurplice the f—k of the w——e of Babylon, away goes this "relic of ſuperſtition;" proceeding progreſſively and conſiſtently with themſelves, they will finally attack their ſuperiors as a ſecular and corrupt ariſtocracy inconſiſtent with the meekneſs and humility of the examples of Chriſt and his apoſtles. The conſequence is foreſeen—the total ruin of the Church of England.

That the miniſters to whom I allude have erred willingly and through their private judgment, is a fact beyond diſpute:—that they ought to be

rebuked

rebuked, and that with exemplary severity, the very existence of the Church of England establishment most imperiously demands. And I most humbly conceive that it is the paramount duty of the dignified clergy, to interfere; and in order to break the spirit of further meditated incroachments, it is an equal duty to interpose their proper authority, coerce the delinquents, and remedy the abuse.

I have thus, Mr. Editor, pointed out to you both a notorious innovation, and the probable consequences of it, soliciting a place in your Journal, with the most confident hope that such a medium will convey the evil to the notice of that authority which is alone competent to correct it.

Respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JUVENIS.

The Methodistical Missionaries in Otaheite.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

HAVING lately heard the "sighings and regrets" of several devout "gospellers" on the probable failure of the Missionaries in Otaheite, I am induced, to offer a few observations on the causes which have contributed to defeat the pious aim of these "chosen vessels" to christianize the savages of the Pacific Ocean; an undertaking which is at once a monument of their ignorance and folly. It is well known that the inhabitants of Otaheite and the circumjacent islands, are but a few degrees removed from the state of nature, possessing scarcely any notion of the elements of morals, a knowledge of right and wrong. Yet upon the minds of these beings a futile attempt has been made to engraft a spiritual system, which before it can be rightly comprehended, demands not only a perception of the boundaries which mark vice and virtue, but requires a considerable progress in civilization and refinement. The religion of Christ appeared amongst mankind in the "fulness of time." The Romam empire was at its height; its arms and its arts, extended far and wide—and had subdued the ferocity of the greater portion of the known world. He whose means and ends are perfect wisdom, chose this peculiarly adapted period, for the divine mission of Christ, for the introduction of a purely spiritual system. The leading men of the ancient world, contemporary with our Blessed Lord, had reached the summit of elegance and philosophy: and, had diffused the spirit of these, amongst every people whom their valour had subdued. Christianity appeared, therefore, at the happy moment, when the minds of men by previous discipline were fully capable of comprehending its sublime truths; and when every human facility existed for its wide and universal dispersion.

It could be proved, perhaps, that both the moral and physical habits of men, should bear an analogy to their religion; and I venture this assertion, without meaning the least disparagement to Christianity. Montesquieu, who was so deeply read in the knowledge of humanity, and who was a sincere Christian tells us, that "there are many local laws in various religions; and, when Montezuma with so much obstinacy insisted that the religion of the Spaniards was good for their *(own)* country, and his for Mexico, he did not assert an absurdity, because in fact legislators could never help having a regard to what *nature had established before them.*"

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"The opinion of the metemphychosis is adapted to the climate of the Indies. An excessive heat burns up all the country; they can breed but very few cattle; they are always in danger of wanting them for tillage; their black cattle multiply but indifferently; and they are subject to many distempers; a law of religion which preserves them is therefore most suitable to the policy of the country."

This citation from the "Spirit of Laws," and indeed the whole of Montesquieu's celebrated performance may be of great use to the next ship-load of Missionaries.* It is a profane book, and they may regret the advice. But I can venture to assure them that it contains more real practical wisdom, than can be found in all the sermons of all the fanatical declaimers who have ever disturbed and disgraced Christianity. Before these *self-elected* children of Grace attempt to reason to the savages of the Southern Ocean upon the necessity of the soul's salvation, they would do well to convince their untutored pupils, that they have a soul to be saved. And before they expatiate upon a state of final retribution hereafter, they would act wisely to amend their lives in this present sublunary state. Before they taught these poor creatures to fly to Heaven, they should have instructed them how to walk safely on earth. If they follow this necessary progression they may perhaps succeed. But not till then.

It appears clearly, therefore, that the Missionaries have begun at the wrong end; and have made an attempt to construct the roof without the least thought of laying a stone towards the foundation. From such architects who could expect a superstructure?

First of all in the unintelligibly jargon of their sect, they preach to these poor creatures on the original depravity of their nature, without imparting to them, or endeavouring so to do, what that nature is; then upon the difficult subject of the atonement, which many men even of strong minds, improved by education, but feebly comprehend; in this attempt they have hitherto met with insuperable difficulty. The poor islanders cannot be persuaded bu that hogs will sufficiently answer the purpose as a satisfaction for their crime. "We find it impossible" says the compiler of the Missionary transactions, when writing of the natives of Otaheite "to make those (*whom*) we have to do with sensible of their soul's value, or indeed what their souls are; for the generality of them seem to conceive that it is something out of them rather than in them; that it resides in the *Po*, or other world, and only comes at certain seasons, as when they dream, &c. When we endeavour to speak to them (*rather reason with, or explain to them*) about the *hidden man of the heart*, its nature, qualities, defilements, exposure to God's wrath, and way how to escape the same, they seldom fail to laugh and treat it as an idle tale."

I candidly acknowledge, Mr. Editor, that I too, have had some little difficulty in suppressing the risible faculties of my mind, on perusing such canting stuff, so admirably suited to the meridian of Moorfields. As might have been foreseen these fanatical medlers have not made a single convert among

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* We earnestly recommend to our able correspondent a re-consideration of the tendency of this doctrine of Montesquieu, one inference from which would be (and an inference which might on *his* hypothesis, be supported with great plausibility) that the Christian religion is not adapted to every nation, and climate.

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the Otaheitans; and, never will unleſs they purſue a courſe very oppoſite to that which has continued to mark their very injudicious and ill-conducted miſſion; and I cannot but conſider it as a ſtrong proof both of preſumption and vanity on the part of the Miſſionaries thus to arrogate to themſelves the means of accompliſhing ſuch an undertaking; fancying themſelves the choſen inſtruments of God to extend the light of the Goſpel into new regions, they have not only excited the juſt reprehenſions of ſenſible and pious minds; but have actually ſullied the luſtre of religion itſelf: and have given too much occaſion to doubting minds to ſuſpect the efficacy of a ſyſtem, which under ſuch management has produced no other fruit than "chaff and ſtubble." Their prayers, their faſtings and hypocritical fervour, have been of no avail in attempting to break in upon the hidden deſigns of Providence; who, it appears whenever it ſhall ſeem to him meet, will moſt probably employ a fitter agency to accompliſh his purpoſe than a number of ignorant and vainly ambitious men, who are neither illumined by the ſpirit of pure Chriſtianity, nor rendered qualified for the purpoſe, by the acquiſitions of learning, and an attention to the arts of civil life.

They will tell us that they meant well and that they have obeyed what they conceived to be the divine and irreſiſtible impulſe of the Holy Spirit. So did John Matthias, and his coadjutor, the taylor of Leyden, and their followers at Munſter, on another occaſion, and ſo will evey new ſect of fanaticiſm which may hereafter ariſe. Men of this character miſtaking the mad extravagance of religious inſanity for heavenly delegation, have done uncommon miſchief, and have weakened the divine authority of religion more than the direct attacks of its moſt learned adverſaries, or indeed of any cauſe which has hitherto obſtructed its progreſs. For ſurely they who are of no religion, and yet wiſh perhaps to aſcertain the truth, muſt think lightly of Chriſtianity when they ſee men, whom they had been led to conſider as acting by divine commiſſion, alternately evincing the ſimplicity of fools and the hypocriſy and miſchievous deſigns of knaves.

JUVENIS.

Mr. M'Callum's Vindication of his Travels againſt the Cenſures of the Anti-Jacobin Review.

WHEN we firſt eſtabliſhed our Review, we announced our determination to afford, to all Writers, whoſe Works might be cenſured in it, an opportunity of appealing to the public in their own vindication. To this determination we have ſtrictly adhered. In purſuance of it we now inſert, *verbatim et literatim*, Mr. Mac Callum's Letter, in juſtification of his own Travels: though written, at leaſt parts of it, in ſuch intemperate language, as would fully authoriſe our refuſal to inſert it. We ſhall only allow ourſelves to make one comment on its contents, viz. that it ſupplies no anſwer to the principal objections of the Critic; founded on Mr. Mac Callum's violent attack upon an Officer againſt whom proceedings had been commenced, with a view to bring him to trial by a Competent Tribunal. And againſt all ſuch attempts to bias the minds of thoſe who are to ſit in judgment upon perſons accuſed, we have invariably ſet our faces; and, indeed, it is proper to apprize Mr. Mac Callum, that they are reprobated by the Laws of the Land, and are, in fact, indictable offences.

TO

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

JUSTICE to my political principles require that I should trouble you with a few observations on the criticism, inserted in the last number of your Review on my Travels in Trinidad. The author of it, if I am not mistaken, is one of the party, whose infamy I have so fully detected, so amply exposed, and dragged before a British public, arrayed in all their native turpitude. I am told by this Critic (if I may so call him) that my conduct in this instance, is not only culpable, but "*presumptive and ignorant;*" for not having "*committed to the flames the manuscript*" of the volume, which charges Col. Picton and his satellites, with some of the heaviest crimes the laws of England have the power of punishing, and, that what I have done in the cause of oppressed humanity, will *exist as a monument of my folly and indiscretion!*" It may so, but I am certain I shall never repent the voluntary share I have taken, in representing the political grievances of the oppressed inhabitants of Trinidad, which I expect, will ere long, become the subject of Parliamentary investigation; when the horrid scenes that were acted in that colony, will be fully and fairly elucidated, and a proper example made of its delinquents. I am not ashamed to tell the world, that I enjoyed a great share of the friendship and confidence of General Toussaint, who was sacrificed by the duplicity of that cold blooded miscreant, Le Clerc. I would have shared the same fate, but for the fortunate circumstance of His Majesty's ship Cerberus, then commanded by the brave and distinguished officer, Capt. Macnamara, arriving at Cape Francois the same evening I was to have been arrested, who generously protected me from the fangs of the blood hounds of France. The American Consul, Mr. Lear, from what cause I know not, thought it proper to denounce me to Le Clerc, saying that I had been General Toussaint's principal adviser, who had acted entirely by my advice, in destroying all the Seaport towns. Being apprised of Le Clerc's intentions, I escaped on board the Cerberus, and communicated my fears to Capt. Macnamara, who next morning had an interview with Le Clerc, the result of which, was, that Mr. Lear was ordered to leave the Colony in twenty-four hours. Notwithstanding my having gained this point, and a strong assurance of protection from Le Clerc, I knew that I was not for a moment safe, prudence, therefore, urged me to comply with Capt. Macnamara's advice—leave the island, which I did, and returned to the United States. Finding that Trinidad had been finally confirmed to this country, and had long an anxious wish to visit it before I returned to England, I made up my mind of embarking for it by the first convenient vessel, but in the mean, I amused myself in writing against Le Clerc, for his duplicity towards the virtuous Toussaint, entitled "Letters from the Ruins of Cape Francois," published in the New York Daily Advertiser, and were highly approved of, by the friends of this country, though stigmatized by the jacobin papers of that Continent; as the production of a British spy. These letters were regularly transmitted to Le Clerc: and I have the satisfaction to say, that they (if I am rightly informed) contributed to break his heart; therefore, my pen drove from this world one of the revolutionary monsters of regicide France.

On my arrival in Trinidad I pursued, with ardour, an anxious enquiry into the conduct of the delinquents of that colony, the result of my labo-

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rious investigation is fully and accurately detailed in an octavo volume now before the public, who will no doubt judge of the purity of motives, emanating alone from a love of justice; even at the risk of my life, without the prospect of any further reward, than the pleasing reflection of having performed my duty to an oppressed portion of my fellow subjects!

It has been vainly and constantly urged, by these delinquents, as a plea for those wanton severities I have recorded, that the Colony was a "*prey to disloyalty and insubordination*;——*The seeds of civil commotion had struck wide and deep, and every nerve of jacobinism was exerted, to wrest the possession from the controul of legitimate authority*;——*The French declaration of the Rights of Man, and the whine and cant of Methodistical reformers about negro slavery, had poisoned the minds of the inhabitants, who again spread the contagion among the soldiery and the negroes*:——*The spirit of disorder was widely disseminated*;——*The troops in the garrison repeatedly evinced a disposition to insubordination, and unhappily requiring the most summary examples of punishment.*"

The proof of all this rest wholly on mere palpable assertions. It is a well known fact, and I can prove it by the concurrent testimony of many respectable gentlemen from Trinidad, who are now in London, that the Colony was not in any one instance, since it was conquered in 1797, a prey, either to disloyalty or insubordination, not even among the soldiers and negroes; and, therefore, your Critic assertions is as infamously false as the whole is unfounded. I now call upon, and dare him to come forward (not like a cowardly assassin) and prove in an open and manly manner to the people of England, what he so very malignantly alledges against the dutiful and loyal inhabitants, soldiary, and oppressed negroes of Trinidad. We are both of us now before the public, therefore an ample opportunity is here opened to himself, and the rest of the delinquents, to clear themselves of the heavy charges I have brought against them, all which I positively affirm came to my knowledge whilst I was in that island, whether in "*shreds and patches from itinerant politicians*," does not by any means diminish their authenticity. In regard to truth, it makes no difference to me, whether I receive it from either a lord or a beggar. I have already stated the reasons why Col. Fullarton withdrew himself from the Commission, one of which was, that he could not consistently with his own character, act with a man who had been guilty of so many outrages; and until Colonel Picton cleared himself of the horrid charges brought against him, by the greater portion of the inhabitants; there could be no intercourse till his Majesty's pleasure was known; independent of that the duties of his Commission required his absence from the seat of Government. This Critic insinuates some other motive, and wishes the world to believe, that there was some secret understanding between the Colonel and myself, which is as great a falsehood as he could utter.——He says "*for reasons unknown to us, and which a future day must develope, the first Commissioner separated himself from his colleagues, and left the island; but Mr. M'Callum remained behind, no doubt with the purest motives to correct the evils of its administration! He is not the only unaccredited agent who has assumed to himself the important task of Government mending; and we shrewdly suspect, that the business is not new to him. B. G. Picton and Commodore Hood seem to have entertained the same opinion; as the sequel will prove.* The "sequel" as he calls it, proves only a negative! It is true I remained behind, but what of that? I was not in Colonel Fullarton's suit, he had, therefore, no knowledge of me whatever, than as a traveller, and during the time I was

in

in the Colony, I only visited him twice, I wish I had oftener; but my time was otherwise engaged in obtaining useful information. There is, however, an artful malignity conveyed in this insinuation;—"*Mr. Mac Callum remained behind.*" The delinquents wish it to be understood, that I remained behind at the Colonel's request to foment disturbance, if that is their meaning, I can only tell you, Sir, that it is false, as well as that of my being a government mender—.Insinuations of this nature, are too contemptible to be noticed by any man of common sense, for calumny is ever the revenge of a coward; and concealment his defence.

At the time it was attempted to force me to enlist in the volunteer corps, the Colony was, as it had hitherto been since it was conquered by the British arms; in a profound state of tranquillity and security, the mother country was at the same time, at peace with the whole world; no invasion; no internal commotion, neither dreaded nor expected:—HenceCommissioners Picton and Hood, had no excuse—no right, either human or divine, to warrant them in compelling me, as a mere transitory person, to enlist in any one corps whatever. His Majesty is not invested with sufficient power to compel his subjects, to enroll themselves in a volunteer corp, or corps, in the time of profound peace; therefore he cannot give it to his delegates:—In forcing me to enlist, was merely a pretence, they were well aware that I understood the nature of the British Constitution better than to suffer so daring an encroachment on my liberty, but nevertheless, they thought it a glorious opportunity, in the way of oppression, to seize my papers, and if possible to destroy the records of their own infamy. They were, however, thank heaven! disappointed, and for their disappointment, I was doomed to a rigorous confinement, in a loathsome dungeon, where poison was artfully administered by the monster Valot, and was, in a state of the most excruciating torture dragged ignominiously by an unfeeling band of negro soldiers, through the streets of Port of Spain to Commodore Hood's house, and by way of refinement in the art of oppressive cruelty, they even denied me medical aid;—But your Critic says, it "*does not appear that during his confinement he experienced, or suffered any privation of a rigorous or unfeeling nature.*"

Had I transgressed against the laws of the Colony, why were not the commissioners liberal enough, to give me a fair and honourable trial? If there was not law enough in the Colony competent or applicable to my case, was it not their duty to send me to England to be tried? No, Sir, they knew I was innocent, and under the shield of innocence I now appeal to justice. But they basely took the law in their own hand, and banished the only person existing, who had it in his power to proclaim their infamy to the world. They fondly expected, by transporting me to America, in a vessel having the yellow fever on board, that I would oblige them, in making my exist to another world:——God, however, preserved me to scourge my oppressors,—the delinquents of Trinidad, and bring them to the bar of justice.

A long and painful illness (in consequence of the poison which was administered to me by the tool of ill-delegated power) necessarily detained me in exile. As soon as my health was perfectly restored, I returned to England, and finding on my arrival, that Colonel Picton was not brought to trial, nor any likelihood of it, I came forward boldly, and single handed to accuse him, similar to Cicero in the case of Verres, the old delinquent of Sicily.

Pray,

Pray, let me ask your Critic, what assimulation is there between Colonel Johnstone's and Colonel Picton's case, unless, indeed, that Major Gordon came forward to accuse the one, and I came forward to accuse the other, for according to the laws of England, there must be an accuser. It is the opinion of many high and distinguished characters in this country, that had "*Mac Callum died in America, Colonel Picton would never be brought to trial.*" The reason why he has not been brought to condine punishment, is yet reserved for me to elucidate, which I shall certainly perform in my next volume. I have heard of grants of land, made to two noble Lords (one a certain delinquent Lord) with no other view than to screen Col. Picton and his panders.

The proof of these grants has been destroyed, along with other *papers*. Notwithstanding, I can call upon five Members of Parliament to prove the transaction, and I now pledge myself to the public to give a fair and candid history of the influence; which Colonel Picton commands.

With regard to the charges I have brought forward against the notorious delinquents of Trinidad, they may publish what they please against me, I have truth on my side, and will confound their misrepresentations. They dare not meet me on equal ground, with the sacred armour of truth, because they possess only the perishable weapons of falsehood. They well know, that a plain tale, every word of which, is marked with the strong emphasis of sincerity, will carry conviction to every impartial reader; for truth, if we esteem it at all, is as impenetrable as adamant; and as lasting as the world.

PIERRE F. M'CALLUM.

Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury,
14th January, 1806.

On Friendly Societies.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

I WAS extremely concerned at an observation which fell from your pen, demonstrative of your unfavourable opinion of Friendly Societies in general, in the course of your review of Mr. Rose's pamphlet "*On the Poor Laws, and on the Management of the Poor*, &c." which occurs at page 158 of your Magazine for June, 1805. In mentioning the circumstance of Mr. Rose having "recommended, at the close of his observations, a more favourable attention to friendly societies, &c." you are pleased to add: "If he [Mr. Rose] had seen so much of Benefit Societies as we have, he would, we incline to believe, *think very differently of them.** And to corroborate this opinion, you immediately add: "If he [Mr. Rose] will apply for information on this subject, to acting magistrates *in the metropolis*, he will learn that, *there at least*, such societies are the sources of *endless contention, imposition, and fraud.*" I repeat once more, Sir, that I am truly concerned that your expe-

* This arguing *generally* against the *use* of these Societies from the *abuse* of them is what I did not expect to find in your review. I think them capable, when well managed, of producing manifold advantages.

rience

rience of the effects of friendly societies in the metropolis should have induced you to form so bad an opinion of them; and that you should deem it necessary to make that opinion public. I will take the liberty, Sir, of giving you my reason for the regret which I have expressed, and which I really feel; and then will state the reason of my having formed a different opinion of these institutions.

I am a constant subscriber, and as constant a reader of your miscellany, and to the justice and propriety of your sentiments I *very generally* agree. I know that your magazine and review has a very wide circulation, and that as it is calculated only to please loyal men, and the most virtuous and useful members of society, the effect which the sentiments it contains may have upon such persons, is, in my humble opinion, of the utmost importance. In particular, Sir, the unfriendly sentiment which you have expressed towards these *friendly societies*, may have very injurious effects upon them. It may, and it must have these ill effects, if it turns the minds of several persons against them who are at present considerably biassed in their favor.

You inform us, Sir, that the evils of which you complain, exist, to your own knowledge, *in the metropolis*; and, I cannot doubt, that you have sufficient reason and just ground for the character you have given of them. The observations, however, which I have had the opportunity of making of the effects produced *in the country* by these societies are of a very different nature; and consequently lead to a very different conclusion, that of making me *the warm friend* and *very sincere advocate* of them. Since a very early period of the year of 1793, I have been almost constantly resident in this place; and previous to my coming here several years, and at the present moment, *a friendly society* exists here upon a pretty large scale for a country village. It contains about 120 members, who receive the benefit of the funds of the society in the events of accident, sickness, or old-age, and the sum of *five pounds* to bury each of the members, when called upon to quit this earthly scene for a more enduring and perfect one. There are several of the principal farmers of the parish, and of the neighbouring gentry, who are honorary members, and declare on their admittance, that they will not draw upon the funds at any time. These last form the committee which manages the funds of the society, and they manage them with the greatest uprightness, impartiality and honour. Other parishes besides this, are permitted to enrol their parishioners as members, on subscribing to the rules established by the society, and faithfully conforming to them. For great and heinous offences members may be expelled the society, for smaller offences they are punished in a less severe manner. "*Contention, imposition and fraud,*" in our society have never been heard; and the mode of managing the business of it, makes this a very difficult, I had almost said, an impossible thing. As an effective bar to *contention*, the business is managed by independent members, who have no kind of interest whatever in any matter that is brought forward, and no other object in view, than the promotion of happiness and extension of relief to the poor members, in the event of any of the contingencies taking place which have been mentioned. No one can be relieved from the funds of the Society, without having first obtained a certificate under my hand, if a parishioner of mine, or if not, of the clergyman of the parish where the applicant resides, of his really being in such a situation as to be intitled, by the rules of the Society, to relief. This provision hath hitherto, in the case of our Society effectually prevented

imposition

imposition or *fraud*. And, indeed, if imposition could be proved, the penalty is very severe, and with circumstances of great aggravation; matter of expulsion.

The Legislature of this United Kingdom has by no means been inattentive to the interests of these *Friendly Societies*. Several laws have been made in their favour, and parts of them I have thought it my duty to quote in the annual Sermon which I have delivered on Whitsunday to them. That farther laws might be made in their favour I am ready enough to acknowledge; and, as I think the principle on which they are formed deserving of every praise, should really be happy to see such encouraging laws carried into effect.

The manifold advantages which have arisen to many such members since I have been resident in this place, and which I have made it my business to acquaint myself with, induce me to be the steady and warm advocate of them! and to recommend these Societies to the patronage of my friends with all the warmth that a conviction of their utility can be supposed likely to produce.

I cannot omit mentioning one peculiar advantage which I think they possess, and which I have produced in a prominent point of view upon more than one occasion of my annual address to them: which is, that the very trifling weekly or monthly contributions which they are obliged to pay regularly at stated times, on pain of forfeiting all advantages of former contributions, tend very materially to generate an habit of carefulness and saving which may be of essential benefit to them on other occasions besides the one now mentioned. The few pence contributed weekly to this Benefit Society would probably be spent at the alehouse, and so lost to themselves and families; by being obliged to save this small matter, they acquire an habit of doing it, and in a little time when they feel its comforts, do it voluntarily and with pleasure.

Need I add how very useful such a principle must prove to every poor family? We may learn the advantage of it by contrasting it with the misery which a drunken father of a family brings on his unhappy wife and children, of which we have, alas! too many examples before our eyes.

I am sorry that the limits of a letter prevent me from expatiating on a subject which has always been very near my heart; and which, managed in the manner I have hinted at, seems peculiarly calculated to lessen the calamities, and to add to the comforts of the sick and needy brethren of the household of faith.

Let me hope, Sir, that what I have advanced above will induce you to think more favourably of "*Friendly Societies*," established in the country, than of those which have fallen under your observation in the metropolis; and let me also hope that speedy and effectual steps will be taken to remove those evils which you think you have discovered in those London Societies abovementioned.

I am, Sir,

Your constant reader and very humble Servant,

Creech St. Michael,
July 26, 1805.

THOMAS COMBER.

POETRY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

THE following copy of an inscription on a marble tablet recently placed near the north side of the altar in the church of St. Mary, Newington, Surry, may possibly be deemed worthy of a place in your valuable miscellany.

Your's,

Nov. 21, 1805. C. P.

Prope hunc lapidem
Conditum est illud omne quod caducum erat
optimæ matrisfamilias
Saræ
Secundæ uxoris peramatæ *Samuelis Horsley, L. L. D.* hujus ecclesiæ per annos multos Rectoris; Menevensis autem primum, post Rossensis, nunc Asaphensis ecclesiæ Episcopi.
Femina sanctimoniâ præcellens, et morum comitate amabilis, omnibus laudata, cara et jucunda vixit, mortua lugetur.
Pauperum lacrymæ et pia vota, odorem vere divinum spirantia, memoriam ejus condiunt.
Anno ætatis 54°. ineunte, feriâ hebdomadis 2ª. die Aprilis 2°. A. D. 1805.
Corpus fragile morbo insanabili succubuit, cujus, lenté grassantis, sævitiam memorando patientiæ exemplo novendecim annos pertulerat.
Visum est *Deo Opt. Max.* clementissimo
Vitam, in continuis fermè doloribus actam, morte placidâ, et
Spei plenâ, ad excitum perducere:

" Ubi tuus, Mors, aculeus? Ubi tua, Orce, est victoria?
" Gloria Deo. - - - - - - - - - Hallelujah!"

Has voces ore moribundo proferens, in morte insultans morti, pia mulier obdormivit.

Maritus superstes diem obiit feriâ hebdomadis
mensis die *A. D.* 18 ætat.
Sepultus est

Ante uxorem *Saram* in matrimonio habuit *Mariam*, reverendi *Joannis Botham* filiam, quæ viro, dum eaviveret, percara, intra triennii spatium a nuptiis morte ei erepta est, cum bis peperisset. Sepulta jacet juxta parentes suos, et sororem, in cæmeterio ecclesiæ Alburiensis, in agro Surriensi, cujus ecclesiæ maritus Rector erat. Filiolæ partu secundo Editæ, quæ bimula extincta est, reliquiæ sub pavimento sacrosancti hujus adyti humatæ sunt. *Filio*, quem priorem mater enixa est, vitam prorogavit Dei misericordia, *Heneagio*, qui vidui patris senectutem curis assiduis fovebat, sacerdotium gerens, et ecclesiæ cathedralis paternæ
Præbendarius.
Sibi et suis vivens posuit
Samuel Horsley
A. D. *MDCCCV.*

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